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D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURAE XIII

THIRTEEN SATIRES OF

JUVENAL

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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SECOND EDITION

PART I. INTRODUCTION, TEXT, ETC.

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

In this Edition the notes have been carefully revised and in most instances recast. Much new matter has been added. The life of Juvenal has been to a large extent re-written, and attention has been paid to the most recent literature upon the subject of Juvenal and his times. The text employed is that of Jahn (editio altera, curata a Francisco Buecheler, Berolini 1886). A few alterations in this have been made, in most cases the suggestions of scholars in the *Classical Journal.* These have all been noticed and acknowledged in the notes. Our chief guide and authority has been the great work of Professor Mayor (Thirteen Satires of Juvenal, with a Commentary, 2 vols. Macmillan 1878). In many cases the notes have been simply based upon those in the work of this scholar. In all cases his great authority has been carefully weighed, as indeed any utterance of Professor Mayor upon the subject which he has dealt with as a master must be. The obligations of the Editors to Professor Mayor have been constantly acknowledged in the notes, but a special acknowledgment seems called for here as well, inasmuch as without Professor Mayor's work the present Edition would have been impossible. He has also, with a true scholar's generosity, been kind enough to give his counsel as to several readings and interpretations. Professor Nettleship's 'Life and Poems of Juvenal' published in the *Journal of Philology*, No 31, has been carefully considered. Weidner's second edition of Juvenal has been consulted. A full list of the literature that has appeared on the subject of Juvenal and his works is contained in his edition, to which the scholar is referred. Other books that have been consulted are—Das Leben Juvenals, by Professor Dürr (Ulm, 1888); Die Art und Tendenz der Juvenalischen Personenkritik, by

Professor Christ (Leipzig, Fock, 1886); Etude sur Juvénal, par M. Guérin (Paris, 1887); Annotatio in Saturas D. Junii Juvenalis, by Smit (Dotecomiae, 1886); Chaufepié, de Titulo I.R.N. 4312 ad Juvenalem Poetam perperam relato (Hagae Comitis, 1889); Quaestiones Juvenalianae, by Niessen (Monasterii Guestfalorum, 1889); Apparatus Criticus ad Juvenalem, collegit et excussit C. Hosius (Bonnae, 1888). Besides these, Friedländer and Hübner have contributed several important articles to German Reviews upon Juvenal and the literature attaching to him, passages from which have been acknowledged in the notes (Hübner, in *Wochenschrift für Klass. Philologie*, Nos. 50 and 52; Friedländer, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift;* No. 16). By far the most useful commentary upon Juvenal is Friedländer's 'Sittengeschichte Roms' (2nd Edition, Leipzig, 1890), which has been constantly consulted. The Editors have to thank Professor Wilkins of Owens College for many kind hints; also to render warm and special thanks to a pupil, Mr. L. Barnett, who has rendered particular service by carefully reading through the proof-sheets and adding quotations from his wide knowledge of Latin Literature. It is hoped that this Edition of Juvenal may prove useful as a guide to students who are reading the Roman Satirist at our Schools and Universities, and that it may be found to contain some interpretations which may gain the approval of older scholars.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

THE object of the editors has been to produce an edition of Juvenal which may prove of use in aiding the students at our Schools and Universities to appreciate and understand the great Roman Satirist. They have been very anxious to try and follow the train of thought in each Satire, and to cite parallel passages from classical authors where it has appeared that real light was thrown by such quotations upon the passage before the reader. They have not always quoted at length, for fear of rendering the volume too bulky. They have found,

of existing editions, Weidner's among the most useful, and have frequently borrowed from his scholarly Commentary, now, unfortunately, out of print.

Professor Mayor's Commentary should be in the hands of every student of Juvenal. The wealth of material supplied is marvellous. Friedländer's 'Sittengeschichte,' Marquardt's 'Altertümer,' Becker's 'Gallus,' Böttiger's 'Sabina,' Rich's Manual, Guhl and Koner's 'Life of the Romans,' will all be found to throw much light on the manners and customs described by Juvenal. To these should be added, Lecky's 'History of European Morals;' and, for some interesting information on questions of natural history connected with Italy, Hehn's 'Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa. Historisch-linguistische Skizzen.' This important work has been lately translated into English, but the translation was published too late to permit of the quotations being made from the English edition. The editors have, however, freely quoted from it.

The editions of Juvenal are numerous, especially those published in England and Germany. To pass over the oldest editions, Henninius availed himself of the labours of Britannicus, Pithoeus, Rigaltius, and Grangaeus, and brought out his text with a commentary at Leyden in 1695. Ruperti brought out an edition even fuller than that of Henninius at Leipzig in 1801; and followed this by two later editions published in 1819 and 1820. The French editor Achaintre published a commentary in two volumes at Paris in 1810, chiefly valuable for his communication of different readings drawn from Paris MSS. Juvenal was edited and commented on by E. W. C. Weber (Weimar, 1825). In 1830 Madvig published his 'Disputatio de locis aliquot Iuvenalis explicandis' (Copenhagen), which was followed by 'Disputatio altera' in 1842, and by his 'Adversaria critica ad Scriptores Latinos' in 1873. In 1838 Weber published a translation and notes, and in the following year Heinrich published an edition at Bonn containing the Ancient Scholia. An edition with English notes was published by Stocker in 1845 (London). Other useful works on Juvenal are 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Satiren des Iuvenalis,' by A. L. Döllen; Kempf, Observationes in Iuvenalis aliquos locos interpretandos' (Berlin, 1843); Roth, 'Zu Iuvenalis Sat. I. 115 sq.' in the 'Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie'

(1860), vol. 81; Macleane's edition, 1857 (Whittaker), a judicious and sensible commentary; Escott's edition, with notes, London (Virtue), 1860, and (Lockwood), 1868; 'Der echte und der unechte Juvenal,' by Otto Ribbeck, Berlin, 1865, a clever but hypercritical and too ingenious work; Iuvenalis Saturae, erklärt von Andreas Weidner (Trübner, 1873), an excellent edition; Juvenal, with literal English Prose translation and notes, by John Delaware Lewis; Professor Mayor's Thirteen Satires of Juvenal, with English notes: replete with erudition, but too full for a School edition; (Macmillan, 1873); Simcox's edition, in the Catena Classicorum, 1873 (Rivingtons), a work containing much that is fresh and suggestive, but much that seems over-refinement in criticism; Hardy's school edition (Macmillan, 1883).

Among modern criticisms of Juvenal as a writer should be mentioned the Essay in Nisard's 'Poëtes romains de la Décadence.' Many valuable dissertations on particular points of Juvenal literature have appeared in different German Reviews. Of these we have found useful—'Quaestiones Iuvenalianae,' by Schönaich (Halle, 1883); 'De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore,' by Schwartz (Halle, 1882); 'Iuvenal ein Sittenrichter seiner Zeit,' by Dr. P. Doetsch (Leipzig, 1874); and 'De locis aliquot Iuvenalis explicandis,' by Schmidt, 1851. Others are, Vahlen's 'Vindiciae Iuvenales' (Berlin, 1884), and Palen 'de Iuv. Satiris,' 1882.

Professor Nettleship's Essay on the Roman Satura is most instructive.

In the text the editors have mostly followed that of Otto Jahn, as adopted by Mayor; though they have in places punctuated differently from him: they have, however, corrected this text by the fresh collation of the Pithoean MS. as described by R. Beer in his 'Spicilegium Juvenalianum,' Leipzig, 1885.

The text has been expurgated so that it may safely be perused by the mixed classes in our modern English Colleges.

The editors have to return warm thanks to Professor Sonnenschein and to Mr. Evelyn Abbott for their kindness in looking through the proof-sheets, and to Professor Nettleship for several valuable suggestions, and for permission to peruse a public lecture delivered by him on Juvenal.

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF JUVENAL.

Decimus Junius Juvenalis is said in a life of uncertain authenticity to have been born at Aquinum. This statement is to some extent corroborated by a line in the third Satire, where the speaker suggests that his friend, who is presumably Juvenal, may some day or other be visiting his own Aquinum. It is made more probable still by the fact that a tablet has been dug up at Aquinum, in which D. Junius Juvenalis, of the cohort of the Dalmatians, duumvir quinquennalis, and flamen to the deified Vespasian, dedicates a shrine to Ceres. Helvina Ceres is alluded to in the third Satire as a deity reverenced at Aquinum. Further, there is no reason for referring Juvenal to any other place but Aquinum, though a single scholiast says that some persons took him to have been a Gaul on account of his great size.

The biographies prefixed to his Satires in the MSS. are as numerous as they are unsatisfactory. Of these lives there are nine, seven of which are printed by Otto Jahn in his edition of 1851. An eighth was published from a Harleian MS. by Rühl in the 'Neue Jahrbücher' of 1854; a ninth has been found by Professor Nettleship in a Bodleian MS. of the thirteenth century, and a tenth has been printed by Professor Dürr from a MS. in the Barbarini Library. In point of Latin style, and presumably therefore of antiquity, the best of these memoirs is that printed by Jahn as No. 1. The author imitates the style of Suetonius, but not his clearness or accuracy. Of this memoir Borghesi rightly observes that Suetonius could never have written in so unsatisfactory a way of so distinguished a contemporary.

The date of Juvenal's birth is unknown. It is variously stated in the three memoirs which mention the event, one placing it in the reign of Claudius, another in that of Nero. Assuming him to be the author of the sixteen Satires that pass under his name, he

was alive a little after A.D. 127, as he speaks in the fifteenth Satire of 'things that were done lately when Juncus was consul,' and Juncus—an Aemilius Juncus, as Borghesi has proved—was consul in 127[1]. Assuming him again, as is probable, to be the Juvenal addressed by Martial in three epigrams, he was grown up, and of such literary eminence that he could be called 'facundus[2],' corresponding to 'fluens,' or 'eloquens' in 93. An attempt has been made to fix his birth in the year 60 or 67, on the supposition that the words 'Fonteio consule natus,' Satire xiii, refer to himself; but the more natural construction of the passage—it may almost be said, the only natural construction—makes them relate to his friend Calvinus. If we accept the tradition that Juvenal attained the age of 80, and assume that he did not live beyond the year A.D. 128, the date of his birth would be about A.D. 48, which would agree tolerably well with the facts of his history; while if we accept the more precise statement of one of the lives, he was born in the year 55, when Claudius Nero and L. Antistius were consuls[3]. For practical purposes it is sufficient to observe that what we know of him as a man does not take us back beyond Titus at furthest, or below Hadrian.

Juvenal is said by all his biographers to have been the son or the adopted son of a wealthy freedman. His mother was named Septimuleia and was a townswoman of Aquinum. He had a sister, also Septimuleia, who married Fuscinus[4]. He seems to have been brought up at a good school[5]. His chief instructor, when he began to study rhetoric, was Protus of Berytus, a teacher who was noted for his provincial and antiquarian tastes, and whose practice it was to restrict the

[1] Mr. Lewis and Dean Merivale prefer the reading Junius. Junius was consul in 119, which would throw back the fifteenth Satire to about 120.

[2] Prof. Nettleship rightly remarks that 'facundus' may be used of style, as in Mart. xii. 43 and Statius, Silvae i. 4. 28.

[3] Dürr, Das Leben Juvenals, ss. 11. 28.

[4] Sat. xiv. l. 1. The particulars about Juvenal's family are derived from a life discovered by Dürr ('Leben Juvenals'). They are rejected by Friedländer (*Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, April 17, 1890) but accepted by Prümers (Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, 4 Dec. 1889).

[5] Satire i. l. 15. Compare Pliny's letter (iv. 13), showing that a town in Tuscany might be so poorly provided with teachers that the children of the townspeople had to be sent to Milan.

number of his pupils to three or four, and to converse with these in the Socratic fashion, rarely lecturing to them. Another teacher was Antonius Liberalis, of whom we know only that there was a bitter feud between him and the arrogant Palaemon, so that no one could study under both at the same time[1]. Juvenal is believed to have practised declamation till he was of middle age, though rather as men of fortune are sometimes called to the bar in England, for the sake of an occupation, than to make money by it. The inscription at Aquinum shows that he served the most important magistracy in his native town, and held the honourable position of titular chaplain, so to speak, to Vespasian. We know that when the first college or chapter of flamens to a dead Emperor was instituted, Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, and Claudius were enrolled as members, and that the rest were chosen by lot out of the first families in Rome (Tacitus, Annals i. 54). As Domitian was very careful to maintain the dignity of the Flavian line, it would seem that Juvenal's social position was good, or he would not have been admitted to this office. Later on we find him praefect or tribune of the cohort of the Dalmatians. This cohort of infantry was stationed in Britain during the times of Trajan and Hadrian, and there are traditions, one of which states that Juvenal was made praefect against the 'Scoti' by 'the tyrant,' while another represents Trajan as banishing him to the chief command in the war against the Scoti[2]. The difficulties of understanding

[1] Dürr, Das Leben Juvenals, s. 26. Suetonius Vitae Grammat., c. 24.

[2] It has been argued that the mere mention of a command against the Scoti convicts the writers of these lives of compiling in recent times, because for the first eight centuries of our era 'Scotus' always means a dweller in Ireland, not a dweller in North Britain. It must be remembered, however, that the Irish (Scoti) are habitually mentioned with the Picts and Saxons as enemies whom the Roman troops in North Britain had to encounter. 'Picti Saxonesque et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis,' Ammian. Marcellin. xxvi. 4, cf. xxvii. 8. 'Victricia Caesar Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos. Fuderit et quamquam Scotum et cum Saxone Pictum,' Sidonius Apollinaris, Carmen vi. 333. 'Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis, Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas Perlegit exsangues Picto moriente figuras,' Claudian de Bello Getico, ll. 416-418. As Agricola brought the Lowlands under Roman rule (A. D. 80 85), the chief danger to the North-West coast of England would certainly be from Irish sea-rovers.

all this are enormous. Properly ten years' service in the ranks was required before a man could be tribune or praefect. It is true this was sometimes set aside in favour of men of position; but Juvenal, in the form in which the story has come down to us, had offended one of the Emperors by an allusion to a favourite actor, and was not therefore a man to be picked out for special distinction. Then, again, he must have been a man of a certain age, forty if not fifty, at the time of his honorary banishment. Nevertheless there is some incidental evidence that Juvenal was connected with the army, and may have been in Britain. In the third Satire he complains obliquely of the smallness of a tribune's pay. In the first (l. 58) and seventh (l. 92) he declaims against promotion by favour. In the fourteenth he scoffs at the rewards of military service. 'Destroy,' he says, 'the huts of the Moors or the forts of the Brigantes, that you may get the rank of ensign with better pay when you are sixty[1].' When we remember that in A. D. 103 the fourth cohort of the Dalmatians was stationed among those very Brigantes, the coincidence is at least remarkable, and it looks as if the poet were calling to mind his own unrequited service, or that of some obscurer comrade. Finally the allusions to the British whale, to British lawyers, to the British King Arviragus, and to the short night in Britain[2], are a little more numerous and precise than we should expect from one who had never been in the country. The best solution of the difficulty would seem to be if we could suppose that Juvenal, finding civil advancement out of the question, transferred himself to the army when he was no longer quite a young man, expecting by favour to be exempted from the annoyance of service abroad, and that, when he allowed his unruly pen to transgress, he was punished by being ordered on active service, as Russian liberals are sent to the Caucasus.

This explanation has not taken into account the common story related in Life IV, as given by Jahn, that Juvenal was sent into exile for the lines relating to Paris, the actor, that

[1] We may observe also a certain use of military terms, 'decurrere,' i. 19, and an admiration of military virtue, viii. 21. 'Esto bonus miles' is his first advice to a young man, viii. 79.

[2] Sat. x. 14, xv. 111, iv. 127, ii. 161.

is, that he was exiled by Domitian in some year before 83 A.D., when Paris died. There are insuperable difficulties about that story in its common form. One is, that the seventh Satire would appear in that case to open with a high compliment to the very Emperor whom the attack on his favourite a little further on is supposed to have alienated. The other is that the legendary account represents Juvenal as dying of grief in his banishment, whereas he certainly survived Domitian by more than thirty years. Mr. Lewis disposes of these difficulties by assuming that the 'histrio' mentioned in l. 90 is different from 'Paris,' and that the Satire really belongs to the time of Hadrian, 'who banished and afterwards put to death Apollodorus the celebrated architect, owing to a sarcastic expression of the latter.' It may be added that Juvenal's complaints would excite much more indignation if he was in the army. One of the lives which seems to refer the composition of the Satire to the time of Trajan, reports Trajan as having commented upon it with the remark, 'Why, you yourself got your promotion through Philomela!' This would appear to show that Juvenal owed his own appointment in the first instance to his literary work. By another account however it was Hadrian who wrote satirically on the commission which banished him to Egypt 'Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.' The last epigram addressed by Martial to Juvenal, which was written about A.D. 104, shows that he was then in Rome making a round of visits to his patrons. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that his cohort was stationed in Britain. He may have applied for furlough to visit his friends, and have tried while he was at home to get moved into Italy or to get increase of rank. Neither, however, is it impossible that by this time Juvenal had completed his term of service.

There remains the story that he ended his days in Egypt. That he visited that country at some time seems probable from the life-like reference to the big breasts of the women of Meroe (xiii. 16), and almost demonstrated by the fifteenth Satire, which must have been written towards the close of his life, and which certainly seems composed on the spot. The date of this we have seen can be fixed between 121 and 128 A.D. or thereabouts. It was therefore Hadrian who banished him; and Juvenal must

have retired long ago from military service, as the time which a soldier served abroad could not exceed twenty years, and it is not conceivable that an officer of nearly eighty would have been retained on the lists. The dedication of the shrine at Aquinum belongs no doubt to this period of rest. If the Satires throw any light on the poet's life and character, he was a man divided between the love of country life and the need of that cultivated society which can only be found in a capital. At Rome he idealised the fountain bubbling up from its native turf and the rustic home with its chaplet-crowned images of wax and with heart's-ease and violet strewed on the ground. In the country he admitted that his city friend could not bear the monotony of the life for five days together.

Tradition says that Juvenal took to verse after middle life. The statement is confirmed by the internal evidence of the Satires. The second, third, and fourth may have been written in the time of Domitian, and were probably published in their present form not later than Nerva's reign. The first and eighth seem to belong to the early part of Trajan's reign. The first part of the fourth, which is perhaps distinct from the remainder, alludes to the burying alive of a vestal virgin, which happened in 91 A.D., as a recent event. The date of the fifth and tenth Satires cannot be determined from any allusions they contain, even conjecturally[1]. The remaining eight all seem to belong in their present form to the later part of Trajan's reign or to Hadrian's, though it is of course highly probable that other parts date back as early as to the reign of Domitian. These dates add very much to the difficulty of understanding Juvenal's career. They seem to imply an unbroken though not very strenuous literary activity during the period that intervened between Martial's first mention of Juvenal as a friend in A.D. 92 or 93 and the epigram noticing his constant visits to the Subura in A.D. 103. It is difficult to suppose that Juvenal wrote Satires teeming with personal allusion while he was on garrison duty in the north of England, and the inference would appear to be either that his residence in Britain was very short or that it must be referred

[1] Friedländer, vol. iii. p. 489, referring to an academical programme, 'De cometa a Iuv. in Satira vi commemorato' (Königsberg, 1882), fixes the date of the sixth Satire at 116 or 117 A.D.

to the early period of his life under Domitian. The intensity of his feeling against that Emperor would be easily explained, if Domitian really ordered him away from Rome and quartered him in a country which above all others must have been uncongenial to a townsman.

This hypothesis involves the apparent difficulty that Juvenal did something to displease Domitian, and yet did not publish the Satires which attack the Emperor till after his death. The difficulty is not a great one. The traditional life, which is all we have to go upon, except the tablet of Aquinum, represents Juvenal as practising declamation for a long time, and he may have given offence by the topics treated in his declamations. The remark ascribed to Trajan, that Juvenal owed his promotion to Philomela, shows that the poet was at one time favourably noticed at the court for his literary work—not necessarily a poem called Philomela—and there is no difficulty in assuming that the favour was afterwards forfeited by an indiscretion. The evidence that the seventh Satire in its present form was addressed to Hadrian and not to Domitian seems too strong to be lightly disregarded, not only because it is inconsistent with Juvenal's general estimate of Domitian, but because Quintilian, who took pupils for twenty years, can hardly have acquired the great wealth which Juvenal commemorates as early as the year 83 A.D., when Paris was put to death. At the same time it must be borne in mind that Juvenal's Satires bear the marks in many instances of having been composed piecemeal. Often the composition is not homogeneous, as for instance in the second Satire, where an invective against the appearance of a patrician in the amphitheatre is tacked on to a diatribe against unnatural vice. Sometimes a favourite line is repeated or imitated. More often the changes are rung upon a single simile till the effect is weakened instead of being intensified. It seems probable that Juvenal was at first essentially a reader in the Roman salons, and that he purposely constructed his poems so as to be able to omit a passage when it would be dangerous, and allowed himself a choice of illustrations which he could vary at pleasure. Later on, when the Satires were transcribed, either the poet could not bring himself to strike out the redundant lines, or the copyist collating various editions put all that he found indiscriminately upon parchment.

There remains Ribbeck's theory that the more general and impersonal of Juvenal's Satires, the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, with perhaps the sixteenth, and with parts of the fourth and eleventh, were not Juvenal's, but were the work of an imitator. Concerning this it may be said that, while it would strike out two of the weakest, the fifteenth and sixteenth, it would also take away from Juvenal the tenth and thirteenth Satires, which are among his most finished and best. There is nothing in Roman literature of the poet's time, in Persius and Martial, in Lucan or Statius, that approaches the level of these for vigour or poetic feeling. Therefore, as Mr. Lewis has pointed out, we have the difficulty of being compelled to find a place for a poet who was only second to Juvenal, yet who was content to let his best work pass under Juvenal's name, and whom his contemporaries never detected in his forgeries. Let it be granted that it was easy for a forger to imitate Juvenal's style and to dovetail expressions that had been carefully parodied into a didactic poem. Was it equally easy to affect Juvenal's whole tone of thought, so that there should not appear the least incongruity between the teaching of the true and of the false Satires? Mr. Lewis's suggestion that the declamatory Satires were the work of Juvenal's youth, and were 'touched up and added to and published along with his Satires when he had become famous through the latter,' is of very different critical value, though it can only be treated, in the present state of our knowledge, as mere conjecture. Certainly a man trained to declamation might naturally break ground on themes of such a general kind as were treated in the schools. On the other hand, Satire xiii seems to be referable to a really late date, and it is perhaps natural to suppose that Juvenal, as he advanced in years and lived at a distance from Rome, was less and less personal in his treatment of society, more and more wary how he offended great men. The offence given to Hadrian at the close of his life may have been for a very fanciful cause. The crime for which Apollodorus was put to death was nothing worse than a criticism on some shrines for sitting goddesses, which he said had been built so low that if the goddesses rose they would carry off the roofs. Lastly, when we remember that Romans who suffered from chest complaints went to Egypt for the sake of the climate, it will appear possible that Juvenal also went

there of his own accord, and that the visit to a sanitarium was confounded by tradition with his disgrace under Domitian.

In a tabular form Juvenal's life may be thus arranged conjecturally :—

Decimus Junius Juvenalis born A.D. between 48 and 55 at Aquinum.

Between the age of 20 and 25 studies declamation; Vespasian being Emperor 70–79.

Is duumvir quinquennalis and flamen Vespasiani under Titus and Domitian.

Is sent on military service to Britain, where he perhaps serves under Agricola, who was recalled in A.D. 86.

Satirises Crispinus in Satire iv.

Domitian (81–96) being still alive, Juvenal is alluded to by Martial as 'facundus,' and in lines which imply that they were intimate and that a slanderer had tried to separate them.

Publishes Satires iii and iv, under Nerva, A.D. 96–98.

Is alluded to by Martial as paying visits to great men's houses, apparently as a courtier[1].

Publishes Satires i and viii, in the early part of Trajan's reign, about 101.

Aet. 70–72 or 78–80, writes Satires xi, xiii, and xv, under Hadrian. In xi speaks of himself as an old man living in the country: in xiii fixes the date at near 119 or 127; in xv is evidently in Egypt, to which by tradition he has been banished.

Juvenal's special place in literature is due very much to the fact that he belongs to the limited class of satirists proper. We are not diverted from the consideration of his artistic workmanship by needing to follow a narrative. Neither is his satire the mere relief to an argument or a declamation, as is habitually the case with Cicero or Burke. Every line of the Roman poet is instinct with moral purpose, and beauty of form, though aimed at and attained in a singular degree, is throughout secondary to this. Dean Milman has spoken of Horace's Satires as 'the highest order of the poetry of society,' able to bear 'the same definition as the best conversation—good sense and wit in equal proportions.' No one would speak of Juvenal's Satires as the poetry of society. Whatever their success in Roman salons

[1] See p. 41.

may have been, it must have been due to the fact that their terrible directness of purpose and austere morality were congenial to the revival of faith and earnestness for which the period between Domitian and Marcus Aurelius is memorable. Bitter as Juvenal's epigrammatic touches are, we feel throughout that he wishes to gibbet the sin rather than the man. Even where he pauses to trifle with his subject, his sport is never the dalliance of a man of the world, impressed with the humorous side of a baseness or crime. It is the grim earnest of the teacher, determined that what is trivial and grotesque shall be lashed, before a heavier scourge descends upon what is wicked.

Why Juvenal should have chosen verse as the appropriate vehicle of his thoughts may seem at first a little difficult to explain. M. Nisard has expressed an opinion that Juvenal's real position in literature is that of a declaimer; and that his style represents a constant struggle between the energetic conciseness natural to himself and the diffuseness taught in the schools of rhetoric. We have seen from the scanty records of Juvenal's life that he declaimed in the schools till he was nearly of middle age; and no one can doubt that his style everywhere recalls the orator. The lavish use of illustration, the frequent introduction of dialogue, the fervid straightforwardness of words, are all congenial to the best practice of the orator. Nevertheless the very terms of M. Nisard's criticism suggest a doubt as to its thoroughness. We have in Juvenal a consummate master of style, who has been trained for twenty years as a rhetorician, and who wields a language that was at least as perfect for prose as for verse. All at once this man deliberately chooses verse as the vehicle of his thoughts, and creates unmistakeable masterpieces, transcending his own rude models, Lucilius, Varro, ay, and even Horace, and influencing modern literature in its best period. Can anyone seriously think that Juvenal would have left his mark in this way, if he had written prose declamations? Would he have achieved higher success than Seneca or Boethius? Is it not the case that, like every great satirist, he is even further removed from the orator than from the poet, and has no affinities whatever with the declaimer of schools?

Quintilian has told us, in an instructive passage, that there is

practically no difference between forensic oratory and declamation. The object of each is to prove a case. (Institutes, lib. xi. cap. 10). The object of the satirist is to deal with indisputable principles, to recall or enforce truths that lie outside demonstration or doubt, and to impress not the intellect but the moral sense. A declamation on the excellence of chastity, on the advantage of scorning wealth or of living up to the obligations of a noble ancestry, would have been received with frigid acquiescence in any respectable salon of Rome. Juvenal's first object, as has been said, was to gibbet the vice ; but to spare the person and expose the vice has always been a cheap exercise of virtue. The satire, however carefully constructed, was pregnant with banishment or death, and the man who dealt in work of this kind carried his life in his hands. The satirist is not properly a poet, for the poet is concerned with absolute beauty, the satirist with the awful contrasts of beauty and foulness, order and disorder. Juvenal, though he has the poetic fire, and here and there the artist's touch, stops short of being a poet, because he cares more for right and wrong than for art. Nevertheless the satirist has this in common with the poet, that his work is best done when it is achieved with the fewest possible strokes. The thought that goes to the heart, the remembrance that stirs conscience, the brief word that rings in the ear, these are the appropriate weapons of the satirist. The rhetorician, on the other hand, has to expand a theme, and no beauty of imagery, no play of feeling, no wealth of happy description, can turn a sermon into a poem. Whenever thought ceases to be suggestive and becomes dialectical, poetry and satire fade away. In either it is an acknowledgement of weakness to analyse. The sense of beauty cannot be tested with tube and crucible. The inspiration of the Hebrew prophet must flow forth unchecked like a message from God. It is the strength of moral passion, at once reticent and intense, saying little because it feels much, that imposes conciseness upon the satirist, that drew Juvenal away from the declaimer's tribune.

This theory of course implies that Juvenal was penetrated with the thoughts his verses express. M. Nisard, who wishes to change his place in literature, has felt accordingly that it is first necessary to prove that he was a sceptic and of not more than average morality. 'One seems to feel that this man is indifferent,

that he sometimes works himself into a heat to utter frigid phrases, that his indignation is rather of the head than the heart, and that the core of all his philosophy is perhaps the carelessness of Horace with a loftier temperament and probably purer morals.' One of the justifications of this charge is found in the fact that the three epigrams which Martial has addressed to Juvenal are disfigured by impure allusions. It is difficult to understand how anyone who has studied the first century of our era in its literature, can assume that Juvenal was not in earnest because one of his friends was coarse. Martial wrote to men as he talked to them, and Juvenal never affects to condemn blackguard conversation except when the minds of children are to be guarded. The charge against Juvenal's want of faith is better supported by apparent evidence. 'His scoffs at religion,' says M. Nisard, 'destroy all the value of the passages in which he speaks seriously of it;' and M. Nisard proceeds to quote that exquisite passage of the thirteenth Satire (ll. 40 *sqq.*), in which Juvenal describes the golden age of Saturn, 'when Juno was still a young girl, and Jupiter a private denizen of the caves of Ida, and when there were no banquets of the gods above the clouds.' Strange that M. Nisard should not have recalled that wonderful mediaeval literature of miracle plays in which the saints, the devil, and even God himself were freely employed as the vehicles of the coarsest buffoonery. Was Machiavel the less devout for satirising the religion of his times? Did Dryden or Swift ever hesitate before a joke because it was irreverent?

If Juvenal may be allowed to answer for himself, it will be found that his views of God and men and life are thoroughly homogeneous. In religion he had a tinge of fatalism. There is a popular legend in Dalmatia which represents Fate as living in a castle, and being roused every night by a loud cry that new souls have come into the world and must have their portion assigned them. Then Fate opens a golden, silver, or wooden chest and deals out ducats, or silver coin, or stones, with the intimation that such fortune as the newcomers receive on the night of their birth shall abide by them all their days. Juvenal almost reproduces this legend when he tells us how 'mischievous fortune stands by night smiling on the naked babes, and transforms the beggars' brats into the heirs of

great houses.' (Satire vi. 605.) So again in the seventh Satire he tells us that the stars which receive the new-born babe determine whether he shall be a consul or a rhetorician. In the ninth Satire there is the same vein of thought: 'it is the fates that govern men[1].' We seem to detect in these despondent utterances the man buffeted about by the different chances of life, and perpetually deprived of the prize he thought his due. The fatalist, however, as the Turks have abundantly proved, is not necessarily a weak man, paralyzed by the reflection that it is idle to struggle against the stars. Juvenal insists in two passages, that, if you are wise, you will have no patron among the gods whose special protection you invoke, and that Fortune is a divinity of our own making. Our lives are decreed beforehand, but the merciful gods have ordered them as was really best, and all we need is health and a stout heart, and an even temper that is not ruffled by misfortune and that does not blench at the approach of death.

Thus far Juvenal was a Roman, and he was a Roman also in his hatred of foreign divinities. He detested those of Asia and Egypt; he evidently looked upon those of Greece as mere literary creations. There is a scoff when he speaks of Deucalion climbing the mountain in a boat, or of Ennosigaeus bound by Xerxes, or of Vulcan black from the forge. Very different is his tone when he alludes to swearing by the altar of Ceres (xiv. 219), to whom he himself dedicated a chapel, or describes the naked effigy of Mars with spear and shield, and hanging from the soldier's helmet above the doomed enemy of Rome (xi. 108.) There is not a trace of scepticism when he speaks of the sacrifice he is about to offer to Juno and Minerva and Jupiter. When he mentions Egeria, whose story Quintilian had declared (Instit. ii. 4) to be fair debateable matter, as there was plenty to say for or against it, Juvenal contrasts the old worship to its advantage with the present aspect of the grove haunted by Jews. 'Who,' he asks, 'would have dared once to laugh at Numa's sacrificial bowl?' The lines in which he admits that none but the youngest boys now believe the story of another world are a wail over the decay of faith. We must accept the fact that no educated man could be quite consistent in those days, and allow

[1] Compare Satire xvi. 4–6.

for the fact that Juvenal was illogical in worshipping at any altar. His real faith was undoubtedly such as Plato might have held. He believed that there was a ruler of the universe and immutable laws; that there was a life after death; and that a man determined his own heaven or hell when he shaped his character. Beyond this, he believed that it was good to cherish certain ancestral faiths; and he probably clung to these through habit a little more strongly than he would have liked to admit. Montaigne thought that the stigmata of St. Francis might be the effect of imagination, but Montaigne took part determinately with the orthodox men of his day against the iconoclasts. Pascal summed up for religion altogether on the ground that you lost nothing and might gain by believing in it, yet Pascal, who was always on the verge of scepticism, accepted the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Juvenal lived in a society which was not unlike that of France in the times of Montaigne and Pascal; like Montaigne he was a man of the world, like Pascal a fervid believer by temperament, and, like both, educated up to a point at which it was difficult to reconcile the demands of reason and faith.

'If there are no gods,' says Marcus Aurelius, 'or if they do not care for the concerns of men, what does it profit to live in a world that has neither gods nor Providence? But there are gods, and they take thought for the affairs of men; and they have put it within everyone's power not to fall into real trouble' (M.Aur. Ant. lib. ii. c. 11). Marcus Aurelius goes on to explain that nothing can really affect a man's happiness that does not affect his character. That was Juvenal's belief, to which he attained by the slow teaching of years. Grand as the lines sound in which he exhorts the young noble to deem it supreme impiety to prefer existence to honour, and not to lose for life's sake that which makes life worth having, a close examination of the context will convince us that he thinks more of the unspotted name than of the untainted soul. Similarly in Satire xiv he develops a view kindred to that of modern science, that we are all the trustees of future generations, and that if we sin we incur the responsibilty of tempting our children to copy the foul example and inherit the guilty thoughts. In both these cases we get only the religion of the family. But in the tenth, and above all in the thirteenth Satire, we find a really sublime faith systematized.

Juvenal never attains altogether to the scientific level. He sees that it is irrational and wrong to pray that the order of the world may be changed for a man's personal advantage, but he is not sure that the mind is not external to the universe, and that the soul may not be supernaturally transformed by the intervention of the gods. Neither is he quite a Christian. He does not desire the reformation of the sinner or believe it possible, but he rejoices in the idea that a bad man will be tortured by conscience, and that, as character is bound to run its course out, he will sooner or later plunge into overt crime and incur the penalty of the law. With these abatements, however, Juvenal's is a very high morality. He denounces revenge; he declares that the thought of sin is sin itself; he reprobates the passion for wealth; he sees clearly that the only path of a peaceful life lies through integrity, and that the highest wisdom is to be true to ourselves (xiv. 321). Further he denounces masters who are cruel towards their slaves (xiv. 19). If internal evidence goes for anything, the moral advance perceptible in these latter Satires would indicate that they belong to Juvenal's old age.

It has sometimes seemed as if Juvenal—himself a provincial of the middle classes—was extravagant in the importance he attached to the claims of birth. An abstract statement that he prefers Achilles the son of Thersites to Thersites the son of Achilles, cannot outweigh the numerous passages in which the poet denounces the unworthy pursuits of patricians as the last portent of evil times. The declaimer, not the moralist, appears to speak when Juvenal declares that Lentulus, who acted a crucifixion on the stage, ought to have been crucified in earnest; or that the gladiator compelled to fight with Gracchus endured a disgrace which was worse than any wound. Nevertheless, if we test the poet by his contemporaries, it will be found that his point of view is that to which the historian appeals, and that which was generally deemed conclusive. Personal self-respect, the sense of personal dignity united to the hereditary feeling of the obligations of patrician birth, had been the secret of the greatness of Rome for centuries. Thoughtful men who looked round them under the Empire, and who saw a government that rested on force, and a society that only respected wealth, might well ask themselves if any single cause contributed more to the

decay of the Empire than the degradation of the nobility. That the emperors had risen above the restraints of public opinion, and that they exacted some act of flagrant indecency from the heirs of noble names as a guarantee that they did not meditate reforms, might easily seem to a patriotic gentleman, who mixed in good society and shared its prejudices, the worst sign of the times. Let us add to this the singular importance which antiquity always attached to social tact and an observance of the conventional proprieties. The feeling that led Augustus to withdraw Claudius into private life, because he was hopelessly awkward; the opposite feeling that made Alcibiades a power in the State through his personal beauty and grace, his insolent manner and fluent speech—do we need more than this to understand Juvenal's scale of moral crime which places, in a deliberate though no doubt an overwrought invective (Satire viii. 215–226), the writing of bad poems and acting on the public stage above incest and murder? Juvenal is not alone in this opinion. Tacitus tells us that if the conspiracy of Piso against Nero had succeeded, it was believed that Subrius Flavius had arranged with the centurions to slay Piso himself, and that Seneca was a party to the plot, 'for in what way would the public infamy be lessened, if the fiddler were thrust aside and the actor put in his place?' (Annals lib. xv. 65, cf. 67). Plutarch tells us that Galba's fall from power was predicted by the acutest observers because of his undignified appearance, his bald head and wrinkled face; and that when Honoratus pleaded for him before the troops he did it by recapitulating Nero's crimes in the same order as Juvenal. 'Has Galba murdered his own mother or his wife? Or has he made you ashamed of your Emperor by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage?' There was high warrant for this habit of thought in the opinion which Junius Mauricius expressed in Trajan's council-chamber, that it was a pity the contests of gladiators could not be put down even in Rome; and the satisfaction with which the great Emperor Marcus Aurelius relates how he was trained not to care for the sports of gladiators may serve to show what the best Romans felt upon this matter. Orestes slaying his mother was the interpreter of the old laws of the blood-feud, and the gods themselves dared not

condemn him. Nero, when he slew Agrippina, had at least the extenuating causes of fear for his own life, and passionate revulsion against his mother's rule; but Nero, garlanded and anointed, strumming a harp on the public stage before Greeks and Syrians, was wantonly degrading the gods of a great patrician family, and desecrating the office of Pontifex Maximus.

Even in times near our own the profession of a player has been regarded as infamous by men who reflected the feelings of patrician society, and whose intellect might be supposed to raise them above its prejudices. 'A gentleman,' says Montesquieu in his notes on England, 'had on various occasions betted as much as a hundred guineas at one to ten that he would act on the public stage. To play a part in order to get a thousand guineas! and this infamous action is not looked upon with horror.' Horace Walpole expressed a genuine contempt when he affected to doubt whether the infamous Madame du Barri would acknowledge Lord Barrymore as a relation when she found him 'turned strolling player.' Lord Barrymore's offence had been pretty exactly that of Gracchus or Lentulus. He had acted twice, once in a private theatre, and once on the public stage, to promote the benefit of an actor who was one of his friends. Horace Walpole could not regard these appearances as a crime, but he felt them to be a grave impropriety, which of itself disqualified the man who committed it from fellowship or kindred with patrician society.

It is part of the same spirit of national pride in Juvenal, that he abhorred the affectation of speaking Greek and the craze for Greek accomplishments, which were overspreading Roman society. Cicero had many years before remarked that a patriot should read a notoriously wretched translation of Sophocles rather than the original. Béranger's dictum, 'I like a Frenchman to be a Frenchman,' is anticipated in the vigorous lines of the sixth Satire; 'she will ask for everything in Greek, though it is far more shameful for our own people not to know the Latin tongue.' National antipathy never went further than in the assertion that no modest woman ought to speak Greek after she had reached a certain age; but the gentle hint that a guest at the poet's table is to ask in Latin for what he wants is unexceptionable in tone. The serious motives of Juvenal's antipathy

are admirably explained in a passage of Tacitus (Dial. de Orat. 28, 29). Tacitus makes Messala describe how in the good old times the mother brought up her child on her own knees, and committed its education later on to some elder or ancient lady of the family, who never allowed her young charges to indulge in a foul word or an indecorous act. 'But now,' Messala goes on to say, 'the child as soon as it is born is entrusted to some Greek handmaid, who is helped by some one or other, not unfrequently the lowest of all the household, and who is not even fitted for any serious service; the tender and unformed minds presently receive the impress of these creatures' fables and delusions; nor does anyone in the whole house consider what he says or does before his young master.' What the 'famished Frenchman' of Dryden's time was to the Englishman, the hungry Greekling was in a much more real sense to the Roman of the old school. It was the Greekling who taught the child a foreign tongue and corrupted the boy (Petronius cap. 11), the Greekling who infected Roman civilization with exotic tastes, who thrust Italians and old family dependents from the household, who governed the family by becoming master of its secrets.

So strong a hatred of whatever was not Italian, though it might act as a safeguard against foreign fashions and superstitions, had its drawback in keeping the poet from sympathy with a great deal of the best moral thought of his times. Juvenal at least was not a philosopher to whom, in the language of Gibbon's famous antithesis, all modes of worship were equally false. He rather resembled those literary purists of France and Spain, who have declined to learn a foreign language for fear of corrupting their native style and vocabulary. It was his boast that he had never cared to read the doctrines of the Cynics, of the Stoics, or of Epicurus, and we may fairly assume that he intended the repudiation to cover all Greek philosophy, in spite of a few words of admiration for Chrysippus and Thales and Socrates. If there was one religion that might have been supposed to commend itself to one who probably knew nothing of Christ's teaching, it would be the Jewish faith, with its simple doctrine of one God, its austere law, and its honourable freedom from immoral orgies. Some, however, of Juvenal's most

scathing lines are directed against Judaism, and it is curious to notice with what skill he has contrived to discover all the weak points in its harness. The belief in an abstract cloud-like deity without a mediator, the prohibition to eat pork, circumcision, the fierce intolerance of other nations' customs, the prejudice against the rendering of kindly offices to strangers, are all enumerated as essential parts of the religion. It may reasonably be assumed that Juvenal was unacquainted with Philo's defence of his people, and that he is not to be charged with deliberate unfairness. Even so it is remarkable that he should recoil so repugnantly from naked theism, and the fact may be counted as an additional proof that Juvenal was sincere in his reverence for the divinities of his own country, and liked to believe that he lived in a world where the gods were near men. His reproach of a bitter caste feeling against the Jews may seem to come with an ill grace from one who certainly would have regarded a marriage between Jew and Roman as impure; but it marks the change which world-wide empire and its necessities had introduced, since the time when a Roman citizen could not contract any obligation of the highest religious validity from marriage (connubium) to sale (sponsio) with a foreigner.

Juvenal's attitude towards literature is that of a man who wished to rise by it, and who was bitterly disappointed that neither eloquence nor poetry had helped him on in the race of life. The undesigned evidence of the Satires goes to show that he was rather the practical man, wielding literature as a weapon with which to hew his way in the world, than the literary man regarding study and the pursuit of the Muses as the highest good. When he speaks of how to train a child, he says that he is to be educated for statesmanship and military service and the management of an estate, and he praises the old austere life on a farm; but he nowhere gives a hint that philosophy or poetry is to be studied. His own boast that he was unlearned in Greek philosophy, the fierce diatribe against learned women, and the scorn of Greek versatility, must be taken as more than outweighing the genuine affection and respect evidently felt for Vergil and Tully, and the casual eulogies of Quintilian, Lucan, and Statius. It is probably to be imputed to a defective taste that the men whom Juvenal singles out in this

way for praise are declamatory and florid and given to false antithesis, and that he never glances off to admire the stately conciseness and nervous strength of Tacitus, or the best work of the minor Augustan poets. It is difficult also to resist the impression that Juvenal was half ashamed of literature; and that while he conceded the highest honours to a few of the immortals, such as Cicero and Vergil, he inclined to regard the pursuit of letters, where it was not justified by high genius, as disgraceful to a man of the highest family. He himself, a man of the middle class, who had endured the sea and the helmet and the spade, might without dishonour try to push himself by reciting satires, but it was a count in the indictment against Nero that he had written 'Troics.' The seventh Satire is throughout an enquiry how far literature and the learned professions pay. Poetry is put aside because the Thebais of Statius does not bring in money like a successful play; and of course on the same principle, it was a mistake to write 'La Légende des Siècles,' and Victor Hugo would have been better employed on composing a Homeric travesty for Mdlle. Schneider. So, again, the bar is condemned because its profits are carried off by a few leaders; and the profession of a teacher of rhetoric or grammar, because pupils are troublesome and parents stingy. Meanwhile, Juvenal, who had learnt to regard his literary life as a failure, was producing greater works than the wealthy amateur, Lucan, or the literary mechanic, Statius, precisely because he was not writing for amusement or for the profits of a rapid sale, but out of the depths of a burning indignation. The man's whole life, good and bad, is in his verse—personal disappointment and resentment, the scorn of whatever was foul and weak, the love of whatever was lofty and brave and Roman.

It can scarcely be doubted that Juvenal's Satires were written for recitation. We can still trace the passages in which the poet had introduced a deft allusion and paused for applause; those in which he had contrived a surprise, that almost loses its point with a reader; and those in which he varied his effects for different audiences by a choice of illustrations, any one of which could be dovetailed into the main structure of the poem. There were several ways in which a poet might recite. He might try to collect a crowd in a temple, or some other place of

public resort, or he might get the loan of a room from a wealthy patron, or he might wait to be asked at a private party. The contempt with which Juvenal alludes to the public reciter, the bitterness with which he speaks of dependence upon a patron for the mere use of a hall, are slight reasons for supposing that he addressed select audiences, invited probably by circular, and meeting under a roof. There is evidence that recitations were very frequent in Rome, and that the necessity of attending them was felt to be a grave social infliction. Pliny, who mentions on one occasion that there had been public readings every day in the month of April, lets us know that a great many hearers went reluctantly and did not stay out the reading, and apologises on another occasion for going himself, on the ground that he was repaying a friend for attentions of the same kind. Pliny, however, records also that during a time of political liberty, probably under Nerva or Trajan, recitations became popular, and men were found to recite three days running, and could get audiences to listen to them, not, he remarks, because there is more eloquence than there used to be, but because it is possible to write with greater freedom, and so with greater pleasure to oneself. Juvenal's Satires—teeming with allusions that would be caught up in a moment, and breathing the spirit of aristocratic feeling as it lingered in the best sets—are precisely the kind of literature that would be fashionable in such breathing-times as Pliny describes.

A poem written for recitation must, from the nature of the case, differ from a poem that is written to be read. It must be absolutely transparent. The reader may pause and think till he has mastered a subtle allusion or comprehended a deep thought more fully ; the hearer is justly impatient if he loses the thread of an argument and cannot recover it. Juvenal's very style is direct. When he is not making positive statements, every point of which may be concluded in two or three lines, he is either ejaculating or asking questions. Lest a point should be missed he repeats it, and accumulates illustration upon illustration. Like almost every trained public speaker, he will sooner have a faulty construction than fail to call up a complete image before the eye. In the first Satire, lines 40 and 41, beginning 'unciolam Proculeius habet,' and part of lines 60 and 61, beginning at 'nam lora tenebat,' are

parentheses which offend the taste as we read them. Juvenal was probably right in judging that the want of the 'callida juncturа' would not be perceived by a mixed audience, and that every fresh epigram added life and sparkle to his declamation. Latterly this vice of amplification grew upon him. In the thirteenth Satire he compares the prodigy of an honest man to (1) a boy, or (2) fishes turned up by the plough, or (3) to a mule that foals, or (4) to a shower of stones, or (5) to a swarm of bees pendant, or (6) to a river of milk. It is probable, as I have suggested above, that in some of these cases the lines were used interchangeably, so that the jaded sense of an accustomed audience might be quickened by novelty. The fault, however, belongs to the very texture of Juvenal's work. He had to write down to the level of what was after all a fashionable mob, in spite of its training in Greek literature and its political interests; and he could not trust himself to convey a simple thought in the adequacy of a simple expression.

There was another alternative to the arts of rhetoric. A poet might renounce the sense of proportion, and trust, like Lucan, to conceits that have the flavour of genius or, like Statius, to what Mr. Merivale has called 'the exquisite finish of successive periods.' The result, as we know, is that it is difficult to find a really weak line in the Pharsalia or the Thebais, and impossible to call either a great poem. There is the vice of unreality about both; obscure machinery, turgid metaphors, or the cultivated commonplace of poetic diction. Reading either poem we seem to understand why it was so possible to admire them unreservedly. As the faultless lines were rolled off one by one, they filled the room with a very grateful aroma of flowers from the tomb of Vergil. The right god interposed in the right place; the heroes fought like Achilles or Aeneas; the appropriate epithets for every supernatural power and every passion had been so happily varied, that the mind was never perplexed by novelty and never wearied by remembrance. Juvenal has not disdained a little of this art of literary mosaic. Here and there with a master's touch he interweaves a line or a word that recalls a Roman classic[1]. More often still he gives us a line or two of

[1] See for instance Satire vii. ll. 58, 62, and 66, referred by Mr. Lewis, I think rightly, to passages in Ovid, Horace, and Vergil.

heroic warmth, or calls up an idyll of country life, as if to show that he was poet as well as satirist. Habitually, however, he was careless of language for its own sake and of the prettinesses of language. It is his thought that makes his style and that determined his choice of a subject. It was his supreme merit to understand that the Aeneid—itself the result of learning and reflection rather than a poem of natural growth—was an experiment that could not be reproduced. Not caring to turn out literary rococo, and wishing to speak directly to the great world, he decided to talk of what the great world really cared about; the last scandal, the state of the times, the decay of the patrician order. He had to find the secret of attracting and keeping crowds together, in his vigour, his pungency, and in the skill with which he called up thoughts that it would have been dangerous to utter aloud, or that appealed to a vein of latent scepticism. Take the fifth Satire. It is imitated from Horace, and on the whole a dull one, but it is easy to note the places at which a tremour would have run through the listening crowd: the allusion to the wine which Thrasea and Helvidius used to drink garlanded; the comparison of the mushroom to that by which Claudius was poisoned; the mocking simile of Auster drying his wet wings in his dungeon-cave. Take again those often misunderstood lines of the first Satire, where the poet asks, 'whence are we to get back our fathers' old simplicity, whose name I do not dare to pronounce?' Is it difficult to understand how men just emancipated from a despotism would thrill as the word indicated by 'simplicitas'—the word which it had been dangerous to pronounce,—'libertas'—rose instinctively to every lip?

The danger of the rhetorical style is that in the hands of an inferior artist it becomes overloaded with ornament and excludes simplicity. The orator is alarmed lest he should seem to be putting cloth of gold upon cloth of frieze, and falls into the more perilous error of stringing together a collection of purple patches. A great public speaker avoids this by making his narrative or argumentative parts strong in a severe concision, and only now and again rising, as if under protest, to the point at which passion is appealed to. Juvenal not unfrequently is the first to laugh at his own vehemence. He recapitulates all the infamies of Rome, and says that indignation

inspires verses, 'such as I can write—or Cluvienus.' He turns from a vigorous apostrophe, recapitulating what the plebeian Decii and Numa had done, to a pithy suggestion that every patrician is descended from a shepherd or a felon. The noble burst with which the second Satire concludes is carried on with undiminished fire and elevation, till the poet arrives at the sentiment that the conquered nations have a severer morality than the conquerors. At that point it may well be that Juvenal was embarrassed by his own success. To complete the passage without declining into a platitude might seem as difficult as it has proved for modern art to determine how the missing arms of the Venus of Melos ought to be restored. Accordingly the satirist drops at once into a cynical sneer at a single degrading episode of contemporary scandal. It is noticeable that in the third and tenth Satires, which have been very carefully finished, this artifice is never employed, and it is less and less general in the later poems. There is an exception in the thirteenth Satire, where a fine picture of the bad man's questionings whether he may not risk offending the gods, since their mills grind slowly, is succeeded by a grotesque picture of the despoiled man's wrath and of the complaints hurled at heaven for its ineffectual justice. On the whole, the third Satire, with its equable flow and serene dignity, may be regarded as marking the highest level which Juvenal attained, and its success may seem conclusive against the rapid transitions of the other early Satires. It must be borne in mind, however, that as a rule the pieces first in order are superior to those which are supposed to be later in time, and the precise faults charged against these, a turgid declamatory diction and a stilted morality, may reasonably be held referable to the difficulties of keeping the style always intense.

The better side of eloquence comes out now and again when Juvenal animates a tame thought with a spirited apostrophe or a vivid illustration. Nothing can be more correct or unimpassioned than the sentiment that the tutor ought to take the place of the parent. In Juvenal's hands it is prefaced by two exquisite lines, wishing the wise ancestors who introduced the practice a light grave and fragrant daffodils and deathless spring in their urns. It is followed up by a playful image of Achilles shrinking from the rod under the care of a long-tailed

centaur. The vanity of life is a commonplace of the moralist, but was it ever condensed with such incisive strength as in the words of Naevolus, 'While we drink, while we call for garlands and perfumes and girls, old age is creeping up and we see it not'? Or again, were the lamentations of the jaded voluptuary ever more scornfully thrown back than in Juvenal's reply: 'Do not be afraid, as long as these hills stand you will never want a patron to employ profligacy?' Horace would have ended the fourth Satire with the breaking up of the council, whose members have deliberated over the best method of dishing up a turbot, as if it had been a question of saving Rome when the Sigambrian was outside the gates. Juvenal has his moral lesson to enforce, his rhetorical point to make, his high-born audience to please. After all, were not these trifles, he asks, better than the day when the tyrant plotted murders that remained unavenged as long as only the best blood of Rome flowed, and till all others trembled?

Supremely artistic by observation and in the choice of words, Juvenal had the quick eye of the sportsman and the soldier, and an instinct for using picturesque images and lines in which the sound is an echo to the sense. How many men of those days felt, as he did, that something of a divine presence had disappeared when the bubbling spring was walled about with marble instead of being left to its native sandstone and green turf? How many other men would have noticed the twittering of storks in the Temple of Concord, or would have thought of a garret as the place where pigeons built, or would have lingered over the picture of a country child hiding its face in its mother's lap as the actor grins through a whited mask, or would have understood the secret yearnings of the country boy to see once more his mother and the cottage home and the goats playing round it? When Persius wants to make the picture of death vivid, he gives us a medical description of the muddy complexion, the sluggish digestion, the convulsions that come on at meal time, the chattering teeth, and the morsel falling back untasted, till in due time he brings us to the dead man lying out anointed and with his feet pointed stiffly to the door. Juvenal scarcely pauses over the accident that crushes the plebeian out of life and recognition, but he calls up image after image of the household washing the dishes and blowing up the fire and pre-

paring the flesh-scrapers and the anointing oil, while the ghost of the unburied man sits shivering by the black river, and cannot pay its passage to the other side. Were it possible seriously to doubt that Juvenal wrote the tenth and the thirteenth Satires, scepticism would disappear before the traces of minute observation. The comparison of the old man fed by hand to the callow young of the swallow gaping for food; the reminiscence of the mother ape's wrinkled pouch; the allusion to the goitre, and the picture of the blue-eyed Germans with their yellow hair damped and twisted into curls, are authenticated by the sign-manual of the satirist who described Domitian's counsellors and who limned Hippia and Messalina. Sometimes a single vigorous word is a picture and an epigram in itself. Scorn cannot well go further than in the epithet of 'rosined youth' (like the 'gommeux' of modern Paris), and the conception of the high windows which call up a cloud before the eye that looks down from them, is wonderfully rendered in the single word 'caligantes.' No doubt something must be set down to the fashion of the time, which affected literary bric-a-brac, and delighted to take words moulded by Cicero or Caesar from the provincial idioms if they were expressive and sounded well. In Juvenal, however, the language is never in excess of the thought, and we must set it down to his country training or to something in his temperament that anticipated the modern Italian, if he employs homely terms redolent of the farm[1], and diminutives such as flow naturally from a Tuscan or Roman of to-day[2]. It is more difficult to prove that Juvenal, in his absolute command of metre, now and then contrived that a cadence should suggest a thought. On a matter of this kind the ear is the only judge, and it is not infallible. Three passages may serve as an illustration of what is meant. One is a line that describes a short woman standing up on tip-toe to be kissed:

'Et levis exserta consurgit ad oscula planta.'

Another is a passage that describes the hurry and tumult in a house that has taken fire:

[1] Caballus, russeus, potestas for magistrate (podestà), scrofa, olla, etc.

[2] Rancidulus, lividulus, candidulus, pallidulus, parvulus, pellicula, foculus, nutricula, flammeolum, fraterculus, virguncula, hortulus, igniculus, tomacula.

'Iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant.'

In a third the fate of Gaius Silius seems indicated by the heavy fall of the line:

'Rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis.'

Mr. Lewis in a very forcible passage has pointed out that Juvenal is of all ancient authors the most distinctly modern; that his pictures are like those of Hogarth; and that he has often been imitated by modern writers, such as Boileau and Johnson. It will be found that the notes of a modern style which belong to Juvenal are straightforwardness, minute observation, the love of sharp contrasts, and the trick of disguising moral earnestness in irreligious language. Banter, humour, sly irony are as alien to Juvenal's temperament as broad farce to his subjects. He is trying to teach truths, not to paint pictures; and if every dozen lines are rich with imagery or suggestions of city life and household scenes, it is because the man who walked Rome with his heart boiling at what he saw took in every group and gesture and act that had a moral significance. It is, however, in the exaggerations, so to speak, of his style, and its apparent profanities, that Juvenal is more English than Italian, and more American than English. 'Orestes did not murder his wife and sister, did not poison his relatives, did not write a bad poem.' Admitting the point of view from which a Roman regarded an exhibition of bad taste and folly in a ruler of men, there can be no doubt that Juvenal meant to startle the imagination by the violence of his comparison. American wit abounds in sharp contrasts of this sort, as, for instance, when Mr. Lowell declares that if he happens to see a slaughterer on his way home from his day's work, 'forthwith my imagination puts a cocked hat upon his head and epaulettes upon his shoulders and sets him up as a candidate for the Presidency.' So again with Juvenal's suggestion that there may once have been chastity in the world, but that it was before Jupiter got his beard: what is this but a classical anticipation of

'They did not know everything down in Judee?'

Because Juvenal had the Puritan fibre and lived in a world of his own, where morality was the only real existence, he could afford to jest with his own creed in a spirit of confident faith.

Those who have thoroughly apprehended that Juvenal only employed literary art to enhance moral teaching, will understand one of his worst defects, that he is apt to repeat himself. In the eighth Satire, to take a single instance, there is an attack on the patrician who loves horseflesh, which seems expanded from the first Satire; an attack on Gracchus which had been more vigorously given in the second; and a parallel between Cicero and Catilina, which was afterwards worked up for second use in the tenth Satire. It may be the fault of a manuscript that the same lines are sometimes used more than once, as in the famous instance of the apostrophe to Fortune (x. 355–6; xiv. 315, 316); but it cannot well be accident when the same thought reappears, as in the case of the unequal penalties meted out to sin in this world (xi. 176-8; xiii. 104–5), or where the poet declares that the catalogue of a lady's adulteries is too long to be told (x. 220; xiv. 26–28). If Juvenal had cared only for perfection of form, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have avoided this recurrence of thoughts and illustrations. Gracchus cannot have been the only noble who disgraced himself; and there were of course other instances of patrician vice and plebeian virtue besides Catilina and Cicero. What the poet was really concerned with, however, was not the form of his teaching but its essence, and he was indifferent to iteration if one particular example happened to be the best of its kind. The same reason explains Juvenal's comparative deficiency in humour. With his keen perception of foibles and ready sense of the ridiculous, it might seem that he ought to have rivalled Horace; but even in the fourth Satire, where the subject is purely comic, Juvenal's grim earnest gets the better of him. The picture of the trembling Counsellors of State, called in to deliberate how a turbot shall be cooked, is made so sombre that instead of laughing at their cowardice we recoil from their baseness or shudder at their wickedness. The mellow Crispus, who did not stake his life upon honest speech, Crispinus reeking of balsam almost as foully as two corpses, and Pompey who could slit throats by a

piping whisper, are all such figures as Michael Angelo might have designed for a group in hell.

It would be interesting to know how far the names in Juvenal correspond to real characters and to actual passages of history. There are many courses open to the satirist. He may describe a real personage under a false name, as Dryden painted Shaftesbury in Achitophel and Shadwell in Og, with such life-like traits, that the subject of the portrait has never been doubted, and that it seems impossible to suppose the artist could have denied the purpose of his handiwork. Should this course appear hazardous, he may play, so to speak, with two personalities, the real character at which his shafts are aimed, and a person of somewhat similar traits, to whom special lines will have reference, and who on occasion may bear the burden of the whole. Pope constantly employed this method. His Atossa is primarily the Duchess of Marlborough, but was fitted with a few lines that were better applicable to the Duchess of Buckingham. His Timon was the Duke of Chandos, but the description of Canons was purposely mixed up with reminiscences of Blenheim. Pope had another favourite artifice. He would attack the same person under separate names. Mr. Wortley Montagu, whose brilliant wife had offended the poet by laughing at him, was scarified as Shylock, and as Avidienus; while Lady Mary, habitually Sappho, was made Lesbia in a first edition of the Third Moral Epistle, because the allusion was so brutal, that it seemed safer to reserve the power of disowning it. Then again, the poet may actually wish to attack a vice or folly rather than a person, and may so employ a name consecrated to a particular use without any covert allusion to friend or enemy. The Zoilus of Martial in some epigrams, and the Helluo of Pope, are obvious instances of this use. On the other hand, Lord Lytton wrote freely of his contemporaries by name in the New Timon and in St. Stephen's, using sometimes as great a license as was consistent with the exigencies of modern society. The question will naturally arise, whether Juvenal habitually described real personages under their own names, or employed fictitious names out of scorn for small offenders, or in dread of the law, if he gibbeted the great. No one can suppose that there was unlimited liberty for an author

under the Empire. In the introduction to the 'Dialogus de Oratoribus,' Tacitus introduces the friends of Curiatius Maternus as solicitous lest he should have offended the powers that be, by exhibiting too much of the aristocratic spirit in a tragedy of Cato, which he had just recited. As far back as the time of the Decemvirs libels on private persons were punished with the forfeiture of civil rights, and even a man of patrician birth like Veiento was banished under Nero for composing pasquinades on men of good family and priests, while his books were hunted out and burned. We are tempted to wonder what the sin of Veiento can have been, when Juvenal and Martial employed such unbounded license; Martial with complete impunity, and earning the praise of Pliny as a witty and bitter, but frank writer (Epist. iii. 21), while Juvenal, so far as we know, only suffered because he glanced at a courtly favourite. We are led to ask how far the Roman world, as we know it through these men, was real or imaginary. Was it really safe to bring charges of nameless immorality, of corruption, of sordid avarice, or of foul degradation against high and low? were these sins so much matter of course that to be reproached with them carried no sting? or are the names we read in the Satires only names indeed such as no man could apply to himself?

The reply to the last of these questions must be that Juvenal almost certainly dealt for the most part with real persons under their own names. We are singularly rich in personal notices of the latter half of the first century, so far as Rome is concerned. Martial, Pliny, Tacitus, and Suetonius, together with Juvenal, give us many hundred names: and a great many of the notices complete or correct one another. If we take the Satires collectively, it will appear that something like two-thirds of the persons, alluded to as contemporaries, are known to us more or less certainly from another source: for instance, seventeen out of twenty in the first Satire: twenty-five out of thirty-seven in the seventh: and fourteen out of twenty-three in the eighth; and half of the names of which we are ignorant are those of obscure persons, like Corinthus, the bad actor, or Serranus, the neglected poet. It may be a question whether Juvenal was justified in saying that the actor Latinus sacrificed his wife Thymele to propitiate an informer, but no one can doubt that there were

such persons as Latinus and Thymele, who finds them coupled by Martial in verses to the Emperor, or who reads Martial's epitaph on Latinus. Sometimes the notices in one author are almost completely contradictory of those in another, while it is yet impossible to doubt that both are referring to the same person. There was a certain Marcus Regulus whom Pliny detested as a bad man, the flatterer of Domitian, and perhaps regarded with some envy as a successful lawyer. He had risen from being a poor man to be the possessor of an enormous fortune, and had gardens on the suburban side of the Tiber which were remarkable for the extent of their colonnades and the number of their statues. To Pliny, Regulus was a charlatan whose only real talents were his unbounded impudence, and a capacity for making himself conspicuous in whatever he took in hand. A bad utterance, a stammer, a slow invention, and a defective memory are freely charged against him; he is declared to be a shameless legacy-hunter, if not a forger of wills: and a craven superstition completes the baseness of his character. When Regulus loses his son, Pliny hints a doubt whether the father is really distressed at the loss, as he comes into an inheritance by it, and declares that the funeral obsequies are merely an ostentatious advertisement. In Martial, we find Regulus commemorated as the pious man, who had escaped in a dangerous accident because Fortune could not have borne the discredit of his loss: as the lawyer who rivalled Cicero, and whose escort of grateful clients was unsurpassed; as the sympathetic lover of letters, to whom a book would naturally be sent: and as the liberal patron, who would respond readily to a hint of need. Of the son, Martial tells us that he would leave his mother for his father, and while quite a child gloried in the father's fame. There is something so positive in Pliny's charges, that it is difficult not to suppose they were partially justified, while Martial's praises mean little more than what Pliny would have admitted, that Regulus was a successful and rich man, of pretentious piety. Had not Regulus found it worth his while to propitiate the poet, he might have been commemorated in epigrams that Pliny would have enjoyed. Still, a comparison of the two characters must deepen our regret that the writers of this time are so

predominantly of one little aristocratic clique, and reflect only its approvals and its animosities.

Assuming it to be established that Juvenal dealt habitually with real men and women, that a large license against private persons was tolerated, and that we may give him credit for being as one-sided as either Pliny or Martial, it remains to enquire if we can determine anything about the persons he notices. In the first place, it is noticeable that he is at home in Martial's world rather than in Pliny's. The names common to Pliny and Juvenal, except perhaps Lateranus, are part of general history, such as Marius, Veiento, and Pallas. Pliny's correspondents and friends however belong to an inner circle of nobility, which did not perhaps include the highest names, and which has a certain note of provincialism, but which was distinguished enough to be outside censure or praise. It was Juvenal's place to propitiate this society, and where he mentions a patrician, we may be sure that, if it is not done reverently and tenderly, the person noticed had forfeited the good-will of the order by misconduct or by eccentricity. All who had bowed the knee to Nero or to Domitian were undoubtedly fair game. If the Laronia of the second Satire is the high-handed old lady who detained Martial's slave forcibly, we may probably assume that she was something of a public character at Rome from her outspokenness, and did not object to being talked about. The prominence which Juvenal gives to Crispinus in the first and fourth Satires seems a little wonderful. This man was not important enough to be mentioned by Pliny, by Suetonius, or, so far as we know, by Tacitus. The unimportant notices of him in Martial, who wanted to enlist his good offices with the emperor, only tell us that he wore a purple cloak which suited his complexion, and that he was a favourite of Domitian, who was likely to pay regard to his recommendations. In Juvenal, Crispinus is not only the offensive Egyptian upstart, the effeminate dandy, and the extravagant epicure, but he is a monster without a single redeeming virtue! We may perhaps explain the furious invective of the fourth Satire, if we assume that Juvenal was alluding to the seduction of a Vestal Virgin by Nero and to Domitian's intercourse with his niece, when he attacked Crispinus for an intrigue of doubtful authenticity with

a Vestal; and that though under Nerva it was safe in a general way to assail dead tyrants, the satirist was still expected to refrain from unmistakeable notice of private scandals affecting members of the Imperial family. If this explanation be insufficient, we have to fall back upon the supposition of a private grudge; and it would not be satisfactory to think that Juvenal allowed so much space to personal resentment, nor is it altogether credible that his hearers would have welcomed or permitted such an attack on a man of no general account. Either Crispinus must have been more important for a time than we dream; or some one more powerful must have been assailed under the name of Crispinus.

Not only were Juvenal and Martial members of very much the same social circles, but they were friends: and, though their friendship was interrupted for a moment by the tongue of a slanderer, it seems to have been renewed in its old vigour. Neither can it be doubtful to anyone who has studied the two authors that the resemblances of thought and style are too great to be altogether accidental, and imply that one is now and again expanding a thought of the other's, or repeating a phrase which has passed into the popular dialect of the salons. As a general rule it would seem to be Juvenal who drew upon Martial's more prolific literary vein, or copied his workmanship. The third Satire turns upon three ideas; that it is impossible for an honest man to live at Rome, that it is impossible for a literary man to work there, and that the country offers the advantages which Rome denies; this last being a theme which Juvenal handled afterwards more fully in the eleventh Satire. Three epigrams of Martial might almost serve as summaries of a great part of the poem[1]; and these three might be supplemented from many parallel passages of the society writer. Expressions such as the 'Di faciles' of the tenth Satire[2], or the

[1] 'Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore verus,
Quid tibi vis, urbem qui Fabiane petis?' &c. (Epig. iv. 5).

'Nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi
In urbe locus est pauperi,' &c. (Epig. xii. 57).

'Accepit, mea rusticumque fecit Bilbilis' (Epig. xii. 18).

[2] Martial xii. 6.

allusion to the mushroom with which Claudius was poisoned in the fifth, are deliberate borrowings by one of two writers from the other. Unquestionably, there are great differences of method, reflecting an essential diversity of character between the two men. Martial found it possible to praise Domitian unsparingly, while Juvenal incurred the wrath of 'the bald Nero,' whom he attacked when it was no longer fatal to do so. It is probably just to say that Martial was unblushingly servile, and that it was against the grain with Juvenal to bestow a few lines of sparing praise on an Emperor who patronized letters. Both Juvenal and Martial were compelled to pay court to nobles; but Martial did it with tact, never forgetting that he attended at many levees, or thundering against the bearers of great names, and Martial was able accordingly to retire upon a competence; Juvenal on the other hand found it congenial to put the infamy of bad men with patrician names into undying verse, and had to learn that the circles which had condemned Gracchus or Lateranus, and which applauded the verses at rehearsal, secretly bore a grudge against the satirist, or dreaded lest they themselves should be the next scourged. There is the same difference perceptible in their treatment of literary men. Martial has his antipathies against the bore who insists on reciting to him, or the rival who taxes him with being improper or prolix; but his habitual tone is of genial admiration for everyone who was worth conciliating. He compares Silius Africanus, whom judges like Pliny condemned already, to Vergil; he repeatedly praises Pedo; he delicately couples the name of Canius Rufus with those of Phaedrus and Sophocles; and he has a good word even for the Greek poets of the day. Juvenal, who, as a realist, was of the same school as Martial, did not care to conceal his contempt for the versifiers of Greek legend, and only speaks of Statius as a writer who captivated the mob; leaving us in doubt whether he shared the general admiration for the 'genial Thebais' with its 'pleasant tones.' Above all, Martial is careful never to attack a powerful body such as the foreigners settled in Rome undoubtedly were; Juvenal's invectives against Greeks and Egyptians must have exposed him to many enmities. Where the two poets are alike is in certain common topics that they have; the dislike of arrogant or

stingy patrons, the scorn of legacy-hunters, and a disposition to charge the neglect of merit and the pursuit of vice on Rome, while they affected a love for the country which they did not feel. Once or twice, Martial seems to kindle with a little of Juvenal's elevated warmth. The epigram in which Maximus is told that he may be a free man if he has the strength of mind to live in a cottage, dine at home, and despise the accidents of wealth (ii. 53), is almost worthy to have found a place in the Satires. Habitually however Martial was not capable of the great style. His realism is that of a Satyr, who delights in nudity because it admits of impure suggestions; while Juvenal's realism is that of a censor, who strips away the dress to expose the secret shame, and lay on the lash. Neither did Martial affect to despise life. He regarded the Stoic's contempt for it as the shallow affectation of a man who was too poor for enjoyment (xi. 56). It is impossible to doubt that Juvenal was genuinely austere, and became more and more so as he grew in years. To him the roses and the ointment were never more than a trifling accident of fortune, and the purpose that dignifies life was the only reality.

That Martial should have addressed three epigrams to his friend, while Juvenal never throws a word of praise to the epigrammatist, is reasonably explicable in a very simple manner. The name of Martial did not lend itself to the hexameter. How serious a consideration this was we know from the epigram in which Martial commemorates an unknown friend as Hippodamus, because his real name was ungrateful to the Muses; while in another instance, Martial repeats the actual name in two ways, each of which involves a false quantity, in order to show the impossibility of celebrating it. It may perhaps be added, that Juvenal's friendships and literary taste were formed, in all likelihood, when he was a young man, practising declamation. He speaks of Vergil with genuine admiration, and Gehlen[1] has collected a number of passages which show the influence of Vergil's style on the Satires or which are reminiscences of Vergil's turns of phrase. His real enthusiasm, however, is for Demosthenes, for Cicero, and for Quintilian;

[1] 'De Juvenale Vergilii imitatore.' J. Gehlen, Göttingen.

and his sympathy with Secundus Carrinas and Palaemon is, to say the least, more effusive than that which he lavishes on the unsuccessful poets, Serranus and Saleius. It is curious to find a man who was a rhetorician by training, by predilection, and to a great degree by habit of mind, and who yet failed to make his mark till he confined his oratory within the unnatural limits of the hexameter; whose unquestionable genius did not raise him to the first rank in the Forum, and yet assured him immortality in the work that he found uncongenial and never quite mastered.

It remains only to notice Juvenal's influence upon modern literature. The poet in whom he most completely lives again is Dryden, who translated five of the Satires (i, iii, vi, x and xvi). Dryden has the same vigour of expression, and a similar earnestness of tone, but seems to want the light touches which relieve Juvenal's shadows. Whenever we take a parallel passage we shall be conscious that the Roman poet, with all his austerity, is the truer artist. Dryden tells us of the Egyptian gods,

> 'Such savoury deities must needs be good
> As served at once for worship and for food.'

Juvenal remarks with quiet scorn,

> 'O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
> Numina.'

Compare again the coarse positivism of the description of

> 'Bull-faced Jonas who could statutes draw
> To mean rebellion, and make treason law'

with the incomparable picture of

> 'Saevior illo
> Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro.'

On the other hand, Juvenal has shown no capacity for limning such exquisite portraits of character as Dryden has left us in the descriptions of Achitophel and Zimri. In matters of that sort, Dryden was the dramatic poet, thinking out the man in his innermost thoughts and extravagant caprices, while Juvenal was nothing more than the moralist declaiming against an incarnate vice. Just the half-finished sketches of Crispus and Catullus

remain to attest a power upon which its possessor never really drew; but Crispinus, Oppia, Sejanus, Messalina pass before us as shadowy and unsubstantial as the personified miseries of Vergil's hell, 'Metus et malesuada Fames et turpis Egestas.'

While Dryden, as a satirist, was the Juvenal of an English court, Boileau, with less real power and even less literary art, was paraphrasing some of the best Satires, the third, the sixth, and the eighth. By cutting up the third into two (1 and 6) and separating the description of the corruptions of town life from that of its discomforts, Boileau throws into strong and exaggerated relief the trivial scenes which in Juvenal serve as a foil to the intensity of moral declamation. It is however in the imitation of the eighth (Sat. v.) that Boileau's weakness is best seen. Boileau tells us in fourteen tedious lines (57 sqq.) that were you the descendant of Hercules and withal a man of no account, the ancestral honours are 'mere chimaeras;' 'I see nothing in you but a coward, an impostor, a traitor, a villain, a deceiver, a liar, a fool whose fits resemble madness, and a rotten branch of a very illustrious trunk.' Bathos can hardly go further, and the general feebleness is not redeemed even by the comparative vigour of one couplet:

> 'Et tout ce grand éclat de leur gloire ternie
> Ne sert plus que de jour à votre ignominie.'

Juvenal is better than Boileau at his best in the parallel passage:

> 'Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
> Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.'

But above all Juvenal's fertility is conspicuous. He does not amass epithets, but he multiplies pictures of patrician degeneracy, and calls up vivid illustrations of what the real nobles had been by whom the greatness of Rome grew. Even where Boileau is at his happiest he never rises to the nervous energy of his model.

> 'Je ne puis rien nommer, si ce n'est par son nom;
> J'appelle un chat un chat, et Rolet un fripon' (Sat. i. 51)

is wittier but scarcely so powerful as the

> 'Quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio,'

from which it is expanded. Where Boileau has the advantage is in dealing with the lighter and more sportive aspects of human weakness. To Juvenal it was sufficiently comic, that the learned lady should weigh Homer and Vergil in the balance [1]. Boileau by a charming refinement makes his 'précieuse' compare Vergil and Chapelain, remark a great many defects in Vergil, and find no fault in Chapelain, except that it is impossible to read him [2]. Then again Boileau, the contemporary of Molière, had the advantage of living in an age which had detected, though it did not create, the religious hypocrite, and his description of the priest-governed woman is not only deeper and more vivid than Juvenal's of the votary of Isis, but opens up a new world in the human heart.

On the whole it is surely justifiable to say that Juvenal with all his faults stands in the very front rank of satirists, and was the one true poet of his own day.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

Satire ix.

[2] 'Ne trouve en Chapelain, quoi qu'ait dit la Satire,
Autre défaut, sinon qu'on ne le saurait lire,
Et pour faire goûter son livre à l'Univers
Croit qu'il faudrait en prose y mettre tous les vers.'

PECULIARITIES OF JUVENAL'S STYLE.

THE peculiarities of Juvenal's style seem to be those of a rhetorician intent on producing an effect upon his audience. In addressing the ear even more than the eye it is the part of the author to remember that he must be both vivid and intelligible. The effect of vividness can be produced among other means, by that of striking usages in language, such as similes, metaphors, transferred epithets, &c.: to be intelligible, a reciter or speaker must employ amplifications and repetitions.

The most striking of Juvenal's stylistic mannerisms seem to be the following[1]:—

I. Frequent use of transferred epithets: cf.

i. 57 *vigilanti stertere naso.*
ii. 170 *mores praetextati.*
iii. 275 *fenestrae vigiles.*
v. 158 *plorante gula.*
x. 113 *sicca morte.*
xiii. 32 *vocalis sportula.*
„ 93 *irato sistro.*
„ 96 *locupletem podagram.*
„ 99 *esuriens ramus.*
xiv. 10 *cana gula.*

II. Enumerations, which when listened to might prove effective, but seem somewhat tedious when read, cf. ii. 153–155; iii. 69, 70, 75, 76, 79, 99, 120, 138, 216–220; vi. 39, 40; vii. 190–192; xiii. 23–25.

III. *Sententiae* or general maxims, many of which it was the custom to condemn as spurious, but which are now generally admitted into the text. Cf. vi. 50, 51, 112, 562, 626; vii. 145; viii. 124; x. 112, 113, 187; xi. 99; xiii. 166.

[1] Cf. Smit, Annotatio in Saturas, Dotecomiae, 1886. Juvénal, Etude par M. Guérin, Paris, 1887.

IV. Rhetorical questions, which (*a*) sometimes suggest their own natural answer, (*b*) and sometimes are answered by the poet. Both of these are so common that it seems needless to enumerate many illustrative passages: but cf. as instances of (*a*) i. 1–6, 63; iv. 69; of (*b*) v. 24, 156, 157.

V. Tautologies (*a*) in sentiments, cf. i. 113, 114; iii. 23, 24; vii. 48, 49; (*b*) tautologies consisting in the repetition of a single word, ii. 34; iii. 3, 135, 136; xi. 143.

VI. The very frequent use of periphrases, many of which suggest the object or person by a literary allusion; cf. i. 20 *Auruncae alumnus*, 51 *Venusina digna lucerna*; iii. 25 *fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas*; v. 45 *iuvenis praelatus Iarbae*; xvi. 6 *et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena.*

VIII. The undue development of one portion of his subject in which the accessory idea is dwelt upon, to the detriment of the effect of the whole. Cf. Sat. xiv. 240, where the word *Thebes* suggests a legend connected with its name, but adding little to the force of the passage. Cf. too Sat. xii. 91, where the ten verses that follow *hecatomben* seem useless as far as the thought goes.

IX. The constant use of diminutives. These have been treated of in Mayor's edition in a note on Sat. x. 173, where a list of them is given. As instances we may take Sat. i. 11 *pellicula*; iii. 102 *igniculus*; iv. 98 *fraterculus gigantis*; v. 75 *improbulus*. See Roby's Grammar, i. §§ 319-330.

D. IUNII IUVENALIS

SATURARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

I.

Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?
nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
semper et assiduo ruptae lectore columnae:
expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret; stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, perituraе parcere chartae.
cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,

per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum
figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma;
patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat;
cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias umero revocante lacernas,
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum
nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
difficile est saturam non scribere. nam quis iniquae
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici
et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino?
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
quid referam, quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,
cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
iudicio? (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras.
haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas
aut Diomedeas aut mugitum labyrinthi
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis,
qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer Automedon? nam lora tenebat
ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae.

nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadruvio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator, falso qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?
occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
instituitque rudes melior Lucusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquid. probitas laudatur et alget.
criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum,
qualemcunque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.
ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.
et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando
hos animos? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
armigero! simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto cenavit avus? nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.
ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas:

agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenas (nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum:) 'da praetori, da deinde tribuno.'
sed libertinus prior est. 'prior,' inquit, 'ego adsum.
cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae
quadringenta parant. quid confert purpura maior
optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis?' expectent ergo tribuni,
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori,
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis,
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas, etsi funesta pecunia templo
nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax atque Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
et panis fumusque domi? densissima centum
quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
languida vel praegnas et circumducitur uxor.
hic petit absenti nota iam callidus arte,
ostendens vacuam et clusam pro coniuge sellam.
'Galla mea est,' inquit, 'citius dimitte. moraris?
profer Galla caput! noli vexare, quiescet.'
ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches.
vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.

optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat istas
luxuriae sordes? quanta est gula, quae sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!
poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus,
et nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas:
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas; eadem facient cupientque minores,
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit; utere velis,
totos pande sinus. dices hic forsitan: 'unde
ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet
simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen?
"quid refert, dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?"
pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducis harena.'
qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciet nos?
'cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum:
accusator erit qui verbum dixerit "hic est."
securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus:
ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
inde irae et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo voluta
haec animo ante tubas. galeatum sero duelli

paenitet.' experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

III.

Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae;
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum assiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?
sed dum tota domus raeda componitur una,
substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudaeis, quorum cophinus fenumque supellex;
omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
arbor, et eiectis mendicat silva Camenis.
in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas
dissimiles veris. quanto praesentius esset
numen aquis, viridi si margine cluderet undas
herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum!
hic tunc Umbricius 'quando artibus,' inquit, 'honestis
nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
res hodie minor est, here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,
dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
cedamus patria. vivant Artorius istic

et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
quis facile est aedem conducere flumina portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae,
munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgus
quem iubet occidunt populariter; inde reversi
conducunt foricas, et cur non? omnia cum sint,
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.
quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera numquam
inspexi; ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norunt alii; me nemo ministro
fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
mancus et extincta, corpus non utile, dextra.
quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?
nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet umquam,
participem qui te secreti fecit honesti;
carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult
accusare potest. tanti tibi non sit opaci
omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.
quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris,
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
nec pudor obstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem; quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum

vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas:
rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
et ceromatico fert niceteria collo!
hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede, quid illum
esse putes? quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens: in caelum, iusseris, ibit.
in summa, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax,
qui sumpsit pinnas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
horum ego non fugiam conchylia? me prior ille
signabit fultusque toro meliore recumbet,
advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento?
usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
hausit Aventini baca nutrita Sabina?
quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat, quo mordetur gallina marito?
haec eadem licet et nobis laudare; sed illis
creditur. an melior, cum Thaida sustinet aut cum
uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
cultam palliolo? mulier nempe ipsa videtur.
nec tamen Antiochus nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,

accipit endromidem; si dixeris "aestuo," sudat.
non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus,
si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.
et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae.
stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum
discipulumque senex ripa nutritus in illa,
ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus,
qui gentis vitio numquam partitur amicum,
solus habet; nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem
exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi
servitii; nusquam minor est iactura clientis.
quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum
filius; alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
accipiunt, donat Calvinae vel Catienae.
da testem Romae tam sanctum, quam fuit hospes
numinis Idaei, procedat vel Numa vel qui
servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam:
protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
quaestio. "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
iugera? quam multa magnaque paropside cenat?"
quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
tantum habet et fidei. iures licet et Samothracum
et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper

creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix?
nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculos homines facit. "exeat," inquit,
"si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
cuius res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
lenonum pueri quocumque e fornice nati,
hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae;"
sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni.
quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
quando in consilio est aedilibus? agmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.
haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
res angusta domi, sed Romae durior illis
conatus: magno hospitium miserabile, magno
servorum ventres, et frugi cenula magno.
fictilibus cenare pudet, quod turpe negabis
translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo.
pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. ipsa dierum
festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
maiestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
orchestram et populum, clari velamen honoris
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
hic ultra vires habitus nitor, hic aliquid plus

quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
commune id vitium est, hic vivimus ambitiosa
paupertate omnes. quid te moror? omnia Romae
cum pretio. quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
ut te respiciat cluso Veiento labello?
ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati;
plena domus libis venalibus. accipe et istud
fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.
quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam,
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis, aut
simplicibus Gabiis, aut proni Tiburis arce?
nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui: nam sic labentibus obstat
vilicus, et veteris rimae cum texit hiatum,
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant:
tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex,
ornamentum abaci, nec non et parvulus infra
cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiro,
iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
nil habuit Codrus—quis enim negat?—et tamen illud
perdidit infelix totum nihil. ultimus autem
aerumnae cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.
si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor.
tunc gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet,

conferat impensas: hic nuda et candida signa,
hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,
phaecasiatorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
hic modium argenti. meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
si potes avelli circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenues plantas facili defunditur haustu.
vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu,
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando; sed ipsum
languorem peperit cibus imperfectus et haerens
ardenti stomacho; nam quae meritoria somnum
admittunt? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe.
inde caput morbi. raedarum transitus arto
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.

si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburno,
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus;
namque facit somnum clusa lectica fenestra.
ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus obstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam;
pinguia crura luto; planta mox undique magna
calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
nonne vides, quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.

Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
impositas capiti, quas recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
scinduntur tunicae sartae modo, longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur.
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest e corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto.
haec inter pueros varie properantur; at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea, nec sperat cenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.
respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
quod spatium tectis sublimibus unde cerebrum
testa ferit, quotiens rimosa et curta fenestris
vasa cadant, quanto percussum pondere signent
et laedant silicem. possis ignavus haberi
et subiti casus improvidus, ad cenam si
intestatus eas: adeo tot fata, quot illa
nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit,
dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus;
ergo non aliter poterit dormire, quibusdam
somnum rixa facit. sed quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens, cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas.

me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,
contemnit. miserae cognosce prooemia rixae,
si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
stat contra starique iubet. parere necesse est;
nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
fortior? "unde venis?" exclamat; "cuius aceto,
cuius conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
nil mihi respondes? aut dic, aut accipe calcem!
ede, ubi consistas! in qua te quaero proseucha?"
dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
tantumdem est, feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
irati faciunt. libertas pauperis haec est;
pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat,
ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
nec tamen haec tantum metuas. nam qui spoliet te
non derit, clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem;
armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus,
sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae?
maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas, ne
vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
his alias poteram et plures subnectere causas.
sed iumenta vocant et sol inclinat, eundum est.
nam mihi commota iamdudum mulio virga
annuit. ergo vale nostri memor, et quotiens te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam

converte a Cumis: saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.'

IV.

Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
deliciae: viduas tantum spernatur adulter.
quid refert igitur, quantis iumenta fatiget
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.
sed nunc de factis levioribus—et tamen alter
si fecisset idem, caderet sub iudice morum;
nam quod turpe bonis, Titio Seioque, decebat
Crispinum: quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni
crimine persona est? mullum sex milibus emit,
aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
ut perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur.
consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi;
est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae,
quae vehitur cluso latis specularibus antro.
nil tale expectes; emit sibi. multa videmus,
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. hoc tu,
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro,
hoc pretio squamam? potuit fortasse minoris
piscator quam piscis emi; provincia tanti
vendit agros, sed maiores Apulia vendit.
quales tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus
induperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem

exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae.
purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros?
incipe, Calliope. licet et considere: non est
cantandum, res vera agitur. narrate, puellae
Pierides. prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.
cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
incidit Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
implevitque sinus; nec enim minor haeserat illis,
quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
destinat hoc monstrum cumbae linique magister
pontifici summo. quis enim proponere talem
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo
delatore forent? dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat: donabitur ergo,
ne pereat. iam letifero cedente pruinis
autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris,
stridebat deformis hiemps praedamque recentem
servabat: tamen hic properat, velut urgueat auster.
utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres.

itur ad Atriden. tum Picens 'accipe,' dixit,
'privatis maiora focis; genialis agatur
iste dies; propera stomachum laxare sagina,
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum;
ipse capi voluit.' quid apertius? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae. nihil est quod credere de se
non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
sed derat pisci patinae mensura. vocantur
ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
pallor amicitiae. primus, clamante Liburno
'currite, iam sedit!' rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi.
anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque
interpres legum sanctissimus omnia, quamquam
temporibus diris, tractanda putabat inermi
iustitia. venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saevitiam damnare et honestum afferre liceret
consilium? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
ille igitur numquam direxit bracchia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.
sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit
solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata; sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis.
profuit ergo nihil misero, quod comminus ursos

figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
venator. quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias? quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato imponere regi.
nec melior vultu, quamvis ignobilis, ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
et tamen improbior saturam scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,
et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
quantum vix redolent duo funera; saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,
et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa,
et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae.
nemo magis rhombum stupuit: nam plurima dixit
in laevum conversus; at illi dextra iacebat
belua. sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
omen habes,' inquit, 'magni clarique triumphi:
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus. peregrina est belua, cernis
erectas in terga sudes?' hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
'quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?' 'absit ab illo
dedecus hoc,' Montanus ait. 'testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus;
argillam atque rotam citius properate! sed ex hoc

tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'
vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet. nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea: Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu;
et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
surgitur, et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna.
atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo!
sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

V.

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra;
si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi.
ventre nihil novi frugalius. hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo:
nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior? tantine iniuria cenae?
tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini?

primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus; imputat hunc rex
et quamvis rarum tamen imputat. ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
'una simus' ait. votorum summa. quid ultra
quaeris? habet Trebius, propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore, quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.
qualis cena tamen! vinum, quod sucida nolit
lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.
iurgia proludunt; sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa,
inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona.
ipse capillato diffusum consule potat
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico;
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae,
quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullos
Virro tenet phiala: tibi non committitur aurum,
vel si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem,
qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
da veniam, praeclara illi laudatur iaspis;
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.
tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem

siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro.
si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:
non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar?
vos aliam potatis aquam. tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:
flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus,
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities. nescit tot milibus emptus
pauperibus miscere puer: sed forma, sed aetas
digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille?
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
quodque aliquid poscas, et quod se stante recumbas.
maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae,
quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum:
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine factus
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
salva sit artoptae reverentia. finge tamen te
improbulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat:
'vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?'
'scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo!'
aspice, quam longo distinguat pectore lancem,
quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta

asparagis qua despiciat convivia cauda,
dum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri:
sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur, exigua feralis cena patella.
ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic, qui
pallidus affertur misero tibi, caulis olebit
lanternam; illud enim vestris datur alveolis, quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,
quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris.
mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc
quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
gurgite de Siculo; nam dum se continet Auster,
dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,
contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim:
vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.
ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
'nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria: solum
poscimus, ut cenes civiliter; hoc fac et esto,
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.'
anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
fumat aper; post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver

tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
maiores. 'tibi habe frumentum,' Alledius inquit,
'o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
duceris planta, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis
pocula? quis vestrum temerarius, usque adeo quis
perditus, ut dicat regi 'bibe'? plurima sunt, quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus,
ex nihilo quantus fieres Virronis amicus!
'da Trebio! pone ad Trebium! vis frater ab ipsis
ilibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis fratres. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo;
iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat simul, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
afferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.
vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,

credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:
tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.
forsitan impensae Virronem parcere credas.
hoc agit, ut doleas; nam quae comoedia, mimus
quis melior plorante gula? ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
nec male coniectat; quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
spes bene cenandi vos decipit. 'ecce dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri,
ad nos iam veniet minor altilis.' inde parato
intactoque omnes et stricto pane iacetis.
ille sapit, qui te sic utitur. omnia ferre
si potes, et debes: pulsandum vertice raso
praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

* * * *

VII.

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae

balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
praecones fieri; cum desertis Aganippes
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae
et vendas potius, commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum tripodes armaria cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi,'
quod non vidisti, faciant equites Asiani
quamquam et Cappadŏces faciant equitesque Bithyni,
altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo.
nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicumque canoris
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
hoc agite, o iuvenes! circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.
siqua aliunde putas rerum expectanda tuarum
praesidia atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
implentur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito;
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
spes nulla ulterior: didicit iam dives avarus
tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
ut pueri Iunonis avem. sed defluit aetas
et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.

accipe nunc artes. ne quid tibi conferat iste,
quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero

propter mille annos, et si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, Maculonis commodat aedes:
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces:
nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constant
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos
ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
qui nil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere maesta
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
corpus eget. satur est, cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe!'
qui locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant et dominis Cirrae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum
aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.
nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,
surda nihil gemeret grave bucina. poscimus ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus?

non habet infelix Numitor, quod mittat amico:
Quintillae quod donet, habet; nec defuit illi,
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum; constat leviori belua sumptu
nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis; at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem
promisitque diem; tanta dulcedine captos
afficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi
auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.
ille et militiae multis largitus honorem,
semenstri digitos vatum circumligat auro.
quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
tunc par ingenio pretium; tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.
vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
scriptores? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.
nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit
omnibus et crescit multa damnosa papyro;
sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
quae tamen inde seges? terrae quis fructus apertae?
quis dabit historico, quantum daret acta legenti?
'sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.'
dic igitur, quid causidicis civilia praestent
officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.
ipsi magna sonant, sed tum, cum creditor audit,

praecipue, vel si tetigit latus, acrior illo
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
conspuiturque sinus: veram deprendere messem
si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacertae.
consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Aiax,
dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
iudice. rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso
figantur virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
pelamydum, aut veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi,
aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.
si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus,
inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
Aemilio dabitur quantum licet, et melius nos
egimus. huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti
quadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit: exitus hic est
Tongilii, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba
perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Maedos,
empturus pueros argentum murrina villas;
spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo.
et tamen est illis hoc utile; purpura vendit
causidicum, vendunt amethystina; convenit illi
et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census.
sed finem impensae non servat prodiga Roma.
fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens.
respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
ante pedes. ideo conducta Paulus agebat

sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Gallus agebat,
quam Basilus. rara in tenui facundia panno.
quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae.
declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti,
cui perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos!
nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem;
occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
quaestio, quae veniant diversae forte sagittae,
nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
'mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?' 'culpa docentis
scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet;
quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe, quid do,
ut totiens illum pater audiat?' haec alii sex
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae,
et veras agitant lites raptore relicto;
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
summula ne pereat, qua vilis tessera venit
frumenti; quippe haec merces lautissima. tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Polio quanti
lautorum pueros; artem scindes Theodori.
balnea sescentis et pluris porticus, in qua

gestetur dominus, quotiens pluit—anne serenum
expectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?
hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae—
parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.
quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
componat, veniet qui pulmentaria condit.
hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
ut multum, duo sufficient; res nulla minoris
constabit patri, quam filius. 'unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?' exempla novorum
fatorum transi. felix et pulcher et acer,
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus,
appositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator,
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene. distat enim, quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.
felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.
paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carrinatis: et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
di maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco! metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri;
sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus.

Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
quis gremio Celadi doctique Palaemonis affert
quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
quodcumque est—minus est autem quam rhetoris aera—
discipuli custos praemordet acoenonoëtus,
et qui dispensat, frangit sibi. cede, Palaemon,
et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam
institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
dummodo non pereat, mediae quod noctis ab hora
sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
dummodo non pereat, totidem olfecisse lucernas,
quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
rara tamen merces, quae cognitione tribuni
non egeat. sed vos saevas imponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus,
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculas Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
ut si quis cera vultum facit; exigite ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant.
'haec,' inquit, 'curas; et cum se verterit annus,
accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.'

VIII.

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
sanguine censeri, pictos ostendere vultus
maiorum et stantes in curribus Aemilianos
et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem

Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
quis fructus, generis tabula iactare capaci
Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga
fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros,
si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
ante Numantinos, si dormire incipis ortu
luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus, si
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna,
si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
squalentes traducit avos emptorque veneni
frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?
tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paulus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto,
hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum,
praecedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.
prima mihi debes animi bona. sanctus haberi
iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris?
agnosco procerem; salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocumque alio de sanguine, rarus
civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti;
exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri
invento. quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui
indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
insignis? nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem Cycnum, parvam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est
quod fremat in terris violentius. ergo cavebis
et metues, ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus.
his ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli

Blande. tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam
feceris ipse aliquid, propter quod nobilis esses,
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
'vos humiles,' inquis, 'vulgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis;
ast ego Cecropides.' vivas et originis huius
gaudia longa feras! tamen ima plebe Quiritem
facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata,
qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.
hic petit Euphraten iuvenis domitique Batavi
custodes aquilas armis industrius: at tu
nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Hermae.
nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? nempe volucrem
sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
fervet et exultat rauco victoria circo;
nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cuius
clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis.
sed venale pecus Coryphaei posteritas et
Hirpini, si rara iugo Victoria sedit;
nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
umbrarum; dominos pretiis mutare iubentur
exiguis, trito ducunt epiraedia collo
segnipedes dignique molam versare nepotes.
ergo ut miremur te, non tua, privum aliquid da,
quod possim titulis incidere praeter honores,
quos illis damus ac dedimus, quibus omnia debes.

haec satis ad iuvenem, quem nobis fama superbum
tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo;
rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
fortuna. sed te censeri laude tuorum,

Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
laudis agas. miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
integer. ambiguae si quando citabere testis
incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro,
summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
dignus morte perit, cenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.
expectata diu tandem provincia cum te
rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,
pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum –
ossa vides rerum vacuis exucta medullis—
respice, quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu,
piratae Cilicum. sed quid damnatio confert?
praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
cum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit,
iamque tace; furor est post omnia perdere naulum.
non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victis.
plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur, nec non Polycliti
multus ubique labor, rarae sine Mentore mensae.
inde Dolabella atque istinc Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis
occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum,
et pater armenti capto eripietur agello,

ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum
si quis in aedicula deus unicus; haec etenim sunt
pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu
forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthon,
despicias merito; quid resinata iuventus
cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus; parce et messoribus illis,
qui saturant urbem circo scaenaeque vacantem.
quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
curandum in primis, ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
et iaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt.
quod modo proposui, non est sententia; verum est:
credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
vendit Acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen,
nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno,
tu licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas,
de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.
quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
in templis quae fecit avus, statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo, si nocturnus adulter

tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?
praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa volucri
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam astringit sufflamine mulio consul,
nocte quidem, sed Luna videt, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumet et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis, ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos
solvet et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.
interea, dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
more Numae caedit, Iovis ante altaria iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,
obvius assiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
currit, Idumeae Syrophoenix incola portae
hospitis affectu dominum regemque salutat,
et cum venali Cyanis succincta lagona.
defensor culpae dicet mihi 'fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes.' esto. desisti nempe, nec ultra
fovisti errorem. breve sit, quod turpiter audes;
quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba.
indulge veniam pueris: Lateranus ad illos
thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit
maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
amnibus et Rheno atque Istro; praestare Neronem
securum valet haec aetas. mitte Ostia, Caesar,
mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.
aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?

nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
at vos, Troiugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
quid, si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint?
consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti
sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli.
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
iudice me dignus vera cruce. nec tamen ipsi
ignoscas populo; populi frons durior huius,
qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. quanti sua funera vendant,
quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.
finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni,
quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
res haud mira tamen citharoedo principe mimus
nobilis. haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? et illic
dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis in armis,
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina—
damnat enim tales habitus, sed damnat et odit,
nec galea faciem abscondit—movet ecce tridentem,
postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
erigit, et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
credamus, tunicae de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Gracchо iussus pugnare secutor.
libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni,
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus?

par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem
dissimilem. quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula; sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scaena numquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba,
quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis,
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigonae vel personam Melanippae,
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen vos
nocturna et flammas domibus templisque paratis,
ut bracatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coercet.
hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus assiduis gladio; sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum

excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem,
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.
plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina; pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti;
pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis.
ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fasces meruit regum ultimus ille bonorum.
prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.
occulta ad patres produxit crimina servus,
matronis lugendus; at illos verbera iustis
afficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo:
maiorum primus, quisquis fuit ille, tuorum
aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

LIBER QUARTUS.

* * * *

X.

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille
confisus periit admirandisque lacertis.
sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census,
quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.
temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
clusit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
tota cohors. rarus venit in cenacula miles.
pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis
et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram;
cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro. sed nulla aconita bibuntur
fictilibus; tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
iamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quotiens de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor?
sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:

mirandum est, unde ille oculis suffecerit umor.
perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetextae trabeae fasces lectica tribunal.
quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
extantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex umeris aulaea togae magnaeque coronae
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites,
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.
tunc quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
interdum et lacrimas, cum Fortunae ipse minaci
mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
ergo supervacua aut vel perniciosa putentur,
propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum?
quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina. descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
caedit et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco

spectandus. gaudent omnes. 'quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?'
nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis. 'bene habet; nil plus interrogo. sed quid
turba Remi?' sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
damnatos; idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
nil dubium, magna est fornacula; 'pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus! curramus praecipites et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.' hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
visne salutari sicut Seianus? habere
tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis augusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo? vis certe pila cohortes
egregios equites et castra domestica? quidni
haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti,
ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?
huius, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis,
an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora

frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris?
ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris
Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.
eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
incipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo,
quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque paranti
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.
bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivus in arcu

humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit; causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit. tanto maior famae sitis est, quam
virtutis; quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
expende Hannibalem; quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos?
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque:
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum,' inquit, 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!
unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clusus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,

sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur,
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum—
mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit—huic quisquam vellet servire deorum?—
sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas.
'da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos!'
hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
plena malis! deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.
plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille
hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo:
una senum facies. cum voce trementia membra
et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi,
frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi;
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia. * * * * aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius. nam quae cantante voluptas,
sit licet eximius, citharoedo, sitve Seleucus

et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam, quot amaverit Oppia moechos,
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus;
percurram citius, quot villas possideat nunc,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet; huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis,
ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus hiat tantum ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna. sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen.
ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.
rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,

quique novum totiens mustum bibit. oro, parumper
attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo?
haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem,
atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis sollemnibus, Hectore funus
portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret extinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis, ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet, ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota

vicerunt; igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit ceciditque Cethegus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.
formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt, anxia mater
usque ad delicias votorum. 'cur tamen,' inquit,
'corripias? pulchra gaudet Latona Diana.'
sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia, qualem
ipsa habuit; cuperet Rutilae Verginia gibbum
accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. filius autem
corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
semper habet; rara est adeo concordia formae
atque pudicitiae. sanctos licet horrida mores
tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
larga manu —quid enim puero conferre potest plus
custode et cura natura potentior omni?—
non licet esse viro; nam prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.
'sed casto quid forma nocet?' quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum, quid Bellerophonti?
erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita repulso,
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. mulier saevissima tunc est,
cum stimulos odio pudor admovet. elige, quidnam
suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat. optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguendus
Messalinae oculis; dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas?

non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat, dic:
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas;
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingat principis aurem.
dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus. interea tu
obsequere imperio, si tanti vita dierum
paucorum. quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix.
'nil ergo optabunt homines?' si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
carior est illis homo, quam sibi. nos animorum
impulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus partumque uxoris; at illis
notum, qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli.
monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare; semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

XI.

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur;
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius? omnes
convictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum valida ac iuvenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardent sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis obstantibus; interius si
attendas, magis illa iuvant, quae pluris ementur.
ergo haud difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile: sic veniunt ad miscillanea ludi.
refert ergo, quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumit et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit, quanto sublimior Atlas
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret, quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
esse velis—neque enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes—

ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam
protegere affectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
orator vehemens, an Curtius et Matho buccae.
noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
in loculis. quis enim te deficiente crumina
et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
ac rebus mersis in ventrem faenoris atque
argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
anulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paulum
nescio quid superest et pallet faenoris auctor,
qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.
ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
maestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
pauci ridiculum et fugientem ex urbe pudorem.
    experiere hodie, numquid pulcherrima dictu,
Persice, non praestem vita vel moribus et re,
si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
coram aliis dictem puero, sed in aure placentas.
nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis
Euandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum,
alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
de Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,

necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani
asparagi, posito quos legit vilica fuso;
grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae
parte anni, quales fuerant in vitibus, uvae,
Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem
aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis:
nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
autumnum et crudi posuere pericula suci.
haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
cena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto,
ipse focis brevibus ponebat holuscula, quae nunc
squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
qui meminit, calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.
sicci terga suis rara pendentia crate
moris erat quondam festis servare diebus
et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum,
accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne.
cognatorum aliquis, titulo ter consulis atque
castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
functus, ad has epulas solito maturius ibat
erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
et Scauros et Fabricios, postremo severos
censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendam
qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret,
clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum,
sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
tales ergo cibi, qualis domus atque supellex.
tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes
urbibus eversis praedarum in parte reperta

magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
ut phaleris gauderet equus caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino
argenti quod erat, solis fulgebat in armis.
omnia tunc, quibus invideas, si lividulus sis.
templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et vox
nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem,
litore ab Oceani Gallis venientibus et dis
officium vatis peragentibus his monuit nos;
hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
fictilis et nullo violatus Iuppiter auro.
illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
tempora viderunt, hos lignum stabat ad usus,
annosam si forte nucem deiecerat eurus.
at nunc divitibus cenandi nulla voluptas,
nil rhombus, nil damma sapit, putere videntur
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu,
dentibus ex illis, quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
et quos deposuit Nabataeo belua saltu,
iam nimios capitique graves. hinc surgit orexis,
hinc stomacho vires; nam pes argenteus illis,
anulus in digito quod ferreus. ergo superbum
convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparet et res
despicit exiguas. adeo nulla uncia nobis
est eboris, nec tessellae nec calculus ex hac
materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
ossea; non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt
rancidula, aut ideo peior gallina secatur.
sed nec structor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis

pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
caeditur et tota sonat ulmea cena Subura.
nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
novit avis noster, tiruncinius ac rudis omni
tempore et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae.
plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus;
non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
quisquam erit et magno. cum posces, posce Latine.
idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
pastoris duri hic est filius, ille bubulci.
suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem,
et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
quales esse decet quos ardens purpura vestit.
hic tibi vina dabit diffusa in montibus illis,
a quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit;
namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.
non capit has nugas humilis domus. audiat ille
testarum crepitus * * * *
qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem;
namque ibi fortunae veniam damus. alea turpis,
turpe et adulterium mediocribus; haec eadem illi
omnia cum faciunt, hilares nitidique vocantur.
nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos,
conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis
altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
quid refert, tales versus qua voce legantur?
sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis
et gratam requiem dona tibi: quando licebat
per totum cessare diem? non faenoris ulla

mentio, nec, prima si luce egressa reverti
nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor.
protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen,
pone domum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
aut perit, ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.
interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt, similisque Triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet, ac mihi pace
immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit, et fragor aurem
percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
consulibus. spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet assedisse puellae;
nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salva
fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
magna; voluptates commendat rarior usus.

XII.

Natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
qua festus promissa deis animalia cespes
expectat. niveam reginae ducimus agnam,
par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura.
sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpeio servata Iovi frontemque coruscat,
quippe ferox vitulus, templis maturus et arae

spargendusque mero, quem iam pudet ubera matris
ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset,
pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa
mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
iret et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,
ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.
nam praeter pelagi casus et fulminis ictus
evasit. densae caelum abscondere tenebrae
nube una subitusque antemnas impulit ignis,
cum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox
attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
naufragium velis ardentibus. omnia fiunt
talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
tempestas. genus ecce aliud discriminis audi
et miserere iterum, quamquam sint cetera sortis
eiusdem pars dira quidem, sed cognita multis
et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
plurima; pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?
accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
cum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus et iam
alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
arboris incertae, nullam prudentia cani
rectoris conferret opem, decidere iactu
coepit cum ventis, cupiens evadere damno.
'fundite, quae mea sunt' dicebat 'cuncta' Catullus,
praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
purpuream, teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
atque alias, quarum generosi graminis ipsum
infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.
ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem

et dignum sitiente Pholo vel coniuge Fusci;
adde et bascaudas et mille escaria, multum
caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
sed quis nunc alius, qua mundi parte quis audet
argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem?
non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,
sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.
iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima, sed nec
damna levant. tunc adversis urguentibus illuc
reccidit ut malum ferro summitteret, ac se
explicat angustum: discriminis ultima, quando
praesidia afferimus navem factura minorem.
i nunc et ventis animam committe, dolato
confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda;
mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagonae
aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.
sed postquam iacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
prospera vectoris fatumque valentius euro
et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna
pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura
ventus adest, inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit
vestibus extentis et quod superaverat unum,
velo prora suo. iam deficientibus austris,
spes vitae cum sole redit. tunc gratus Iulo
atque novercali sedes praelata Lavinio
conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen,
et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles
Tyrrhenamque pharon porrectaque bracchia rursum,
quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt
Italiam; non sic igitur mirabere portus
quos natura dedit. sed trunca puppe magister

interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae
tuti stagna sinus; gaudent ibi vertice raso
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.
ite igitur, pueri, linguisque animisque faventes
sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris
ac molles ornate focos glaebamque virentem.
iam sequar et sacro, quod praestat, rite peracto
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
hic nostrum placabo Iovem Laribusque paternis
tura dabo atque omnes violae iactabo colores.
cuncta nitent, longos erexit ianua ramos
et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.
nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine. Catullus,
pro cuius reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
tres habet heredes. libet expectare, quis aegram
et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico
tam sterili—verum haec nimia est impensa, coturnix
nulla umquam pro patre cadet. sentire calorem
si coepit locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi,
legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis
porticus, existunt qui promittant hecatomben,
quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
belua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
privato, siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
horum maiores ac dorso ferre cohortes,
partem aliquam belli, et euntem in proelia turrem.
nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras
et cadat ante Lares Gallittae, victima sola
tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.

alter enim, si concedas, mactare vovebit
de grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
imponet vittas, et si qua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.
laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
mille rates; nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
delebit tabulas inclusus carcere nassae
post meritum sane mirandum atque omnia soli
forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit, ille superbus
incedet victis rivalibus. ergo vides quam
grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.
vivat Pacuvius, quaeso, vel Nestora totum,
possideat quantum rapuit Nero, montibus aurum
exaequet, nec amet quemquam, nec ametur ab ullo!

LIBER QUINTUS.

XIII.

Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
displicet auctori. prima est haec ultio, quod se
iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
gratia fallaci praetoris vicerit urna.
quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
de scelere et fidei violatae crimine? sed nec
tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris
iacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
quae pateris; casus multis hic cognitus ac iam
tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
ponamus nimios gemitus. flagrantior aequo

non debet dolor esse viri, nec vulnere maior.
tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
depositum? stupet haec, qui iam post terga reliquit
sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus?
an nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usu?
magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
victrix fortunae sapientia; ducimus autem
hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitae
nec iactare iugum vita didicere magistra.
quae tam festa dies, ut cesset prodere furem
perfidiam fraudes atque omni ex crimine lucrum
quaesitum et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos?
rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
nona aetas agitur peioraque saecula ferri
temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo;
nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula? dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis,
quas habeat veneres aliena pecunia? nescis,
quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
exigis a quoquam ne peieret et putet ullis
esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?
quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc, cum virguncula Iuno
et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris,
nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum,
nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
ad cyathos, et iam siccato nectare tergens
bracchia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna,
prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum

talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
numinibus miserum urguebant Atlanta minori
pondere. nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi
imperium aut Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton,
nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut vulturis atri
poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo,
credebant quo grande nefas et morte piandum,
si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si
barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos;
tam venerabile erat praecedere quattuor annis,
primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae.
nunc, si depositum non infitietur amicus,
si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
hoc monstrum puero et mirandis sub aratro
piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,
sollicitus, tamquam lapides effuderit imber
examenque apium longa consederit uva
culmine delubri, tamquam in mare fluxerit amnis
gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.
intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
sacrilega. quid, si bis centum perdidit alter
hoc arcana modo? maiorem tertius illa
summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
si mortalis idem nemo sciat. aspice, quanta
voce neget, quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
et Martis frameam et Cirraei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;

addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
si vero et pater est, 'comedam' inquit 'flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto.'
sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant
et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri,
natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,
atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.
est alius metuens, ne crimen poena sequatur;
hic putat esse deos et peierat, atque ita secum:
'decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.
et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
sunt tanti. pauper locupletem optare podagram
nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec
Archigene; quid enim velocis gloria plantae
praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?
ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est;
si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.'
sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
confirmat, tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
nam cum magna malae superest audacia causae,
creditur a multis fiducia. mimum agit ille,
urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli;
tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis,
vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: 'audis,
Iuppiter, haec, nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem
debueris vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
in carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta

ponimus et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci
omenta? ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli.'
accipe, quae contra valeat solacia ferre
et qui nec cynicos nec stoica dogmata legit
a cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri:
tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
ostendis, taceo, nec pugnis caedere pectus
te veto nec plana faciem contundere palma,
quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno.
et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu
planguntur nummi quam funera. nemo dolorem
fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
contentus, vexare oculos rumore coacto:
ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querella,
si deciens lectis diversa parte tabellis
vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis,
ten—o delicias—extra communia censes
ponendum, quia tu gallinae filius albae,
nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?
rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
si flectas oculos maiora ad crimina. confer
conductum latronem, incendia sulpure coepta
atque dolo, primos cum ianua colligit ignes;
confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
haec ibi si non sunt, minor extat sacrilegus, qui
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam

Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat;
an dubitet solitus totum conflare Tonantem?
confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo
clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
haec quota pars scelerum, quae custos Gallicus urbis
usque a lucifero, donec lux occidat, audit?
humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
sufficit una domus; paucos consume dies et
dicere te miserum, postquam illinc veneris, aude.
quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis
in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mamillam?
caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,
mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
unguibus a saeva fertur grue. si videas hoc
gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare; sed illic,
quamquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.
'nullane peiuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
poena erit?' abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
protinus et nostro—quid plus velit ira?—necari
arbitrio; manet illa tamen iactura, nec umquam
depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis.
'at vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa.'
nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis:
quantulacumque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae.
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae

accusatori nollet dare. plurima felix
paulatim vitia atque errores exuit omnes,
prima docet rectum sapientia. quippe minuti
semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
ultio: continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
nemo magis gaudet, quam femina. cur tamen hos tu
evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti
mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit
occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus,
nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
depositum retinere et fraudem iure tueri
iurando. quaerebat enim, quae numinis esset
mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem
vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit,
extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
facti crimen habet. cedo, si conata peregit.
perpetua anxietas, nec mensae tempore cessat
faucibus ut morbo siccis interque molares
difficili crescente cibo; Setina misellus
expuit, Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
cogitur in frontem, velut acri ducta Falerno.
nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem
et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt,
continuo templum et violati numinis aras
et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urguet,
te videt in somnis; tua sacra et maior imago

humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
cum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli;
non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie, sed
iratus cadat in terras et vindicet ignis.
illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur
proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno.
praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
infesto credunt a numine, saxa deorum
haec et tela putant. pecudem spondere sacello
balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?
mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum.
cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia; quod fas
atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
criminibus. tamen ad mores natura recurrit
damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia. nam quis
peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
flagitio? dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus et nigri patietur carceris uncum
aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
exulibus magnis. poena gaudebis amara
nominis invisi, tandemque fatebere laetus
nec surdum nec Tiresian quemquam esse deorum.

XIV.

Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres

bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
boletum condire et eodem iure natantes
mergere ficedulas didicit, nebulone parente
et cana monstrante gula. cum septimus annus
transierit puerum, nondum omni dente renato,
barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
hinc totidem, cupiet lauto cenare paratu
semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
praecipit atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
an saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
comparat, Antiphates trepidi laris ac Polyphemus,
tunc felix, quotiens aliquis tortore vocato
uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro?
quid suadet iuveni laetus stridore catenae,
quem mire afficiunt inscripti, ergastula, carcer?
rusticus expectas, ut non sit adultera Largae
filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos
tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
ut non ter deciens respiret? conscia matri
virgo fuit, ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
implet.
sic natura iubet: velocius et citius nos
corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
cum subeant animos auctoribus. unus et alter
forsitan haec spernant iuvenes, quibus arte benigna
et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;
sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt
et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
abstineas igitur damnandis. huius enim vel
una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur

ex nobis geniti, quoniam dociles imitandis
turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe,
sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.
nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
intra quae pater est. procul, a procul inde puellae
lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti!
maxima debetur puero reverentia. si quid
turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.
nam si quid dignum censoris fecerit ira
quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis?
unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis,
cum facias peiora senex vacuumque cerebro
iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?
hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.
'verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
arida cum tota descendat aranea tela,
hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter!'
vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino
atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
ne perfusa luto sit porticus; et tamen uno
semodio scobis haec emendet servulus unus:
illud non agitas, ut sanctam filius omni
aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem?
gratum est, quod patriae civem populoque dedisti,
si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
plurimum enim intererit, quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
moribus instituas, serpente ciconia pullos

nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta:
illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
vultur iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris affert:
hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
pascentis, propria cum iam facit arbore nidos.
sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae
in saltu venantur aves, hinc praeda cubili
ponitur: inde autem cum se matura levarit
progenies, stimulante fame festinat ad illam,
quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.
aedificator erat Cretonius et modo curvo
litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis
marmoribus, vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,
ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
dum sic ergo habitat Cretonius, imminuit rem,
fregit opes; nec parva tamen mensura relictae
partis erat. totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.
quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses,
non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.
sponte tamen iuvenes imitantur cetera, solam
inviti quoque avaritiam exercere iubentur.
fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra.

cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum,
nec dubie tamquam frugi laudetur avarus,
tamquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
certa magis, quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. adde quod hunc, de
quo loquor, egregium populus putat acquirendi
artificem; quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris,
sed crescunt quocumque modo, maioraque fiunt
incude assidua semperque ardente camino.
et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati
pauperis esse putat; iuvenes hortatur ut illa
ire via pergant et eidem incumbere sectae.
sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa; his protinus illos
imbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes,
mox acquirendi docet insatiabile votum.
servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo,
ipse quoque esuriens; neque enim omnia sustinet umquam
mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri, nec non differre in tempora cenae
alterius conchem aestivi cum parte lacerti
signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri:
invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
cum furor haud dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,
ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato?
interea pleno cum turget sacculus ore,
crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit,
et minus hanc optat qui non habet. ergo paratur
altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,
et proferre libet fines, maiorque videtur
et melior vicina seges; mercaris et hanc et
arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.

quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
iumenta ad virides huius mittentur aristas,
nec prius inde domum, quam tota novalia saevos
in ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
dicere vix possis, quam multi talia plorent,
et quot venales iniuria fecerit agros.
sed qui sermones, quam foedae bucina famae!
'quid nocet haec?' inquit 'tunicam mihi malo lupini,
quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem.'
scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis,
et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
longa tibi posthac fato meliore dabuntur,
si tantum culti solus possederis agri,
quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.
mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
proelia vel Pyrrhum immanem gladiosque Molossos
tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur
vulneribus. merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
nullis visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae
curta fides patriae. saturabat glaebula talis
patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
uxor et infantes ludebant quattuor, unus
vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.
nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
inde fere scelerum causae, nec plura venena
miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
humanae mentis vitium, quam saeva cupido
immodici census. nam dives qui fieri vult,
et cito vult fieri; sed quae reverentia legum,
quis metus aut pudor est umquam properantis avari?
'vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,

o pueri' Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex 'panem quaeramus aratro,
qui satis est mensis. laudant hoc numina ruris,
quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
nil vetitum fecisse volet, quem non pudet alto
per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet euros
pellibus inversis; peregrina ignotaque nobis
ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit.'
haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus. at nunc
post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
clamosus iuvenem pater excitat: 'accipe ceras,
scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
maiorum leges, aut vitem posce libello.
sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
annotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas.
dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagensimus annus
afferat; aut longos castrorum ferre labores
si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra,
neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
unguenta et corium. lucri bonus est odor ex re
qualibet. illa tuo sententia semper in ore
versetur, dis atque ipso Iove digna poeta,
"unde habeas, quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere."'
hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae,
hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.
talibus instantem monitis quemcumque parentem
sic possem affari: 'dic, o vanissime, quis te
festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro
discipulum. securus abi: vinceris, ut Aiax
praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.

parcendum est teneris: nondum implevere medullas:
naturae mala nequitia est. cum pectere barbam
coeperit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summa
exigua et Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
elatam iam crede nurum, si limina vestra
mortifera cum dote subit. quibus illa premetur
per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
acquirenda putas, brevior via conferet illi;
nullus enim magni sceleris labor. "haec ego numquam
mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi."
mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem,
et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare,
dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
curriculo; quem si revoces, subsistere nescit
et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
nemo satis credit, tantum delinquere, quantum
permittas; adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
cum dicis iuveni stultum, qui donet amico,
qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
crimine divitias adquirere, quarum amor in te,
quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus;
in quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
continuo, tamquam et tubicen surrexerit una.
ergo ignem, cuius scintillas ipse dedisti,
flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis;
nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
in cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
nota mathematicis genesis tua, sed grave tardas
expectare colus; morieris stamine nondum

abrupto. iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.
ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithradates
composuit, si vis aliam decerpere ficum
atque alias tractare rosas. medicamen habendum est,
sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.
monstro voluptatem egregiam, cui nulla theatra,
nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti,
si spectes, quanto capitis discrimine constent
incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res
non potuit servare suas. ergo omnia Florae
et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas;
tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.
an magis oblectant animum iactata petauro
corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
atque habitas coro semper tollendus et austro,
perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis,
qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
passum et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas?
hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
victum illa mercede parat, brumamque famemque
illa reste cavet; tu propter mille talenta
et centum villas temerarius. aspice portus
et plenum magnis trabibus mare; plus hominum est iam
in pelago. veniet classis quocumque vocarit
spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
aequora transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
inde domum possis tumidaque superbus aluta,
Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.
non unus mentes agitat furor. ille sororis

in manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
aut Ithacum. parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
curatoris eget, qui navem mercibus implet
ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius
concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
occurrunt nubes et fulgura: 'solvite funem,'
frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti,
'nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;
aestivum tonat.' infelix hac forsitan ipsa
nocte cadet fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum,
quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus harena,
frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur.
tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque
servantur. misera est magni custodia census.
dispositis praedives amis vigilare cohortem
servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro
electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
atque ebore et lata testudine. dolia nudi
non ardent cynici; si fregeris, altera fiet
cras domus, atque eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,
passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. mensura tamen quae
sufficiat census, si quis me consulat, edam:
in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,

quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates.
numquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit.
acribus exemplis videor te cludere? misce
ergo aliquid nostris de moribus, effice summam,
bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
nec Croesi fortuna umquam nec Persica regna
sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi,
indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius
paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus.

XV.

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptos portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.
illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu:
o sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
numina! lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
mensa, nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae:
carnibus humanis vesci licet. attonito cum
tale super cenam facinus narraret Ulixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
moverat, ut mendax aretalogus. 'in mare nemo
hunc abicit saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
fingentem immanis Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?

nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyaneis, plenos et tempestatibus utres
crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes,
et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?'
sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
de Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna;
solus enim haec Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
nos miranda quidem, sed nuper consule Iunco
gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis;
nam scelus, a Pyrrha quamquam omnia syrmata volvas,
nullus apud tragicos populus facit. accipe, nostro
dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.
inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
immortale odium et numquam sanabile vulnus
ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra. summus utrimque
inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
esse deos, quos ipse colit. sed tempore festo
alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia cenae
sentirent positis ad templa et compita mensis
pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce iacentem
septimus interdum sol invenit. horrida sane
Aegyptos, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
blaesis atque mero titubantibus. inde virorum
saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacumque
unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae,
hinc ieiunum odium. sed iurgia prima sonare
incipiunt animis ardentibus, haec tuba rixae.
dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli

saevit nuda manus. paucae sine vulnere malae,
vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
integer. aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina vultus
dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent.
et sane quo tot rixantis milia turbae,
si vivunt omnes? ergo acrior impetus, et iam
saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
tela, nec hunc lapidem quales et Turnus et Aiax,
vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero;
terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.
ergo deus, quicumque aspexit, ridet et odit.
a deverticulo repetatur fabula. postquam,
subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis,
terga fuga celeri praestant instantibus Ombis
qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
labitur hinc quidam nimia formidine cursum
praecipitans, capiturque. ast illum in plurima sectum
frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
victrix turba, nec ardenti decoxit aeno
aut verubus; longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
expectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
hic gaudere libet, quod non violaverit ignem,
quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
donavit terris. elemento gratulor et te
exultare reor. sed qui mordere cadaver
sustinuit, nil umquam hac carne libentius edit.

nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites, an
prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
qui stetit absumpto iam toto corpore, ductis
per terram digitis aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
produxere animas: sed res diversa, sed illic
fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.
huius enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
exemplum esse cibi, sicut modo dicta mihi gens
post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati
et sua. quisnam hominum veniam dare quisve deorum
urbibus abnueret dira atque immania passis
et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes,
quorum corporibus vescebantur? melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent; nec enim omnia quidam
pro vita facienda putant. sed Cantaber unde
stoicus antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.
nobilis ille tamen populus, quem diximus, et par
virtute atque fide, sed maior clade, Zagynthos
tale quid excusat: Maeotide saevior ara
Aegyptos. quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
inventrix homines—ut iam quae carmina tradunt
digna fide credas—tantum immolat, ulterius nil
aut gravius cultro timet hostia. quis modo casus
impulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo
arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
audere? anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?

qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Brittones umquam
Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
et similes ira atque fames. mollissima corda
humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
quae lacrimas dedit; haec nostri pars optima sensus.
plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura vocantem
circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
virginis occurrit vel terra clauditur infans
et minor igne rogi. quis enim bonus et face dignus
arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
ulla aliena sibi credit mala? separat hoc nos
a grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
sortiti ingenium divinorumque capaces
atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti
sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
cuius egent prona et terram spectantia. mundi
principio indulsit communis conditor illis
tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
affectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet,
dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
aedificare domos, laribus coniungere nostris
tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
turribus atque una portarum clave teneri.

sed iam serpentum maior concordia. parcit
cognatis maculis similis fera. quando leoni
fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore umquam
expiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
perpetuam, saevis inter se convenit ursis.
ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
produxisse parum est, cum rastra et sarcula tantum
assueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
nescierint primi gladios extendere fabri.
aspicimus populos, quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem, sed pectora bracchia vultum
crediderint genus esse cibi. quid diceret ergo
vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
tamquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

XVI.

Quis numerare queat felicis praemia, Galli,
militiae? nam si subeuntur prospera castra,
me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
sidere. plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
quam si nos Veneris commendet epistula Marti
et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena.
commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
audeat, immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
audeat excussos praetori ostendere dentes
et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam
atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.
Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli

servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. iustissima centurionum
cognitio est igitur de milite, nec mihi derit
ultio, si iustae defertur causa querellae:
tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
consensu magno efficiunt, curabilis ut sit
vindicta et gravior quam iniuria. dignum erit ergo
declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
milia clavorum. quis tam procul absit ab urbe
praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
ut veniat? lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.
'da testem,' iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille
nescio quis, pugnos qui vidit, dicere 'vidi,'
et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
maiorum. citius falsum producere testem
contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem
contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.
praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
sacramentorum. convallem ruris aviti
improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit,
et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum,
quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo,
debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni,
expectandus erit qui lites inchoet annus
totius populi. sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
taedia, mille morae; totiens subsellia tantum
sternuntur; iam facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio et Fusco iam micturiente parati
digredimur, lentaque fori pugnamus harena.
ast illis, quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit,
quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

solis praeterea testandi militibus ius
vivo patre datur; nam quae sunt parta labore
militiae, placuit non esse in corpore census,
omne tenet cuius regimen pater. ergo Coranum
signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem
quamvis iam tremulus captat pater. hunc favor aequus
provehit et pulchro reddit sua dona labori.
ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur,
ut qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem,
ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus, omnes

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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CONTENTS OF PART II.

	PAGE
NOTES TO SATIRE I	1
,, SATIRE III	29
,, SATIRE IV	62
,, SATIRE V	79
,, SATIRE VII	100
,, SATIRE VIII	129
,, SATIRE X	165
,, SATIRE XI	213
,, SATIRE XII	240
,, SATIRE XIII	253
,, SATIRE XIV	275
,, SATIRE XV	303
,, SATIRE XVI	321
INDEX TO THE NOTES	329

NOTES.

SATIRE I.

ON THE WICKEDNESS OF ROME.

THE first Satire of Juvenal is one of the most vigorous in detached passages and the most clumsily constructed as a whole. It looks as if the Author had written two different prefaces at various times, and had then decided to weld them together. It is the work of a genuine rhetorician, scathing and lucid in style, but loose, inharmonious, and inconsistent in construction. In the first portion, which apparently ends at l. 80, but of which ll. 147–171 were no doubt a part, he supposes himself replying to an imaginary friend who wishes to dissuade him from writing. Juvenal pleads, ll. 1–18, that he is pestered by poets of every quality who deal with unreal themes, and that it is absurd for one who has mastered the craft not to say what he is full of. But why write a satire? ll. 19–21. How is it possible *not* to write a satire when the real world is thronged with such grotesque and foul shapes, when the eunuch marrying a wife, the female gladiator, the prosperous informer, the wealthy parasite, the wretch who sells his virility, and the despoiler of a province, are the first forms revealed by the lantern of truth? ll. 22–51. Are the stories of Hercules, and Theseus, and Daedalus more wonderful than the tale of how one may make a fortune by his wife's shame, while another expects a commission for having squandered his estate in the stables? ll. 52-61. Could you not fill a book at the crossings, as one litter carries past you the wealthy forger, another past the matron of good family who belonged to the club for poisoning husbands? The lesson of life is that wealth is only acquired by crimes at which the blood boils, and which force indignation to speak out in verse, ll. 62–80.

The construction now changes, and Juvenal explains that he is writing a book to describe human wishes and passions and feelings since man was born into the world, ll. 81–86. He seems to promise a description of various vices; but instead of this we have an elaborate complaint of the poverty of the nobility, together with the description of the hard lot of a client. For when was material more abundant? When was the gambling instinct stronger? or the insolence and worship of wealth more marked? We have done all but build temples to Money, and what remains for the people but to starve if the nobility retrench the

extravagance of dole-giving to paupers, who as often as not cheat them? ll. 87–126. Meantime, while the old dependents of his house steal sadly away, the patrician, recruited by a day of diversified occupation, lies down in his empty hall to a splendid banquet at which he is the only guest, and where he will perhaps gorge till he dies, ll. 127–146.

The Satire now reverts to conversation. Juvenal asks whether he may not launch out fearlessly, since we have reached a climax to which coming ages can add nothing new in infamy. 'True,' he admits, 'you may ask where I get the talent to handle such material.' 'I ask,' says the friend, 'where you get the leave to talk about it. All very well to attack a private person; but touch the Emperor's favourite, and you will be burned for a Christian and an incendiary.' 'What, am I to look on quietly while the man who has poisoned three uncles stares down on me from his litter?' 'If you so much as show that you know him, you will be suspected of talking about his crime. If you want to be safe, write like Vergil about dead heroes, not like Lucilius about living men.' 'So be it; I will confine my criticisms to those who are already in the grave,' ll. 147–171.

The date of the first portion of this Satire may be referred with some positiveness to the early years of Trajan by the allusions to reciters and to Marius. By the bitterness of the allusion to promotions by favour in the army it would seem that Juvenal was still or had quite lately been a soldier. The second portion, ll. 81–146, has more of the didactic and religious character about it; and seems to belong to the time when Juvenal's hopes from wealthy patrons were exhausted.

The opening part of this Satire has been imitated by Byron in the beginning of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. This is one of the Satires which Dryden translated.

Argument.

When I am condemned to hear so much pedantry I feel that I must have my revenge; and that revenge must consist in paying out my adversaries in their own coin, i.e. by writing. The writer of the present age must perforce be a satirist—thanks to our social system under which upstarts are the princes of society and criminals are regarded with respect, while their crimes are looked upon as merely venial. The danger is great, I admit: but the attempt must be made to attack it: and if I do not dare to attack the living, I will at least show up the actions of the dead.

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1. **Semper ego auditor tantum?** The substantive verb is much more frequently omitted in Latin than in English, especially in colloquial, epistolary, or poetical style. Cf. Sat. iii. 93. Sentence after sentence may be met with in Cicero's Epistles where no verb of any kind is found.

auditor;—a mere 'hearer' of *recitations*. 'Shall I have opened my ears for nothing? Shall I never pay back in kind?' As *auditor* he had *received* a favour: but this favour was in itself an evil; so that in paying his debt he would pay back evil for evil. *Reponere* is properly to pay back a debt: *ut mihi des numos sexcentos quos continuo tibi reponam in hoc triduo aut quatriduo*, Plaut. Pers. i. 1. 38: so also *donata*, Hor. Ep. i. 7. 39:—but *non dicimus* reposuit *beneficium aut solvit*, Sen. Ep. 81. § 9. Pliny, Book i. 13. § 6: 'I can now at last return to my country retreat and write something *which shall not be recited*, that I may not seem to have been the *creditor* instead of the *hearer* (*auditor*) of those at whose recitations I was present.' The thought and indeed the language seem similar to those of Horace, Ep. i. 19. 39 *Non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor*, &c.

2. vexatus. *Vexo* is a stronger word in Latin than our 'vex': *vexasse* grave *verbum est . . . vexare vi atque motu procul dubio vastiore est*, A. Gell. ii. 6. It means 'deeply moved,' 'harassed.'

totiens. The poem had been recited *ad nauseam*. Cf. *Auditur toto saepe poeta die*, Mart. x. 70. Others, like Mayor, explain *totiens* as implying that the recitation took more than a single day to accomplish, comparing Pliny, Ep. iii. 18. 4, 'My friends begged me to add a third day to my recitations': but it may be doubted whether *totiens* could bear this meaning.

rauci. Juvenal has in mind Hor. Sat. i. 4. 65 *Sulcius acer Ambulat et Caprius rauci male*. Juvenal is full of indirect allusions to his predecessor. Martial vi. 41 describes such a reciter as appearing with a tie (*focale*) round his neck: *lana recitat fauces et colla revinctus*. Cf. id. iv. 41. 'Such a speaker,' he remarks, 'by trying to speak when hoarse, shows that he can neither speak nor be silent.'

Theseide, an epic, long and wearisome; formed like Aeneis, Thebais, &c. The Greek feminine suffix *-ίδ-* forms feminines of adjectives or nouns which commonly appear as independent feminine substantives; thus *πατρίς* (*γῆ*), &c. Such forms as these seem to have isolated themselves from *fabula*, and thus to have become independent substantives.

Cordi. An unknown author: possibly a descendant of Cremutius Cordus, who starved himself to death A.D. 25, Tac. Ann. iv. 34, 35; scanty fragments of his works are preserved in ch. vii. of Seneca's Suasoriae.

3. ergo. The shortening of the *ō* is post-classical. The word is remarked on by Priscian as frequently introducing a complaint; cf. Horace *Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor Urget*, Od. i. 24. 5: cf. also Juv. Sat. iv. 99.

recitaverit. The Imperial era was remarkable for the extraordinary production of books, owing to the cheapness and ease with which they could be multiplied. Skilled slaves could take down any quantity of copies of any work that might be dictated. But the taste for public reading was largely increased by the institution of Public Free Libraries. Asinius Pollio, following the wishes of Julius Caesar, who died

before he could carry out his policy, built the first Public Library at Rome, on the Aventine, one wing being reserved for Greek and one for Latin literature. This was about A. U. C. 717. Augustus, in pursuance of this policy, opened the Bibliotheca Octaviae, and then the Bibliotheca Palatina Apollinis. Tiberius, Vespasian, and Trajan each in his turn founded another; and it seems probable that books could be borrowed from these libraries; see Lanciani, Ancient Rome, p. 184. But these libraries can hardly have had so much importance for the public in ancient times as similar institutions would have in modern times, partly from the comparatively small number of those who were able to read, and partly from the difficulty which the books, written hastily from dictation, must in many cases have presented to the readers. Besides this we must take into account the passion for listening, which seems to have been much more violent with the Romans than with us. Roman poetry, with its artificial metres mostly taken from the Greek, must indeed have seemed robbed of its essence, if merely perused by a reader and not caught by his ear. And it was to satisfy these needs that Asinius Pollio, following the example of the Greeks (Plin. Ep. i. 20. § 4), and of earlier Roman literary men (Plin. Ep. v. 3. § 7), introduced the custom of literary recitations (*primus omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit*). The public thus had an opportunity of hearing the genuine edition of the author's works recited by himself and of becoming acquainted with his personality. Vergil thus recited, and was much admired (Servius ad Ecl. vi. 11, &c.); and Ovid, cf. *Carmina cum primum populo iuvenilia legi, Barba resecta mihi bisve semelve fuit,* Ovid, Tristia iv. 10. 57, 58. Recitations or literary conversations were sometimes held in λέσχαι or clubs of literary men, Mart. iii. 20, and iv. 61 (*in schola poetarum dum fabulamur*); sometimes at dinner, Mart. iii. 44 and 45; sometimes in temples and public places, Hor. Sat. i. 10. 38; sometimes in private houses lent to the poet by a wealthy friend or patron, Juv. Sat. i. 12, vii. 40: letters of invitation to friends were previously sent out (Plin. Ep. iii. 18. § 4). It was quite natural that such a practice, useful and desirable as it may have been in its origin, should soon deteriorate, owing to the great difficulty of killing time at Rome, the fashion for literary dilettanteism, and the suppression of political conversation, which fostered a taste, real or affected, for literature. Obscure poets sometimes hoped by attending such recitations to be pressed by the reciter to recite in their turn (Mart. i. 63 *Ad Celerem*). Petronius gives us the picture of a hardened reciter who, when the ship which carries him is sinking, continues to recite and write verses on a huge sheet of parchment. A great number of poetasters was produced, who made life intolerable (Hor. A. P. 474; Seneca, Ep. 95. 2; Petron. Sat. 90; Juv. Sat. iii. 9, &c.). For recitations in patrons' houses cf. Mart. iv. 6.

togatae (**fabulae**), genuine national Roman comedies, such as those written by Afranius. Quintilian speaks of the excellence of those written by Afranius, x. 1. § 100; cf. Wordsworth, Fragments and

Specimens of Early Latin, p. 597. They were opposed to *palliatae*, comedies on Greek subjects; just as *praetextae*, tragedies on Roman subjects, were opposed to *crepidatae*.

4. elegos: cf. Hor. Od. i. 33. 2 *Neu* miserabiles *Decantes elegos*, of whining love-songs.

ingens Telephus. Stock heroes, such as Telephus, king of Mysia, wounded by Achilles' spear and cured by the touch of its rusty point. The story belonged to the 'Cypria' and was adopted by Aeschylus and Euripides.

ingens, 'bulky'; possibly with a reference to the arch-consumer Hercules, Telephus' father. For the sense of *consumo* cf. *sumat, consumat, perdat*, Ter. H. T. iii. 1. 56. Telephus and Orestes are the names of tragedies by unknown authors. Ennius and Accius wrote plays on the subject of Telephus, which are not extant. Even Vergil, who writes an eclogue on Hylas, complains that he is a stock subject, Georg. iii. 3.

The tense in *consumpserit* as in *recitaverit* implies 'shall be said to have consumed,' &c.

5. Or an **Orestes,** the border filled to the very end, written on the back as well, and still not finished.

summus liber = *pars summa libri. Summus* is regularly used for the extremity in any direction. The *summus liber* here seems to be the last (*extremus*) sheet of parchment wrapped round the cylinder, as in Mart. iv. 89; where, addressing his book, he says, *Tu procedere adhuc et ire quaeris Nec summa potes in scheda teneri*, i. e. in the last strip of the roll. This strip would be at the bottom when all the sheets were unrolled. Weidner quotes the phrase *Summam manum alicui imponere.* It was customary to write on one side of the parchment only: parchments written on both sides were called *opisthographi.*

7. domus sua. A proverbial expression, possibly referring to Cicero ad Quint. Fratrem, i. 1. § 45 *Quamquam illud existimo cum iam tibi Asia sicut unicumque sua domus nota esse debeat:* the *dominus* and *domus* are closely associated by Martial viii. 36 and xi. 93; cf. also such phrases as *domi habuit unde disceret* Ter. Ad. iii. 3. 59.

lucus Martis. Among the Colchi, cf. Mart. xii. 53. 4, but become a tedious commonplace among the poets; as was the *Antrum Volcani* described by Verg. Aen. viii. 416 sq., but harped on by later poets.

8. Aeoliis rupibus. The Lipari islands. Verg. Aen. viii. 422 calls them *Volcani domus.*

9. The doings of the winds as described by Vergil, Aen. i. 81 sq. and modelled on Greek descriptions of the *Nostoi.*

quid agant, satirical: cf. *quid agis*, how do you do? 'How the winds are.' Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 3. § 1. Possibly, as Heinrich thinks, the whole passage refers to Apollonius Rhodius, book ii., and to Valerius Flaccus his senior contemporary, who wrote an *Argonautica*, and who describes a *lucus Martis*, vii. 62, and the doings of the winds, i. 574.

quas torqueat. The ghosts which Aeacus is torturing, as described

by Vergil, Aen. vi. 548 sq.; but the tortures are wasted upon viewless ghosts.

10. alius (Jason). There is a tone of contempt conveyed by the use of the diminutive *pelliculae* for the golden fleece, as if we were to talk of 'the smuggled sheepskin.' It is characteristic of Juvenal, as an author of a learned age, to avoid mentioning the name of the person to whom he refers, but to leave it to the reader to gather by the aid of his literary reminiscences. Cf. Introduction, Peculiarities of Juvenal's Style.

devehat, floats down stream like merchandise; cf. *vinum Tiberi devectum,* Sat. vii. 121.

11. 'The girth of the mountain ashes tossed about by Monychus', a centaur, of whom Ovid, Met. xii. 510, says *insani deiectam viribus Austri Forte trabem nanctus validum coniecit in hostem Exemplumque fuit.* Μώνυχος is doubtless from *μῶνυξ*. The latter is derived by L. and S. from *μόνος* and *ὄνυξ*: to which Ameis objects (see Leaf on Il. v. 236) that in Homer *μοῦνος* is invariably used for *μόνος*, and never = *εἷς*; that *μονῶνυξ* is later and scientific; and that Homer applies the epithet, which, if *μῶνυξ* = *μονῶνυξ*, would be applicable to all horses, only to *fiery* horses when in action; hence he connects it with √MA.

12. Frontonis. Some patron who lent his hall to poor poets for recitation. The *Fronto* in question may possibly be the friend of Martial referred to in i. 55. 2 as *Clarum militiae, Fronto, togaeque decus;* and by Pliny Ep. ii. 11 as an advocate expert in raising tears; and probably therefore an interested critic. Rich men lent their houses for recitation, as did Titinius Capito, Pliny, Epp. viii. 12 'He lends his house to reciters and attends audiences with rare good-nature.'

platani. That the courts of rich men were sometimes planted with plane-trees we learn from Pliny, Epp. i. 3 *Quid platanon opacissimus?* Plane-trees came into fashion at the end of the Republic among the rich: the poor preferred planting fruit-trees. Hortensius once begged Cicero to change the allotted hours for their respective speeches, that he might go to his villa near Tusculum and water his plane-tree with wine! Horace, Od. ii. 15, complains of the unproductive nature of the tree and the extent to which it is being planted: *platanusque caelebs Evincet ulmos:* cf. also Ovid, Nux 17, and Pliny, N. H. xii. 6 *quis non iure miretur arborem umbrae gratia tantum ex alieno petitam orbe?* The *locus classicus* is Pliny, xii. 6.

convulsa: cf. *verbis convellere pectus,* Ovid, H. 17. 111, where 'pathetic words can make the heart leap'; here idle words make the very marbles shake.

marmora, not 'marble statues,' but 'marble work' generally, referring specially to the marble slabs let into or used as facing to the brick walls. For the passion of the Romans for marble cf. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. c. 15; the temple of Scaurus, a temporary structure, contained 360 pillars of marble, glass and painted wood, and 3000 statues; cf. Tibull. iii. 3. 3.

13. assiduo lectore. For the ablative of the personal agent without

a or *ab* cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 94 and C. i. 6. 2 (where, however, *aliti* has been suggested as a dative of the agent). Other instances are Hor. Ep. i. 1. 94 *curatus inaequali tonsore:* 19. 13 *Exiguae togae textore,* S. ii. 1. 84 *iudice laudatus Caesare.* Munro points out in Mayor's note ad loc. that the presence of the adjective in these cases makes all the difference; but in fact these constructions are really a 'contamination' between the ordinary instrumental use of the ablative, which would not require *ab* when the agent was inanimate, and the ordinary use of the ablative absolute which, after the fusion of the instrumental and locative cases in Latin, acquired some of the meaning of the former case. Cf. King and Cookson, Comp. Gr. of Greek and Latin, p. 182. *Assiduis lectoribus clamantibus* would have been quite correct. Here, however, the absence of *a* or *ab* seems explicable by the fact that the expression stands for *assiduitate lectorum,* and the construction therefore follows that of the ordinary impersonal ablative of the agent. The verse is a parody of Vergil, Georg. iii. 328 *cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae.*

15–22. 'You must know, then, that I have flinched from the rod as well as others; I have learnt to recite: I have practised *suasoriae,* and in discussing Sulla's conduct, I took the view that it would have been better for him, after attaining the dictatorship, to retire on his laurels. Would it not then be mistaken clemency for one so fitted for the task as I am, to refrain from writing, for the nuisance is flagrant and public?' Such were the regular subjects of these *suasoriae*: a public man's public conduct was discussed and commented upon. Dio Cassius represents such a discussion as actually taking place in 726 A. U. C. in Augustus' council of ministers: Agrippa recommending the restoration of freedom: Maecenas insisting on the maintenance of the monarchy. The young Romans, after a course of instruction in writing themes on questions of historical interest or old Roman legends (Quint. ii. 4, Sueton. de Rhet. c. i., see Friedländer, iii. p. 286), were instructed in declamation; being commonly required to throw themselves into the character of some hero connected with Roman history when declaiming about some critical epoch of his own life. Thus Persius (iii. 44) used to rub oil into his eyes to get off attendance at school, lest he should be required to recite the speech of Cato after he had resolved to commit suicide.

The next exercise in the rhetorical school was the practice of the so-called *controversiae*: these were in their nature dramatic: the scholar was taught to assume the rôle of accuser or defender in some case at law. Actual simple cases of recent occurrence were at first chosen, of which Suetonius gives an example. A party of young people, picnicking at Ostia, see some fishermen drawing their nets. They agree to purchase his haul on speculation. The net is drawn in, but instead of fish it contains a carefully fastened basket full of gold: both parties claim the object (Suetonius, de Rhet. c. i.).

But these *controversiae* soon degenerated into idle declamations on unreal cases. Quintilian ii. 10, v. 12 expressly urges that the fanciful cases should not be made too unlike the real ones; but the parents had

to be pleased (Petron. Sat. iii.). Speeches were made against offences not recognised by the law, such as against ingratitude; tyrants were abused; pirates standing in chains were accused or defended. *Nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt, ut cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos,* Petron. chap. i.

15. ferula. A flat stick for striking boys on the hands. Mart. has an Epigram, x. 62, in which he begs a schoolmaster not to be too severe upon his scholars in the summer and not to employ the *Cirrata loris horridis Scythae pellis . . . Ferulaeque tristes, sceptra paedagogorum.* Cf. Hor. A. P. 415 *didicit, prius extimuitque magistrum.*

16. altum dormiret, a cognate accusative; the object consisting in a substantival adjective connected in sense with the verb. This so-called cognate accusative is merely an adverbial use of the accusative: the accusative defining and qualifying the verb; cf. *perfidum ridens Venus* Hor. C. iii. 27. 67: *ἡδὺ γελᾶν, dulce loqui,* &c. See K. and C. Comp. Gr. p. 177.

18. vatibus (satirical), 'inspired bards.' *Vates* is a word which, meaning originally a 'speaker' (see Nettleship's Essays on Latin Lit. p. 53), was deemed less honourable than *poeta* by Ennius: vide Munro, Lucretius i. 102. But Vergil and Horace brought the name into repute. Thus the idea here is 'You meet with so many bards, all of whom say that they are inspired.'

periturae, i. e. which will be spoiled by some one else, if not by myself.

19. decurrere. Used strictly of military manœuvres: as we might say 'to parade' in this field; cf. Livy xxvii. 17, Aen. xi. 189.

20. 'Aurunca's great foster-child' is Lucilius, the father of Roman personal Satire, born at Suessa Aurunca. Munro fixes his birth as between 170 and 165 B.C.: he died at Naples 102 B.C. Cf. Quintilian viii. 1. 3 *Quare et verba omnia et vox huius* alumnum *urbis oleant.* On the bravery with which he attacked abuses in high places cf. Persius i. 115, and Horace, Sat. ii. 1. 69 and ib. line 29 *Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.* He was *magnus* alike by fame and family, being an *eques* and the great-uncle on the mother's side of Pompeius Magnus. Pliny, H. N. (Preface) speaks of him as being the first to form a Roman style, *Primus condidit stili nasum.*

The word *alumnus* is a passive participial formation, meaning 'the one nurtured,' and its formation is similar to that of the Greek past participle in *-μένος.* Cf. *Vertumnus,* the god of spring, *vert-o-meno-s* (the year) who returns: traces of the same formation are found in *leg-i-mini, am-āminī;* see Henry's Comp. Gr. Greek and Latin, § 156.

22–80. 'I am naturally enough driven to Satire by the unnatural circumstances of our social life; look at the effeminacy of the men, the unnatural manliness of the women; the arrogance of the upstarts.'

On the influence of the public games on Roman morals, see Friedländer, vol. ii. 318. As if the taste for cruelty was not sufficiently de-

veloped among the Romans, Domitian introduced dwarfs and women into the arena to fight at the Saturnalia A.D. 90; Nero, Moorish gladiators, in the games given at Puteoli to welcome Tiridates the Parthian king.

22. **Mevia,** unknown; she appears in the amphitheatre fighting wild beasts. Cf. Mart. vii. 67; Tac. Ann. xv. 32 *Feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per harenam foedati sunt.* This was under Nero, A.D. 64. Cf. too Mart. xii. 14. 9, 10.

Tuscum, as particularly fierce. Cf. Statius, Silvae iv. 6. 10 *Cur Tuscus aper generosior Umbro.* Juvenal seems to have been familiar with the whole passage.

23. **nuda mamma,** in the amphitheatre like an Amazon. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 492; xi. 648 *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon Unum exserta latus.*

24. **unus,** probably Cinnamus. Cf. Mart. vii. 64 *Qui tonsor fueras tota notissimus urbe Et post hoc dominae munere factus eques.* On the scorn with which aristocratic Rome looked down on upstarts see Becker, Gallus iii. 136, and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, i. 3. p. 259.

25. This line occurs again at x. 226. It is probably a parody on Vergil, Ecl. i. 29 *Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat.*

gravis to be taken with *sonabat;* 'beneath whose clipping shears my beard sounded so grandly in my younger days.' *Gravis* seems to refer to the *weight* which he felt his beard lent him; it can hardly mean 'superfluous,' as Mr. Lewis would take it. *Gravis* may refer to the sound, dull, as *sonus gravis* is opposed to *sonus acutus*; but a reference to the Roman *gravitas* which he thought was lent him by his beard seems more likely.

26. **pars Niliacae plebis.** This 'spawn of the *canaille* of the Delta,' hateful at all times to a genuine Roman, was doubly hated since Cleopatra's time. *Erubescit apud eos (Aegyptios) siqui non infitiando tributa plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat,* Amm. xxii. 16. § 23.

verna is a slave born and bred at Canopus. The home bred slaves were encouraged by their *blasé* masters to utter their vulgar sallies, whence *verna* comes to connote the idea of pertness: cf. Martial i. 41: cf. also Tibullus i. 5. 25 *Consuescet amantis Carrulus in dominae ludere verna sinu.* Egyptian *vernae* were noted as particularly *loquaces* and *protervi,* Stat. S. v. 5. 56 sqq. Canopus, 120 stadia N.E. of Alexandria, celebrated for its vice (cf. Sen. Ep. 51. § 3). Amm. xxii. 16. § 14 describes it as *diversoriis laetis exstructus. Verna,* probably from *ves-ina,* through *verina,* from the root *ves,* 'to dwell,' seen in *sa-ves-tar,* the probable origin of *sister,* through A.S. *sweostor;* lit. 'she who dwells with the brother.' Cf. Ves-ta, ἑσ-τία.

27. **Crispinus,** spoken of in Satire iv. 1; he was made an *eques* by Domitian, iv. 32. He began by being a seller of fish in Egypt. Martial has an Epigram on him, vii. 99, but, as the court poet, finds it prudent to secure his interest.

umero revocante. His shoulder 'hitching up,' or more properly 'hitching forward.' The *lacernae* were light purple cloaks worn over

the *toga ;* cf. Sat. ix. 28. Crispinus, with an effeminate movement of the shoulders, jerked his *lacerna* forward. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6. § 9, gives as some of the signs and causes of the decadence of Rome—the love of statues, dress, and wealth; and, referring to the *lacernae* here in question, he says that men make a show of them, *Expandentes eas crebris agitationibus maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant varietate liciorum* effigiatae in species animalium *multiformes*. Thus, if the *lacerna* dragged too much behind, the pattern of the animal delineated in front would disappear.

28. He has a special light ring for summer; and he shakes his hand in the wind to cool this; at the same time the motion serves to make his ring flash in the sun. With the whole passage should be compared Mart. ii. 29, on a *libertinus*, originally a branded slave, but now a senator. *Rufe, vides illum subsellia prima terentem Cuius et hinc lucet sardonychata manus Quaeque Tyron totiens epotavere lacernae*, &c. The Roman passion for rings is often alluded to: cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii. 31 *Exornamus annulis digitos ; in omni articulo gemma disponitur*. Martial speaks of them in much the same way as Juvenal: *Saepe gravis digitis elabitur annulus unctis*, xiv. 123. He also notices the heaviness of the rings worn by some Romans, xi. 37 *Annulus iste tuus fuerat modo cruribus aptus : Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt*.

30. **satura,** said by the grammarians to have originally signified a 'hotch potch' of different ingredients served up together; and the original form is said to have been *lanx satura ;* this will answer to the *farrago* or 'medley' (i. e. of pictures of contemporary society) which Juvenal expressly declares his works to be. *Per saturam* is used in the meaning 'all in one mass.' See the note on *Satura*.

iniquae, 'unfair,' because admitting such inequalities.

31. **tam ferreus,** i. e. case-hardened.

32. **nova lectica.** The palanquin is brand new, as is the dignity of the lawyer who eventually becomes bankrupt, Sat. vii. 129 sqq.; cf. Martial's Epigram ii. 81 *Laxior hexaphoris tua sit lectica licebit : Cum tamen haec tua sit, Zoile, sandapila est* : i. e. 'Roomy as your palanquin may be, it contains a mere corpse.'

33. The palanquin is filled by himself, though there was room for two, as we learn from Suet. Nero 9. Weidner supposes that under the denomination of *delator* the M. Aquilius Regulus is meant who is spoken of by Pliny, Ep. i. 5. 14, and in iv. 2. 4, in terms which would suit this passage. On the *delatores* see Tac. Hist. iv. 42. These *delatores*, like the French *mouchards* under the second Empire, were amongst the *instrumenta imperii*. On Tiberius' encouragement of the *delatores* see Merivale, Hist. of the Roman Empire, v. 265, and on M. Aquilius Regulus see vol. vii. 387.

34. It was the policy of the Empire to suppress the nobility. They were successively persecuted by Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, especially the last. Cf. Sat. iv. 86 sq.

The expression **rapturus de nobilitate comesa quod superest**

reminds us of *Nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat; et tamen illud Perdidit infelix totum nihil*, Sat. iii. 208. For *comesa* cf. v. 138 *Comedunt patrimonia;* so *adesa pecunia,* Cic. pro Q. 12. Cf. pro Sext. §§ 110 and 111.

35. **Massa,** in 70 A.D., Procurator of Africa: a notorious *delator.* Cf. Tac. Hist. iv. 50. Martial speaks of him, xii. 29, as *fur nummorum;* cf. Pliny, Ep. vii. 33. Herennius Senecio and Pliny accused him *repetundarum,* after his proconsulate in Baetica, and he was condemned. **palpat** properly applied to stroking horses, *cum equum permulsit quis vel palpatus est,* Ulp. Dig. 9. 1. 1, as we use the phrase 'to curry favour.'

36. **Mettius Carus** was another informer equally notorious, who procured the condemnation of Herennius Senecio in 73 A.D. Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 5. 3. Cf. *Ecce reum Carus te detulit*, Mart. xii. 25. 5.

Thymele. Cf. Mart. i. 5. 5 *Qua* Thymelen *spectas, derisoremque* Latinum. Mart. ix. 29 has an epitaph on Latinus, in which he is made to pride himself on his *mores.*

44. Beer alleges that the reading of P. is **Lugudunensem,** and we have therefore adopted it into the text. He gives many instances of the word occurring in the form *Lugudunum* on coins and in inscriptions, e.g. Cohen, Descr. Hist. des Monnaies Imp. i. 51. 4, and Dio Cassius, xlvi. 50, who expressly speaks of the town as *Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθέν, νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον.* A terra-cotta medallion found in Orange represents the genius of Lugudunum with sceptre and cornucopia; at its feet sits a raven on a rock; see Froehner, Les Musées de France, pl. xv. n. 2, and p. 59 f. These birds are supposed to have been the symbols of the Celtic God Lugus (answering to the Roman Mercurius), gen. Lugovas (Irish Lug., gen. Loga); thus Lúgú-dunon will = 'Lugu's festivals.' This etymology was proposed by Arbois de Jubainville, Revue archéologique, N. S. (1878) p. 388, and is approved by Beer. The name of the god Lugus is preserved in the British local name Lugo-vallo, the present Carlisle (Itinerarium Antonini p. 467, 2); and a Celtic name, Lugu-magus = 'field of Lugus,' has given us the modern Louth. Others have seen in *lugu* the old Irish *lug* = Greek ἐ-λαχύ-ς, 'small'; so that Lugudunum would = Littleton. For **aram** cf. Suet. Calig. c. 20 *edidit* (*Caligula*) . . . *hic certamen Graecae Latinaeque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorumdem et laudes componere coactos: eos autem qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere jussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.* This explains why a speaker at Lyons might well tremble. The altar was raised by Drusus B.C. 12, and the sixty tribes of Gallia Comata inscribed their names. The altar was designed to subvert the national Druidical religion. Seneca, Apocol. 6, of Claudius, *Luguduni natus est, Marci municipem vides.*

45. **iecur.** The seat of the strongest passions, as *cor* was the seat of wit. Cf. Hor. C. i. 13. 4 *fervens difficili bile tumet iecur. Voluptas*

et concupiscentia iuxta eos qui de physicis disputant consistit in iccore. Hieronymus.

46. premit, 'jostles,' 'treads on the heels of.'

47. prostantis, reduced to infamy.

49. Marius Priscus was tried and condemned to banishment in 100 A.D. for his extortions in the province of Africa, which were carried out on almost as extensive a scale as those of Verres in Sicily. Cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 11. Pliny, in conjunction with Tacitus, accused him *de repetundis*. We gather that he lived comfortably enough in his exile on his ill-gotten gains; so that the condemnation did little good. Cf. Plin. Ep. iii. 4. 8, &c. To dine before the ninth hour was unusual. See Mart. iv. 8. 6.

exul. *D* in Latin generally appears answering to δ in Greek, as in δόμος, *domus:* but sometimes a Latin *ld* becomes *ll*, as *mold-v-i-s;* cf. ἡδύς and *suavis: dl* also appears as *ll*, cf. *sella* = *sedla*, cf. *sed-eo* and ἕδος. Sometimes a simple *d* is represented by *l* in Latin, as *con-sul-es*, those who *sit* together;—*ex-sul* (= *qui extra sedet*), &c. Cf. Henry, Comp. Gr. p. 65, § 3.

fruitur dis iratis. A parody on Seneca, Herc. F. 33, 34, where Juno says of Hercules *superat et crescit malis | iraque nostra fruitur*. The phrase is very common; cf. Pers. iv. 27 *hunc dis iratis genioque sinistro*. Cf. Sat. x. 129. Cf. Sen. Apocol. 11 *Videte corpus eius dis iratis natum*.

50. The province gets its verdict and suffers all the same.

vincere causam is a common expression for gaining a lawsuit. It answers to νικᾶν δίκην: cf. Plin. Ep. vi. 33. So Ovid, H. 16. 76.

51. This is worthy of the midnight oil of a Horace (born at Venusia). Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 34. Horace expressly tells us that, like Lucilius, Juvenal's model, he intended to satirise persons. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 45, 46 *Qui me commorit, melius non tangere, clamo!* &c.

52. agitem, 'deal with,' 'treat of.' Cf. Caes. B. G. vii. 2 *his rebus agitatis*.

sed quid magis? 'Nay, what should I rather choose to treat of than this? Should it be of the fables of Hercules or trivial tales about Diomede, &c., *when* all the time such doings are in vogue with us?' With **Heracleas** *fabulas* is understood, just as Mostellaria stands for *fabula Mostellaria*. Cf. Mart. iv. 49 and x. 4, where the same views are expressed.

53. mugitum labyrinthi, the bellowing of the Minotaur in the Cretan maze. See Ovid, Met. viii. 155 sqq.

54. puero, Icarus: **fabrum volantem,** Daedalus: but the language is satirical; as we might say 'the flying joiner.' *Puero* is the ablative of the instrument, seen in such cases as *testibus convictum esse*, where the persons are looked on merely as the means; cf. note on line 13; though it might be taken as the dative of the agent, which is used with verbal adjectives and with passive participles, like *formidatus Othoni*.

58. 'When a young nobleman looks for the command of a cohort, though he has ruined himself by furious driving along the Flaminian Way, a true charioteer, *for* he did not disdain to hold the reins while he flaunted his skill before his masculine mistress.'

cura and *curare* are military words expressive of military commands; cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 24. **curam cohortis,** i. e. a tribuneship in the army.

59. Even in Ammianus' time, xiv. 6. § 25, the writer complains that the youth of Rome *quod est studiorum omnium maximum ab ortu lucis ad vesperam sole fatiscunt vel pluviis per minutias aurigarum equorumque praecipua vel delecta scrutantes.*

On the passion for horse-racing at Rome under the Empire see Friedländer, Sitteng. Vol. i. p. 160 sqq. Martial has four epigrams on the popular charioteer Scorpus; in iv. 67 he speaks of the praetor as declining to help an old friend and client on the ground that he must aid such charioteers as Scorpus and Thallus to pay for equestrian statues to be erected in their honour. Domitius, Nero's father, was *aurigandi arte in adulescentia clarus,* Suet. Nero, c. 4. Vitellius, when a youth, had himself groomed the horses of the Blue Faction, Diod. lxv. 5; and Caligula and Nero were much taken with his skill. In Nero's time the insolence of the charioteers of the circus had risen to such a pitch that a special law was made to restrain them, Suet. Nero, c. 16.

It must be understood that the Roman love of horses and horse-racing showed itself in an enthusiasm for the success of one or other of the four squadrons or factions into which the *agitatores circenses* were divided, named respectively *albata*, *prasina*, *russata,* and *veneta*, from the white, green, red or blue colour of the caps and jackets of their champions. The origin of the four factions was that the ordinary race in the circus was run by four chariots; each of these was fitted and equipped by a different company managed by directors: and the latter struck a bargain with the donor of the spectacle. Domitian to the existing four factions added two new ones, the *factio aurata* and the *factio purpurea.* Lanciani, p. 214, gives a reproduction of an inscription from the pedestal of the jockey Crescens, from which it appears that he, when only twenty-two years old, had already gained 1,558,346 *sestertii.* A copy of the mosaic found near Gerona in Spain in 1884 is also given. It represents a chariot-race, with the names of the champions inscribed near each group of runners. Amm. xiv. 6. § 26 remarks, *Est admodum mirum videre plebem innumeram mentibus ardore quodam infuso cum dimicationum curulium eventu pendentem.*

caret naturally follows *donavit*, having virtually a perfect sense, 'and he has lost.' The present after *dum* is regular after a perfect clause, equivalent to a participial phrase. Cf. notes on iii. 10, v. 94.

61. Flaminiam. The great northern road to Ariminum. It ran by the Campus Martius, passed by the porta Flaminia, then passed over to the right bank of the Tiber by the pons Mulvius, and through Umbria to the Adriatic coast at the mouth of the Rubicon. Livy, Epit.

1. 30 *C. Flaminius censor viam Flaminiam munivit*, who fell at Thrasimenus, fighting against Hannibal, 215 A. C. It was much frequented; cf. Mart. x. 6. 6 *Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via.*

Automedon. He in fact imitates a regular charioteer; as we might say, 'a regular Jehu.' Automedon was proverbial from such passages as Verg. Aen. ii. 476, 7 *Equorum agitator Achillis armiger Automedon;* Cicero, pro Rosc. Am. § 98 *suis manibus in curru collocat* Automedontem *illum* (*Glauciam*). Thus too Ovid, A. A. 1. 8. **nam** gives the reason for Juvenal's styling him a regular charioteer or professional; he was not ashamed to drive himself. Juvenal was no admirer of those 'who witch the world with noble horsemanship,' and held driving oneself to be inconsistent with the traditional Roman *gravitas.*

62. **lacernatae.** His lady friend had donned a man's *lacerna.*

iactare se is to give oneself airs: cf. *intolerantius se iactare*, Cic. de Or. ii. 52: so Verg. Aen. i. 140.

63. **medio quadruvio,** to fill bulky note-books full amid the very stir of the cross-ways without even waiting to go home. The **cerae** were small slabs of deal fitted into a frame and fastened by a hinge. The inner surface was smeared with wax. The two slabs could be closed and sealed if necessary. Such tablets have been discovered in Pompeii, in the house of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus; cf. Rolfe's Pompeii, p. 232.

64. He has *now* a *lectica hexaphoros;* in a short time he will have an *octophoron:* see Martial vi. 84. Catullus boasted that he was able to save enough in Bithynia to afford (x. 20) *octo homines parare rectos Ad lecticam.* Cf. Mart. vi. 77 *Quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse iuvat?*

65. **hinc atque inde:** for the more classical *hinc atque hinc.*

The **cathedra** was a woman's lounge, Mart. iii. 63, and the occupant was not ashamed to be seen in it: nay, he actually drew back the curtains that he might be seen. To be seen in a litter at all was a mark of luxury. In early Imperial times the right of travelling in a litter within the walls of Rome seems to have been restricted to senators; but, no doubt, such regulations were but loosely insisted on. Claudius (Suet. c. 28), *Harpocrati lectica per Urbem vehendi ius tribuit.*

66. 'He puts you much in mind of **Maecenas**, that prince of loungers,' cf. Sat. xii. 39. Maecenas' laziness and luxury had passed into a proverb; cf. Sat. xii. 38. 39 *vestem Purpuream* teneris *quoque Maecenatibus aptam.* Seneca, Ep. 114. § 4 says of him, *quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit, quam cupierit videri, quam vitia sua latere noluit.*

referens, 'recalling'; cf. *mores, os, vultusque patris referre*, Plin. Ep. v. 16; so *Marsigni Suevos referunt*, Tac. Germ. 43.

67. **signator, falso.** A forger, who by knavery, viz. a short will and a wet seal, has made himself luxurious and wealthy. **Exiguis tabulis** and **gemma uda** are an expansion of *falso.* Others take *signator falso* together, and explain *falso* as a dative, 'the signatory *to* a forged docu-

ment.' Others take *falso* as an adverb: but the instances of an adverb following a substantive are rare, though see Nägelsbach, L. Stil. § 75. Some editors have adopted Markland's conjecture, *signator falsi*.

68. The will was short; the whole property was transferred to him; the wetting of the **gemma** or seal was to prevent the seal sticking to the wax. Ovid, Am. ii. 15. 16, speaks of a *gemma sicca* as *tenax*. Cf. too Ovid, Tristia, v. 4. 5 *nec qua signabar, ad os est Ante, sed ad madidas gemma relata genas*.

We have adopted *fecerit*, with Ribbeck and Beer. It has good MS. authority, and is certainly more elegant, more natural, and more in Juvenal's style than *fecerat*. Beer points out that the scribe who wrote the Pithoean Codex is not unfrequently guilty of writing a vowel wrongly, from his eye catching the same vowel in a preceding or following word.

69. **occurrit,** 'there meets you.'

70. **viro sitiente;** abl. abs. There seems no reason to suppose with W. that *viro* is the dative and that *eo* is to be supplied with *sitiente*.

rubetam is poison procured from the bramble frog (from *rubus*), supposed to be very poisonous. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxv. 76; Sat. vi. 659 *At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetae*.

71. An improved **Lucusta.** Lucusta was a Gallic woman suborned by Nero to poison Britannicus and by Agrippina to poison Claudius. Cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 66 and xiii. 15, and especially Suet. Nero 33. Nero had recourse to her in his last agony; Suet. 47. She was executed by Galba; see Mayor's note *ad loc*.

72. **per famam et populum:** probably a hendiadys, 'through all the talking mob.'

nigros, Quintil. Decl. 15, § 4 to prove poisoning *oportet ostendas putre livoribus cadaver inter efferentium manus fluens tabe corpus*.

efferre, the regular word for 'to carry out a corpse for burial.' Cf. *effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos*, Mart. viii. 43.

73. **Gyaros,** or Gyara, *Giura*, a small barren island between Andros and Ceos, the Botany Bay of Rome: see Tacitus, Ann. iv. 30: much used under the empire as a place for deported criminals. The elision of the long vowel in **aude** is unusual, though not unparalleled. Cf. Sat. xiv. 76.

74. **si vis esse aliquid.** 'If you wish to be anything (of account)'; cf. the common phrase 'every body who is any body.' Another reading is *aliquis:* but *aliquid* seems the more pointed. Cf. Plat. Apol. 41 e *ἐὰν δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες*: for the reading *aliquis* which Lewis adopts, he appositely quotes Theoc. xi. 79 *κἠγώ τις φαίνομαι ἦμεν*. Cf. Prop. iv. 7. 1 *Sunt aliquid Manes*. **Et** is used in the sense of 'and still,' as in Petr. Sat. xxxiv *heri non tam bonum posui* et *multo honestiores cenabant*.

probitas. 'Goodness gets praise and starvation as its reward.' **Laudare** is often used like *ἐπαινεῖν*, for 'to decline with thanks,' cf. *laudato ingentia rura, Exiguum colito*, Verg. Georg. ii. 413; cf. the use of *benigne* like Fr. *merci*, 'no thank you,' Hor. Ep. i. 7. 16, 62.

75. **criminibus** here means 'crimes,' commonly 'accusations.' Ovid's use of *sine crimine coniux* marks the transition of meaning. The word seems to be contrasted with *probitas.*

hortos, such as those of Caesar, and those of Maecenas. Mayor has an exhaustive note on the gardens of the rich Roman nobles. Rome was not merely surrounded and enclosed by gardens, but intersected in every direction. The Pincian hill was occupied by the magnificent gardens of Acilius Glabrio, discovered in 1867. Where the villa Medici now stands were the gardens of the Anician family. The south-west slope of the Pincian was occupied by the gardens of Lucullus. The valley between the Pincian and the Quirinal was the seat of the gardens of Sallust. Proceeding further south we should cross the gardens of Lollia Paulina, of Maecenas, of Aelius Lamia, of Torquatus, of Epaphroditus, of Gallienus, of Pallans, of Helagabalus, of Statilius Taurus and many smaller gardens. Many of these, notably those on the Esquiline, were laid out upon the public cemeteries, which had become offensive and dangerous to the public health. This was mainly owing to the wise precautions of Maecenas; *vide* Lanciani, pp. 101–104.

praetoria, properly the general's tent: then an emperor's palace, the princeps being the regular imperator: then the large country house of any rich man.

mensas. Their costly tables of citrus wood, made of sections of the whole tree. See Hehn, Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere, p. 361.

76. **argentum vetus,** 'their old plate.' 'Their old silver plate and the goblet with the goat in high relief.' For the value attached to old plate cf *I nunc argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspice,* Hor. Ep. i. 6. 17. Martial says of a lizard similarly standing out from a silver cup *Mentoris manu ducta Lacerta vivit et timetur argentum,* iii. 41. Silver vases with such figures in high relief were called *vasa aspera,* cf. Verg. Aen. v. 267. Cf. Preller, Gr. Myth. i. 561.

79. The idea resembles that in Dryden's 'Religio Laici':—

'For while from sacred truth I do not swerve,
Tom Stemhold's or Tom Shadwell's rhymes will serve.'

80. **Cluvienus,** some unknown second-rate poet of the day.

81. **ex quo,** from the time that, ἐξ οὗ, used however by Pliny the younger in the sense of 'wherefore.'

The story of **Deucalion** is told at length by Ovid, Met. i. 260 sqq.

81–146. The present condition of society compels one even against one's will to write Satire. Vice has never been so general or so shameless. We worship the goddess Money, in fact, even though we have as yet not formally deified her. (Though Arnob. iv. 9 expressly mentions a *dea Pecunia*).

82. **navigio,** *climbed* the mountain in his vessel; a touch of irony, as Mayor remarks. Cf. *superfuerunt qui ad Deucalionem* ratibus evecti sunt, Justin, Hist. lib. ii. 6 § 11.

sortes poposcit means 'asked for the oracles'; these were pieces of wood with verses on them, which were first shuffled and then drawn.

It is said that the myth of **Deucalion** and **Pyrrha** arose from a misunderstanding of the word *πύρρα*, 'the red earth,' and a confusion between *λαός* and *λᾶας*; see Max Müller, Chips, vol. ii. p. 12. Cf. Pindar, Ol. ix. 42 *Διὸς αἴσᾳ Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παρνασσοῦ καταβάντε δόμον ἔθεντο πρῶτον, ἄτερ δ' εὐνᾶς ὁμόδαμον κτησάσθαν λίθινον γόνον.*

83. caluerunt mollia. *Mollia* is proleptic; 'warmed into softness.' The whole description is modelled on Ovid, Met. i. 367 sqq.

85. Cf. Martial, x. 4. 10 *hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

86. discursus, their restless aims, their 'eager fussiness' to gain honour and money; the word in this sense is peculiar to the silver age of Latinity. Cf. Sen. de Brev. Vit. 3 § *officiosa per urbem discursatio.* And again *haec propter quae litigamus discurrimus anhelamus*, Sen. de Ira iii. 32. The word 'distractions' has retained much of the sense of *discursus*: it is preserved in our use of 'distractions' in English and still more in the French use of the word.

farrago, 'hotch-potch,' properly of spelt (*far*); the word is used with reference to the meaning of *satura.*

88. sinus. Probably to be taken as the fold of the toga which formed a pocket for the purse; thus Avarice is represented as opening wide her purse for more. Cf. xiv. 327. Others have taken it of 'a sail.' Others assume that the word is here used in the sense of 'an abyss.' Weidner quotes Sen. Oed. 595 *subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.*

alea. Amm. xiv. 6. 25 *pugnaciter aleis certant turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantibus.* One of the exhortations in the mock *nenia* to Claudius, the Apocolocyntosis of Seneca 12, was '(mourn for him) *vos imprimis qui concusso Magna parastis lucra fritillo.*' The punishment inflicted on the deceased Emperor in the same satire was to play for ever with dice boxes without bottoms, so that the Emperor might be eternally tantalized: *Alea ludere pertuso fritillo.*

89. hos animos (i.e. *habuit*). The omission of the verb is usual in the conversational style; cf. Sen. Troad. 348 Agam. *Hos Scyrus animos?* Pyrrh. *Scelere quae fratrum caret.* **Animos** = 'spirits,' 'life.'

enim simply strengthens *neque*, 'nor indeed.' In common with *nam* and *nempe*, it seems to be connected with the root *gnā*, found in *gna-rus*; and its original signification must have been 'you must know,' 'to wit.'

loculis, 'a small casket' or case with compartments, for keeping money and other valuables; it is contrasted with the **arca** or strong box which *is staked* (*ponitur*) on the result of the throw; cf. *Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca*, Mart. v. 42; used to keep poison in, Suet. Calig. 49.

91. The **dispensator,** or 'house-steward,' who keeps his accounts, serves as his 'squire' in the battle of the gaming table, and finds him the weapons, i.e. the money. Cf. Becker, Gallus, ii. 118. The *dispensatores* were, under the Emperors, chosen from amongst the most trusted of Roman slaves, as cashiers and accountants. They often grew very

rich; cf. Suet. Otho 5 *ante paucos dies servo Caesaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium expresserat.*

92. simplexne furor. 'Is it a common, every-day madness?' The phrase puts us in mind of *insanire putas sollemnia,* &c., Horace, Ep. i. 1. 101.

93. reddere implies that the tunic was the slave's 'due'; *reddere* means to give that which you are for some reason expected or bound to give, Orell. ad Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 216; cf. the expression *reddere iura.* Roby, § 2102. Juvenal may refer to some real incident, as his way is; such as a gambler who, after losing his all, staked his slave's tunic and refused to replace it; but this is, of course, far from certain.

94. totidem villas. After the battle of Actium, Augustus set himself to beautify Rome by encouraging the erection of costly and striking buildings. For the luxury in villas see Hor. C. iii. 1. 41–46; Ep. i. 10. 22; Tac. Ann. iii. 55. The wealthiest families owned several villas, 'planned and arranged upon a different principle, in accordance with their destination as winter, spring or summer residences.' The two ill-fated brothers, Quintilius Condianus and Quintilius Maximus, owned a magnificent winter seat at the fifth milestone on the Appian Way; this villa was only seven miles distant from another built by the same family, on the slopes of Tusculum, as a family resort. The Valerii likewise owned a line of villas beginning at the second milestone of the Via Latina, and ending near the Castrimoenium, the modern Marino: Lanciani, p. 264; cf. Friedländer, vol. iii. p. 63 sqq. Martial, vii. 73. 6, says to the possessor of several houses, *Quisquis ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam habitat.*

fercula. We may render this word 'courses'; it means originally trays fitted on to the top of the table, which was let down after each course by a trap-door and refilled. Cf. Petron. 35. **septem.** Augustus (Suet. Vit. Aug. 74) contented himself with three; when he had guests he sometimes allowed himself six. 'He devours seven courses, and all alone': cf. infra, 140–141 *quanta est gula quae sibi totos Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!*

95. sportula. The 'dole basket' was a 'survival' of the old times, when the patron would treat his clients to a *cena recta*; it was a basket filled with cold meat and such viands, distributed at the early morning *salutatio* by the *servus nomenclator*: this was afterwards changed into a fixed allowance of money. In the earliest times it seems that the *salutatores* looked for some acknowledgment from the patrons. Columella, praef. lib. i. 12 speaks of *mercenarii salutatores*, and Seneca, Brev. Vit. 14. 6 speaks of a *meritoria salutatio.* Probably these entertainments became troublesome and expensive to the patron, and in Nero's time, (Suet. Nero 16) we read *publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae*; that is, he substituted a 'ration' instead of a regular meal. This was soon commuted into a small sum of money, *centum quadrantes* Martial, iii. 7. 1. &c.; Domitian, Suet. 7 *sportulas publicas sustulit revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudine;* that is to say, he forbade the distribution of doles whether in money or in kind, and ordered patrons to give their clients a

cena recta. This proceeding of Domitian's is stated in connection with his policy of encouragement to corn-growers; and it may have had something to do with this. At all events, like his corn-laws, the measure was soon revoked, and in Martial's time money seems invariably to have been given instead of kind, except in the cases mentioned in his Book iii. 7. 14, &c.; see Friedländer, vol. i. p. 298. Martial speaks of a large dole of *triceni nummi* being given as a *sportula* by a rich man of low origin, x. 27. So also *Attrita veniet sportula saepe toga*, id. xiv. 125. See Classical Review, vol. ii. p. 37, where Professor Nettleship points out that from 94 A.D. to 101 A.D. there was no defined hour for the distribution of the sportulae.

96. togatae is explained by the necessity of appearing at the ceremony in the *toga*. It was hot and uncomfortable, and ill-suited for such a scramble. At the same time the word is ironical. Rome's citizens in their proud garb of citizenship let themselves down to this abasement.

97. ille, the master.

99. Ammianus, writing some three hundred years later, gives a strikingly similar account of the circumstances in his time (xiii. § 12), *At nunc si ad aliquem bene nummatum tumentemque ideo honestus advena salutatum introieris primitus tanquam exoptatus suscipieris et interrogatus . . . agnitus tandem et adscitus in amicitiam . . . reverteris ad paria perferenda.* The whole passage should be read in connection with this Satire.

100. ipsos Troiugenas. The very blue blood of Troy: the older Roman families claimed descent from the Trojans, as the *gens Iulia* from Iulus. Cf. viii. 56 *Teucrorum proles.* Dionys. i. 85, states that about fifty Trojan families existed in his days. Julius Caesar, in a funeral speech to the memory of his aunt Julia, boasted of her descent from Ancus Marcius on the one side, and from Venus, the grandmother of Iulus, on the other, Suet. Caes. vi. It must not be forgotten that one aim of Vergil's Aeneid was to teach the Romans that destiny had made the Romans the successful rivals of the Greeks, and that in the success of the Romans the Trojans had their revenge.

101. Here Juvenal ranks himself at least with the poorer classes if not with the freedmen of Rome. Cf. Sat. iii. 188 and Mart. xii. 18: from which passages we gather that Juvenal was a *cliens* in the later sense of the word, i.e. a dependent upon great houses. See p. 12 and the note on *clientela.*

da praetori. So that even men in office did not deem it beneath them to receive the dole. Cf. Mart. ii. 18.

104. Euphrates is used for the East generally: cf. Verg. Georg. i. 509 *Hinc movet Euphrates, illic Germania bellum.* The best Romans held all Orientals in contempt. Cf. Cic. Prov. Cons. 10 *Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.* The earrings, much worn by Orientals even at the present day, were a sign of effeminacy (*molles*). Pliny bewails the drain on Roman capital taken to supply the needs of Rome from the

East, H. N. xii. 84 *minimaque computatione miliens centena milia sestertium* (nearly a million sterling) *annis omnibus India et Seres paeninsulaque illa* (Arabia) *imperio nostro adimunt.* See Friedländer, vol. iii. p. 49.

105. Heinrich, followed by Weidner, thinks that by **quinque tabernae** are meant, not five retail shops which he rents, but the five *tabernae* or places of exchange mentioned by Livy, xxvi. 27 *Eodem tempore* (210 B.C.) *septem tabernae, quae postea quinque, et argentariae, quae nunc novae appellantur, arsere*; xxvi. 11. 16 *locaverunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta sunt, septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.* It seems more probable that he means, 'I have five shops which bring me in the magic 400,000 sesterces,' the knight's census or estate. Trade in Rome was much in the hands of freedmen: see Mayor *ad loc.*

106. **purpura maior,** i.e. the laticlave or distinguishing robe of the senators; the meaning is, 'I would rather have the property than the trappings.' Mart. viii. 8 calls it *purpura felix.*

107. **Laurentum.** A district near the coast of Latium, the modern Torre di Paterno, described by Pliny, ii. 17. § 3, as a good fattening ground for sheep in winter.

108. For the decadence of the **Corvini,** who claimed descent from the illustrious *gens Valeria,* see Tac. Ann. xiii. 34. Cf. Lucan, Pharsalia, vii. 583–585 *caedunt Lepidos, caeduntque Metellos Corvinosque duces, Torquataque nomina, regum Saepe duces, summosque hominum, te, Magne, remoto.*

conductas custodit oves. 'Herds sheep for hire.'

109. **Pallas.** Claudius' notorious freedman, and his minister of finance (*a rationibus*), whose wealth is spoken of by Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. § 134. He was a brother of the Felix mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. He had great and disastrous influence with Claudius, Suet. Claud. 29. Claudius refused in his name a grant of 15,000 *sestertia,* on which an inscription was affixed to his monument on the Via Tiburtina, *Huic Senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium quinquagies cujus honore contentus fuit,* Pliny, Ep. vii. 29: cf. also Ep. viii. 6.

Licinus, a Gaul, a wealthy freedman of Augustus: Suet. Augustus, 67; cf. Mart. viii. 3. 6 *Altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt;* the *Licini* are spoken of as types of a class.

110. **honori,** 'magistrate,' 'holder of an office.' **Sacro** marks that the tribunate is meant.

111. Slaves for sale were exposed on a *catasta* and their feet marked with chalk. Some have sought the origin of this custom in an attempt to render it easier for them to be tracked in the event of their running away. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 17. 58 (§ 199) and Tibull. ii. 3. 60.

113. This line seems a reminiscence of Horace, Ep. i. 6. 37.

115. On the Roman worship of abstract divinities see Marq. iv. 22 and Boissier, La Religion romaine, i. p. 10. Cf. Arnobius, iv. 1 (quoted

by Mayor) *interrogare vos libet ipsosque ante omnia Romanos dominos rerum ac principes, verumne existimetis Pietatem Concordiam Salutem Honorem Virtutem Felicitatem . . . quibus aras videmus exaedificatas?* The goddess *Quies* is mentioned by Amm. xix. 11. 6. So Pecunia was deified: see Arnob. iv. 9.

116. This must refer to some circumstance that we are not aware of: a stork must have built its nest on the temple of Concord, which lay on the N. side of the Forum and was used as a public treasury; the worshippers salute the temple, and **Concordia,** who is identified with the stork, greets them back. A stork's nest built on a house is at the present day in Germany regarded as a sign of luck for the house. As remarked in the Introduction, Juvenal seems to have had a keen eye for the habits of animals and birds. The language of Ovid, Met. vi. 97, seems to have been in the poet's mind, *Ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro.*

117. Summus honor, the Consul. *Honor* is used for a magistracy: cf. *latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos*, Luc. Phars. ii. 18. If a consul will let himself down to calculating how much a year he makes by the dole, we cannot be surprised at the clients condescending to petty tricks to secure the dole on which they and their families depend for sustenance, although Juvenal does not actually state that they receive the dole; for the fact see Mart. xii. 26, also xi. 18, and x. 10. In iv. 26 Martial calculates that by not attending Postumus' levées for a whole year he had lost thirty sesterces perhaps upon two occasions, or twenty upon three occasions. The toga in which the visit must be paid would cost more than this. In vi. 88 Martial says that he lost a hundred quadrantes by a social inadvertence, namely, saluting a patron without calling him *domine*. In vii. 39 Caelius feigns the gout to escape dancing attendance on his patron. It is probable that many clients were inscribed on a large number of lists, and could not have lived respectably without the doles.

118. rationibus, 'his income'; strictly speaking, 'his accounts.'

119. comites, the poorer clients, the retinue of the wealthy man.

toga and **calceus** together make up the full dress of a Roman; cf. Tertull. de Pall. 5 *Calceos . . . proprium togae tormentum.* The *pallium* and *soleae* went together.

120. 'The almost universal absence of chimneys in the Pompeian houses leads some writers to infer that the climate has materially changed since Roman times. We, however, find even now a strong prejudice against fires prevailing in Southern Italy, and it is only of late years that the use of grates has become common in Naples.' Rolfe, Pompeii, p. 32.

densissima lectica, 'litters in throngs': a collective use of the singular, as in *plurima mortis imago*, and *frequens redemptor*, Hor. C. iii. 1. 34. Cf. also *densissima ruga* xiii. 215, *densa oliva* xiv. 144, and the use of the Greek συχνός.

centum quadrantes. The *quadrans* was the fourth part of an *as*:

so that 25 *asses* or $6\frac{1}{4}$ *sesterces* (about 1*s.* 4*d.*) was the amount of the dole.

124. **clausam.** It would be natural for the palanquin to be closely curtained if it conveyed ladies.

sella, for *sedla,* is a sedan in which the occupant sat: *lectica* is a couch on which he reclined. In Mart. x. 10 we have an epigram on Paulus, who, though consul, was not ashamed to act as *cliens* to a *patronus*: Mart. asks *Lecticam sellamve sequar?* but Paulus will even act as bearer, *nec ferre recusas.*

126. **profer, Galla, caput.** Probably Galla's husband speaks all that is spoken. He says to the slave who is dispensing the dole, pointing to the closed palanquin, 'Tis my wife: send us off: What? you would not keep us!' Then as the slave, knowing the trick, hesitates, the beggar adds, 'Galla, put out your head! Oh, don't disturb her, she must be napping!'

quiescet. This use of the future is very common in the Romance languages: 'She will be napping,' for 'you will find that she is napping.'

127. The course of the whole day is unnatural and degrading alike to patron and client. **pulcher,** as often, is satirical. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 2. 30. For the course of events in a Roman day see Mart. iv. 8. 1 sqq.

> *Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora,*
> *Exercet raucos tertia causidicos:*
> *In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,*
> *Sexta quies lassis: septima finis erit:*
> *Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palaestris,*
> *Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.*

Frangere, to disturb by lying upon them.

128. Pliny, N. H. vii. 53 (§ 183), tells us about *Apollo eboreus qui est in foro Augusti*: this must be the statue spoken of here: the Forum Augusti lay to the N. E. of the Forum Romanum; it was connected with a temple erected to Mars Ultor, which was dedicated B.C. 2. It being found that the existing Forum was quite insufficient for the needs of Rome, its extent was increased successively by the erection of the Basilica Aemilia in 699 A.U.C., the new Forum of Julius Caesar; an extension of the old one; and the Forum Augusti, which was still more magnificent; it was also called the Forum Martis from the Temple of Mars the Avenger, which stood in the middle of it. The remains of this, known by the modern name of the Arco de' Pantani, rank among the very finest of ancient Rome. The most notable feature of the place was a gallery of statues representing great Roman generals, the *triumphales.* A picture of the remains of the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor is given by Lanciani, p. 84. Apollo is spoken of as becoming perforce an astute lawyer from hearing so many lawsuits.

129. **triumphales,** at the rostra, near which great men had their

statues erected. Suet. Aug. 31 *statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit.*

130. Arabarches; properly a customs' collector in Egypt. Juvenal employs it merely in a contemptuous sense, as we might use the word 'Nabob' for a rich parvenu of Eastern extraction. Egypt, from the Nile to the Red Sea, was called Arabia; and thus the governor of Thebais, or Upper Egypt, was called Arabarches. The word Alabarches, said to be derived from ἀλάβα, 'ink,' and to signify *scripturae magister*, appears as a variant for Arabarches. In Cicero, Ep. ad Att. ii. 17, Cicero calls Pompeius *Alabarches* in allusion to his repeated boasts that he had raised the revenues of Rome; see Billerbeck, vol. i. ep. 44. As a matter of fact there was one Tiberius Julius Alexander, son of the Arabarch Alexander Lysimachus, an Egyptian Jew, who abjured his religion, and became successively a Roman *eques*, procurator of Judaea, and finally Praefectus Aegyptiae. Titus gave the renegade a high command against the Jews. He is referred to here.

131. vestibulis. The door of the house generally stood a little back from the street, and the *vestibulum* (Aul. Gell. xvi. 5) was *locus ante ianuam domus vacuus*. Seneca (Cons. ad Marc, 10. § 1) refers to the vestibules as crowded with disappointed clients.

133. After wandering about all day, the poor clients, tired and hungry, come back and hope to get a meal; but have to give up praying even for this; they have to go off and buy with the dole their kail and fuel.

136. This use of **rex** for a 'great man' or 'patron' is common. Cf. Sat. v. 161; so Hor. Ep. i. 7. 37.

tantum ipse, cf. Cic. in L. Calp. Pisonem 67 *Graeci stipati, quini in lectis, saepe plures, ipse solus.* Everything in the house is arranged for guests, but the couches remain empty, and the master sits down alone. For the picture of a glutton who has lost his appetite cf. Churchill's poem 'The Times,' and his picture of Apicius.

137, 138. These lines are rejected by Ribbeck; but the meaning seems plain. The **orbes** are the round tables of the expensive *citrus* (cp. Hehn p. 391), supported by a single foot, itself often of ivory. The most valued were such as were naturally marked with veins resembling gold (Petron. 119. 27–31), or the stripes of tigers, or the spots of a peacock's tail. Hence Mart. xiv. 85 on a *lectus pavoninus*. They were fixed and unfixed to their leg when necessity arose, *exutae*, Mart. ix. 59. 7; in the same epigram a man complains that a *hexaclinon*, or *lectus* for six, twice as large as the ordinary *lectus*, is *too small* to fit his circular table. Cf. Mart. ii. 43. 9, where the *Libyci orbes* seem merely balanced upon the ivory leg. The *orbes* were often masterpieces of antique art, and thus their antiquity gave them additional value. Juvenal complains that though so many costly tables are in the rich man's palace, pointing to the duties of hospitality, yet he devours whole patrimonies at a single one. Cf. Cic. pro Sest. § 111 *utrum ego tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti? Comedere* is often thus used in Plautus, cf. Most. i. 1. 11 *absentem comes.*

139. 'No one will now be a parasite. (But how could it be otherwise), for who is to endure,' &c.

140. **luxuriae sordes.** An oxymoron. 'Such meanness in luxury.' Cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 6. 7 *Igitur memento nihil magis esse vitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem.*

quanta, &c. Cf. Mart. v. 70. 5 *o quanta est gula centies comesse!* Plin. N. H. viii. 5, 'P. Servilius Rullus first served up boars whole at feasts, which is now done every day.' Tiberius (Suet. 34), affecting frugality, had half a boar served up to him at solemn banquets, and said that it was as good as a whole one.

141. Cf. Varro, R. R. ii. 4. 10 *Suillum pecus donatum a natura dicunt ad epulandum*; so that Juvenal means 'a wild boar is proverbially a dish for a party.'

142. But the punishment follows close on the offence: both the fact of eating alone and of eating too much gives you indigestion. The passage is an imitation of Persius, iii. 98, q. v.

143. **crudum,** 'undigested.' The Pith. reads *crudus*, i.e. you suffering from indigestion. The word is used in both senses; cf. Hor. Ep. i. 6. 61 *crudi tumidique lavemur*; Colum. pr. § 16 *ut apti veniamus ad ganeas quotidianam cruditatem Laconicis excoquimus.* The bath was taken late to take off the effects of wine, and often the guests would begin to drink again. See Petronius, 72. Martial puns on this double sense of the word, iii. 13 *Accusas rumpisque coquum tanquam omnia* cruda *Attulerit: nunquam sic ego* crudus *ero*; i. e. I shall never become a dyspeptic thus.

pavonem. Varro, De Re Rust. iii. 6. 6, tells us that the orator Hortensius was the first who served up roasted peacocks, and this was on the occasion of his election as augur. Cicero remarks on his own audacity in giving Hirtius a dinner without peacock (Ad Fam. ix. 20. 2); cf. also Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 23, 24. In Varro's time (iii. 6. 2) the small islands round Italy were used to breed peacocks in.

144. i.e. hence so many old men leave no wills: they die so suddenly that they have no time to make them. Men put off making their wills as long as they could to secure all the favours they could from *captatores* or legacy hunters; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 57 and Catull. lxvii. This explains **iratis,** as they would not, as mere friends, take the legacy unless their names were expressly mentioned in the will. In default of such express statement the property would go to the (1) *sui heredes*, (2) *consanguinei*, (3) *agnati*, (4) *gentiles*. See Ramsay's Ant. p. 263. The 'friends' are angry because they have no legacy, but rejoice when they see his funeral.

145. **fabula** is the regular word for the piece of news or gossip of the day; cf. *habes omnes fabulas urbis*, Plin. Ep. viii. 18; Suet. Dom. 15 a story *cenanti inter ceteras diei fabulas refertur*; in Sen. Contr. 15. § 9 a woman should pride herself *in nullam incidisse fabulam.*

147. The beginning of the Epilogue of the Satire seems suggested by Horace, C. iii. 6. 45 *Damnosa quid non imminuit dies? Aetas parentum*

peior avis tulit Nos nequiores, mox daturos Progeniem vitiosiorem. Now we have arrived at the *vitiosissima progenies* and things will always remain as they are.

149. in praecipiti stetit, 'has reached its climax.' Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 293 *casus medicusve levarit Aegrum* ex praecipiti. Cf. Sat. x. 107 *praeceps immane.* **utere velis,** i.e. 'there is plenty of wind to make one soar into poetry; one has merely to spread one's sail, and the very air which reeks of vice will waft one on.' Cf. Plin. Ep. iv. 20. § 2 *in quo tu ingenii simul dolorisque* velis *latissime vectus es.*

150. 'Yes, you will say there is so much matter, that it needs a genius to put it into shape, and where shall he be found?' **dices** is the reading of P., and seems quite in Juvenal's style. Cf. viii. 163 *defensor culpae dicet mihi.*

151. There is a hiatus after **materiae;** cf. ii. 26, &c.

priorum scribendi simplicitas. *Priorum* is the genitive of the subject, and *scribendi* the gerund; or practically the genitive of the object; cf. Cic. Tusc. ii. § 35 *labore est functio animi* (subj. gen.), *gravioris operis* (obj. gen.)

152. Domitian suppressed criticism; cf. Tac. Agr. iii. and Hist. i. 1.

153. cuius non audeo, &c., and the next line are commonly taken as the words of Lucilius 'which,' says Juvenal, 'none would dare to use at the present day.' Persius, i. 114, expressly tells us that Lucilius satirised P. Mucius Scaevola (Consul A.U.C. 621). It seems far more natural to suppose **simplicitas** to be satirically substituted for *libertas*, 'whose real name,' says Juvenal, 'I dare not mention.' In fact, in Cicero, pro Planc. § 33, we find the very expression, *ubi illa antiqua* libertas? The meaning will then be 'Where is that old naïveté of our ancestors, whose real name, Liberty, I dare not breathe? Deal with obscure or dead Mucius in the style of Lucilius, and his wrath will not matter. Pillory Tigellinus, and you will soon have the fate of a Christian.' It seems possible that the Mucius satirized by Lucilius suggested to the poet another Mucius mentioned by Mart. x. 25 as a juggler who laid his hands on burning coals and called himself Mucius after the part he acted; he is mentioned in connection with the *tunica molesta.*

154. The spirit in which Catullus wrote of Caesar, 93 *Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere, Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.* For Mucius cp. Pers. i. 114 *Secuit Lucilius urbem Te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.*

155. 'But portray **Tigellinus** and you will be burnt alive, as victims were in Nero's time.' For Tigellinus, Nero's notorious favourite, see Tac. Ann. xiv. 51 sqq. Tigellinus rose from beggary to be the moving spirit of Nero's reign. He infected his master with a love of horse-racing; in A.D. 62 his son-in-law Capito accused Antistius of treason for lampooning Nero, the first application of the *lex maiestatis* in that reign, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48. When Nero's star waned, Tigellinus deserted him, Tac. H. i. 17. Galba defended him, Suet. Gal. 15; but he committed suicide under Otho, Tac. H. i. 72; see Mayor's note.

pone . . . lucebis, a not uncommon mode of expressing *si ponis lucebis*; in silver Latinity we sometimes find *et* before the future or present; cp. Sat. vi. 67 *Vivat Fidenis et agello cedo paterno.*

156. Mayor reads *deducit,* in which case the meaning will be 'You will burn amid the pine faggots in which the poor wretches stand and burn with transfixed breast: the pine faggots which mark the furrow in the sand.' To get this meaning out of the words we must understand *et quae taeda* from the *qua* of 156, the relative being here, as not uncommonly, supplied from a preceding clause, where it occurs in a different case: he quotes Cic. Verr. iv. § 9 *Mancipium . . . quo et omnes utimur et non praebetur a populo.* The *taeda* then, to which the victims are attached for burning, marks the centre of a long furrow. P reads *deducit.*

On the other hand, Jahn, followed by most editors, reads **deducis,** the reading of the text; '*you* mark, i.e. you will be made to mark, a furrow, as your body is dragged off to execution through the arena.' The obvious difficulty in the last-mentioned interpretation is the abrupt change in the description of the punishment.

It seems that it might be possible to retain *deducis* (the MSS. are divided) and still to understand *harena* of the spot where the martyrs were burnt; 'and you have to mark the broad furrow in midst of the sandy tract,' i. e. you will have to stand as a living *fax,* in the line which runs down straight as a furrow.

pectore: so P. The Scholiast and many MSS. read **gutture:** cf. Prop. iv. 1. 141 *cum fixum mento decusseris uncum.*

For a description of the tortures applied to the Christians under Nero, see Renan's 'Hibbert Lectures.' Nero (A.D. 64) accused the Christians of setting fire to Rome; and exhibited races in his gardens during their martyrdom, Tac. Ann. xv. 44 *pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.* The spectators mocked at them and called them *sarmenticii,* as they used to call the slaves whom they flogged *genus ferratile.* Cf. Tertul. Apolog. 50.

158. The transition in thought is—'What? is a poisoner to ride about in state, and am I to be burnt alive for speaking my mind?' 'Ay, if you meet one of the powerful criminals, don't even say "that's he!"'

159. pensilibus plumis, 'on his feather-stuffed palanquin.' The Germans exported feathers to Rome, as we know from Pliny, N. H. x. 27 (*Eoque processere deliciae ut sine hoc instrumento durare iam ne virorum quoque cervices possint*), and hence took the Roman name *pluma,* which they converted into *Flaum.* Amm. Mar. xxii. 4. 6 cites as among the signs of the degeneracy of Roman soldiers *militibus non saxum erat ut antehac armato cubile, sed pluma et flexiles lectuli.* Some of the marks of luxury described by Roman moralists would not seem disgraceful to moderns. Friedländer, i. p. 15, quotes the

strictures of Pliny, cited above, upon feather cushions as a case in point; the cooling of beverages remarked upon by the same author, N. H. xix. 55, and several times by Seneca, is another case of what we should consider unnecessary criticism. The fact was that the degeneracy of manners and morals was patent to all; and all innovations seemed to have contributed to this degeneracy.

160. venire contra, 'to meet'; Mart. v. 4. 45 *hanc tu . . . quotiens venire, Paulle, videris contra.* **digitus,** 'the index finger.' Varro, L. L. v. § 67 *digito significat ut taceas.* It was raised up when a bid was made, Mart. v. 62. 4.

161. This is commonly taken as 'There will be an accuser ready for any one (i. e. understood) who shall let even so much as the words *hic est* pass his lips.' There is a somewhat similar ellipse in Plautus, Menaechmi i. iii. 10 *Superas facile ut superior sis mihi quam quisquam qui impetrant*; but it seems simpler to understand the passage 'he will be an accuser who shall utter the word, "there he is!"' i. e. the man whose attention is merely drawn to you will really be taking notes to accuse you.

P. reads **versum,** which has been interpreted as 'who had even alluded to him in his poetry without mentioning his name.' Others read *versus* = 'turned away,' 'speaking aside.'

hic est. Persius i. 28 *at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est!* So Mart, v. 13. 3, where the poet boasts that his poems have made him so well known during his lifetime that of him *dicitur, Hic est.*

162. 'Write on trite epic themes as much as you will; match Aeneas and Turnus; kill Achilles as often as you will, let Hylas get lost as often as you will, but beware of copying Lucilius.'

163. committere, the regular word for matching gladiators to fight: see Sat. vi. 436. So Martial, viii. 432, prays Venus to *match* two poisoners, a man and a woman, that they may do for each other; *Victores committe, Venus!*

percussus Achilles, 'the death of Achilles' as foretold by Hector, Hom. Il. x. 359; for the construction cf. Sat. xiii. 205, 206 *veramque probavit Extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque*: cf. also Horace, Od. ii. 4. 12 *ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis*, 'the death of Hector.' Similarly an adjective may be the emphatic word and become a predicate as Sat. viii. 72 *plenum Nerone propinquo*; full *of his kinsmanship* with Nero.

164. Hylas. Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 6 *Cui non dictus Hylas puer?* The story of Hylas was a commonplace. He was the armourbearer of Herakles, and leaving the Argo to draw water was drawn into the river Ascanios by the nymphs. The story is beautifully told by Theocrit. Id. xiii. 58, and referred to by Verg. Ecl. vi. 43. The proverb Ὕλαν κραυγάζειν was used for 'to waste one's breath in crying aloud.' Juvenal seems to be thinking not merely of the literal meaning of *quaesitus* here, but also of its metaphorical meaning 'far

fetched,' 'affected': cf. *vitabit etiam quaesita nec ex tempore ficta, sed domo allata, quae plerumque sunt frigida*, Cic. Or. ii. 63, and not *ardentia* like Lucilius.

165. **ense velut stricto.** A common Roman simile; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 39. 'He blushes when Lucilius arraigns him, for conscience makes him a coward'; the same metaphor as *secuit Lucilius urbem*, Pers. i. 114.

A full criticism of Lucilius is given in Nettleship's Roman Satura, p. 9 sqq. C. Lucilius (vide supra l. 20), of an equestrian family of Suessa, belonged to the circle of the younger Scipio. He was the first to introduce invective into Satire, the personal abuse characteristic of the old Attic comedy. In the hands of Lucilius the Satura becomes the scourge of incapacity in high places. He is the child of his time who yet calls on his countrymen to return to the traditions of a better age; in this sense, as well as in his freedom of speech, a sort of parallel to Aristophanes. Cic. Fin. 13, § 4, refers to his popularity, *Nec vero, ut noster Lucilius, recusabo quominus omnes mea legant.*

166. **frigida mens est,** cf. Luc. iii. 299 *ventosa magis cervorum frigida mens est*: so Petron. Sat. 19 *Ego* (from fear) *frigidior hieme gallica factus nullum potui verbum emittere.*

168. **inde irae,** a reminiscence of Ter. Andria i. 1. 99 *hinc illae lacrumae.*

169. Weidner, supported by good MS. authority, reads *anime*, comparing the Homeric τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη: but **animo** seems more natural.

ante tubas, i. e. *antequam tuba ad pugnam canat*, a proverbial expression. See Conington's note to Verg. Aen. xi. 424.

galeatum. The Roman soldiers on the march carried their helmets round their neck; and thus they are represented on Trajan's column. Caesar tells us, B. G. ii. 21, that his soldiers were attacked before they had time to put their helmets on; and again, Bell. Afr. 12, he orders his soldiers *galeari* on catching sight of the enemy.

duellum, archaic form of *bellum*; as *duonus* of *bonus*; showing that etymologically *bellum* meant 'a duel.' So *bis* represents *dvis*. See Henry, Comp. Gram. § 40 C. (δ).

170. 'I will try then what licence is allowed me in attacking the dead, whose tombs line the great thoroughfares leading out of Rome.' The principal streets leading out of Rome and of other cities were lined for miles with tombs. This was especially the case with the Appian Way. The 'street of the Tombs' is another instance in point at Pompeii, which is lined on both sides with the tombs of high officials. The laws of the Twelve Tables expressly forbade burial or cremation within the city. Cf. Martial, xi. 13 *Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator, Noli nobile praeterire marmor*, &c.

SATIRE III.

ON THE VICES AND DANGERS OF CITY LIFE.

THE third Satire appears by internal evidence to be a conversation in which the poet himself, designated as Umbricius and assumed to be emigrating from Rome to Cumae, lectures the other Juvenal, who was still lingering in the metropolis and canvassing wealthy patrons that he might get promotion. If this view is correct, Juvenal was just passing middle age, somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five, when he wrote it; and this agrees with the reference to Veiento as powerful, which he was as late as Nerva's reign, 96–98; with the passage in Martial (xii. 18) which represents Juvenal as patron-hunting; and with his own description of 'white hairs just coming,' 'old age in its first approaches and unbent.' No decisive event is mentioned by which we can fix its date, though the words *siccandam illuviem*, in line 32, have been thought to refer to the attempt made by the Emperor Trajan to drain the Pomptine Marshes. It is noticeable that this is one of the Satires which contain a complaint about the poor reward of military service. That Juvenal really left Rome at this time is unlikely. He was just as unable to live long away from the Subura as Madame de Stael to endure prolonged absence from the Rue de Bac; but he may have meditated withdrawal, and have bought his farm at Tivoli about this time. Powerful as the poem is, it is the work of one who wishes to convince himself rather than of one who is convinced; it displays no real sympathy with country life, and only points the moral that you ought to be a rich man in order to enjoy Rome. Dr. Johnson, who translated this poem, and who could not live happily at a distance from Charing Cross, might have said the same of London.

The construction of the poem is perfect. The argument turns on two simple propositions; that an honest man cannot make a fortune at Rome, and that a poor man cannot live there safely or happily. Juvenal is in fact apologising for his own failure, and trying to show that after all he is a gainer by it.

Umbricius, walking on foot after the van which carries out all his worldly goods, stops at the spring in the valley of Egeria to take leave of his other self, Juvenal, who has accompanied him thus far, and who cannot make up his mind to leave Rome, ll. 1–20. Umbricius explains that he is only eating into his capital by staying on in Rome, and that it is a place where no honest man, no one who is not a flatterer, a liar, a pimp, or the confidant of a guilty secret, can hope to thrive, ll. 21–56. The real man to succeed in Rome is the Greek of Asia Minor, uniting

Hellenic talent with Oriental superstition and servility, ll. 57 108. These men debauch the women and boys and betray the men of every household they enter; and it is a part of their system to isolate the noble by driving his family retainers away, ll. 109–125. Ay, and let the poor man ask himself if he is of any real account to the noble who cares only for inheritances and whose pleasures are all costly, ll. 126-136. Nothing but wealth is now valued in Rome. The poor man is laughed at and thrust up into the worst seats in the amphitheatre. It is the rich man, who can marry wealth, and to whom money is left, who can sit in the municipal council. Nowhere is money more necessary for getting on than in Rome, ll. 137–170. Contrast life in the country, where the best dress is kept for the burial, and where a white tunic is the distinction of the highest magistrate, with the fopperies of dress and costly presents that the struggling man at Rome has to pay for with borrowed money, ll. 171–189.

Then again contrast the safety of life in a cottage with the dangers of a garret. The first floor may be in flames before the lodger under the roof knows of it; and when he escapes, burnt out and ruined, no friend comes to his aid; while the rich man is loaded with gifts from condoling friends, who either need his patronage or expect a legacy, ll. 190–231. It takes wealth to shut out the sounds of city life, ll. 232–238. The rich man is borne in his litter through the streets; the poor man has to elbow his way, and may be crushed out of recognition by a stone falling from a wain, while his household are preparing his food, ll. 239–267. The night has its own dangers; the slops and crockery thrown out of windows, the drunken rioters who stop the passer-by and pick a quarrel with him, the burglar and the assassin, ll. 268–314. Juvenal must ask his friend to visit him at Aquinum, when he goes there for a *villeggiatura*, ll. 315–322.

The friends then part; Umbricius going off with the waggon containing his furniture on his way to Cumae, and promising to visit Juvenal at Aquinum.

Dryden translated this Satire, and Boileau imitated it in two poems, each of which deals with half of Juvenal's theme. Johnson has copied it in his 'London.' Oldham has a close imitation of it, and it is translated into hendecasyllabic verse by Metastasio. Young, Satire iii., has wittily turned many of its thoughts. Umbricius seems to have suggested the character of Alceste in the Misanthrope.

1. **quamvis.** Taken closely with **confusus**, 'however much distressed.' Oldham has

'Though much concerned to lose my dear old friend.'

confundo has in Pliny, Seneca and Juvenal a weaker meaning than it bore in Vergil's time. Cf. Plin. Paneg. 86, § 3, *Quam ego audio confusionem tuam fuisse, cum digredientem prosequereris.* Cf. Pliny Ep. iii. 10. § 2, Sen. Clem. ii. 5. Cf. *trahebatur pallore confusus,* Amm. xvi. 12. 61. Words like 'affliction' and 'contrite' have suffered a similar change, as has *attonitus* in Latin.

digressu, 'the parting *from* my old friend'; cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 482 *Nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo.*

2. laudo, like μακαρίζω, 'I congratulate him.' Cf. Sil. iv. 260 *Laudabat leti iuvenem,* 'he called the young man happy in respect of his death.'

vacuis, 'empty,' and so 'quiet.' Cf. *mihi vacuum Tibur placet,* Hor. Ep. i. 7. 45. The contrast is with the noise of Rome. In x. 102 the same epithet is applied to Ulubrae. We find constant complaints among the classical writers about the depopulation of Italy, which was owing partly to the attractions of the capital, partly to the proscriptions and civil wars, and very greatly to the prevalence of slave labour. Different remedies were tried at different times with a view to repeople Italy; thus Nero, A. D. 60 (Tac. Ann. xiv. 27), sent veteran colonists to Tarentum and Antium; but the experiment was not a success. Pliny's complaint *latifundia perdidere Italiam,* xviii. 6. (7.) § 35, is well-known.

Cumis. The name of the Sibyl of Cumae is differently given; in Verg. Aen. vi. 36 it appears as Deiphobe, daughter of Glaucus, who lived in a grotto near Cumae. From her Tarquin procured the three Sibylline books, which were preserved in the pedestal which supported the statue of Apollo in his temple. Two golden chests were here concealed in which Augustus had deposited the Sibylline books. He had them examined and arranged, Suet. Aug. 61. In the time of Iulianus *Palatini Apollinis templum praefecturam regente Aproniano in urbe conflagravit aeterna, ubi ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammarum,* Amm. xxiii. 6. 3. The Sibylline books were consulted at every crisis of the fate of Rome.

3. destinet, 'he intends'; from the root *sta,* whence seems to have been formed a participial stem *sta-no*; and hence a verb *stanare,* to 'fix' or 'settle'; whence *destinare,* 'to propose' or 'have a fixed intention.' In Russian *stany* is used for 'I intend,' or 'will'; cf. also the use of *sto* in Italian in *sto per fare.*

4. ianua, 'the approach' to Baiae from Rome. For this use of *ianua* cf. Cic. Planc. iii. 8 *Qua nolui ianua sum ingressus in caussam,* and Juvenal's own expression *Porta Syenes,* xi. 124. Domitian carried a branch of the Via Appia to meet the Baiae road. For **Baiae** see Becker's Gallus, Scene 7. For *litus* cf. Pliny, Ep. ix. 7. 'There are several villas of mine on the shore of this (Larian) lake—one of them, after the fashion of Baiae, overlooks the lake: another, similarly after the fashion of Baiae, is at the edge of the lake.'

litus is to be taken closely with *amoeni secessus,* which is a genitive of quality, specially common in Low Latin, and adopted thence by classical writers: 'Tis a pleasant shore of sweet retirement.' The genitive of quality or attributive genitive marks the whole or main characteristic of that which it qualifies: the ablative marks merely an accidental attribute. Thus *vir magnae prudentiae* would signify a man in whose character prudence is the main feature; *vir magna prudentia.*

'a man,' as we say, 'of prudence.' The genitive of quality is really adjectival; thus *fallax herba veneni* Verg. Ec. iv. 24 may be expressed by 'a poisonous herb.'

5. Prochytam. Procida, a sterile volcanic island off the Campanian coast. The **Subura** lay at the back of the Argiletum, and seems to have extended across the valley between the Esquiline and the Quirinal. Cf. Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 80. It was the noisiest and most immoral part of Rome. Cf. Martial. xii. 18. 1, 2

Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura.

It is quoted as the typical centre of Rome, *Nulla nec in media certabit nata Subura*, Mart. xii. 21. 5. Cf. Juv. x. 156.

6. 'For any abode, however comfortless or solitary, is better than this constant fear of fires.' Our idiom would be to say 'that you would not think it better than the dread of fire.' The Latin idiom is to say 'that you would not think the dread of fires worse.'

7. Fires were very common at Rome, owing to the amount of wood used in the construction of the houses; and these were raised to a great height, as land was very dear. Livy, xxvi. 27 describes a fire by which all the shops and houses surrounding the Forum and the region of the Lautumiae were levelled to the ground; in Bk. xlvii. 26 another by which the region of the Boarium was destroyed. Under Nero, A.D. 65, two-thirds of Rome was laid low. The Colosseum was set ablaze by a thunderbolt on Aug. 23, A.D. 217, Dio Cass. lxxviii. 25. See Lanciani pp. 221 sqq.

9. Augusto. The recitations, trying at any time, were in the hottest and unhealthiest month intolerable. For these recitations see Pliny, Ep. i. 13, § 1; for the pertinacity of the reciters Hor. De A. P. 473, 476. For the intentionally humorous climax cf. viii. 221 [Nero] *Troica non scripsit* and Petron. § 71.

10. sed dum. 'But while all his household was being packed away in a single waggon.' *Dum* is an old accusative = *diem* (see Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, p. 346). Its development of meaning may be paralleled by that of *while*, from A. S. *hwil*, 'a time.' It is an instance of a word which has come to be *isolated*, and has thus changed its meaning like *igitur* from the use of *agitur* in the comic poets; *quid igitur—quid agitur*: cf. King and Cookson, Comp. Gr. p. 90. The Latin construction in cases of contemporaneous action places the verb following *dum* in the present indicative. Cf. v. 94, and Ennius, Ann. 391 *Missaque per pectus dum transit, striderat hasta.* Cf. also xiv. 94, 95

Totam hanc turbavit filius amens
Dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.

componere is the regular word for 'to pack up.' Pliny, Ep. v. 18 *se in villa componere.* Carriages were not allowed in the Roman streets, at least during the first century of the empire, on account of their narrowness and crookedness, and so had to wait outside the gates.

The **raeda** was a large four-wheeled carriage. See Mart. iii. 47. 5, where Bassus is represented as going *plena in raeda Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*, and taking vegetables from his *domus* or town house as here to his villa.

11. **madidam.** A branch of the *Aqua Martia* passed over it. From the Porta Capena the Appian Way led to Capua. Cf. Mart. iii. 47. 1; iv. 18. The site of the Porta Capena was doubtful until the discovery of the ancient *Columna Milliaria* or original Roman milestone indicating the first mile from the walls of Servius Tullius on the Appian Way. This *columna* is now on the balustrade of the northern entrance of the Piazza Campidoglio.

12. Munro in Mayor defends the order of lines in the text as against O. Jahn, who places 17–20 before 12–15, and supposes a lacuna after l. 11. Jahn states that the rendezvous of Numa with his nymph was not at the Porta Capena but in the valley of Egeria. But he and Ribbeck assume that the valley of Egeria was that which is now pointed out by ciceroni as such, viz. in the Caffarella valley, outside the Porta S. Sebastiano. Burn points out that Canina and others have correctly shown that the true valley of Egeria is the depression between the Monte d'Oro and the Caelian proper and close to the Porta Capena. In it was 'the Lucus Camenarum,' where Juvenal represents Numa's trysting-place to have been.

constituebat, 'made assignations': the verb is used with the dative; more commonly *constituere cum aliquo*, as in Ter. Hec. i. 2. 120.

amica. Egeria is meant, who is described as the *coniux* of Numa in Liv. i. 21, and Martial, vi. 47. 3, calls her *Numae coniux*; she had a grotto at Aricia. The contrast intended to be drawn by the poet is between the place where a king once was wooed by a goddess and its present state, the home of chaffering chapmen: *amica* no doubt conveys a shade of pleasantry. It was unwise to dwell too strongly upon a story obviously incredible: but the antithesis precludes our assuming that *amica* is used entirely in a contemptuous sense.

14. 'The groves and shrines are let out to Jews, whose whole stock in trade is a hamper (possibly for collecting scraps and rags like the *hotte* of the Parisian *chiffonnier*), and a bundle of hay for a bed.' The **cophinus** and **fenum** are noticed again, Sat. vi. 542, as characteristic of the Jews. This people was very numerous in Rome even before the Empire. Then, as now, their predominant business was trade. They and the Christians were alike hated on the ground that they would not, like the other Oriental nations, admit of any compromise with other religions. Pliny, N. H. xiii. 4 (9) speaks of *Iudaea gens contumelia numinum insignis*. The Jews had to pay a tax of two drachmae per head to keep up the temple of the Capitoline Jove. But otherwise they were allowed perfect liberty in their worship. Personally however they were disliked, and Quintilian iii. 7. 4, Tac. Hist. v. cc. 3–5, as well as the passage from Pliny quoted above, bear witness to this feeling. Seneca

reproaches them for wasting one-seventh of their time by idling on the Sabbath, see Renan, Apôtres 289. 1. Their abstinence from pork was incomprehensible to the Roman populace, by whom it was considered a great delicacy. But their industry and their piety procured them many admirers, see Friedländer iii. 4. Martial, xii. 57, speaks of them as *a matre rogare docti.* The Jews were expelled from Rome by Claudius, Suet. 25; they are here represented as renting this valley. The Latin Muses are ejected, and every tree in the sacred wood has turned beggar.

16. **Camenis.** Camena is supposed by Varro, L. L. 7. 26 = Casmena (connected with *carmen*), though this derivation is doubted by modern scholars, and the form of the word is connected with a participle of some lost verb. See Jordan, Kr. Beitr. z. Gesch. der L. Sprache, p. 132 sq. and Nettleship, Essays, p. 50. Camena, the native Latin fountain nymph (Preller, R. M. ii. 129), is here contrasted with the Greek Musa. The Camenae were however confused with the Musae, as by Martial, vi. 47. 4 *sive Camenarum de grege nona venis*; cf. Hor. C. ii. 16. 38 *Graiae Camenae.* For the multiplicity of strange religions in Rome, see Boissier, La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins, vol. i. p. 380.

17. **speluncas,** 'artificial grottoes.' The stream was artificially banked with slabs of marble. 'How far more gracious were the spirit of the stream, if the water were enclosed by a green grass bank, and no marble desecrated the natural tufa.'

18. **praesentius.** Cf. Verg. Georg. i. 10 *agrestum praesentia numina Fauni!* and Eclogue i. 42 *nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere Divos*; cf. also Sat. xi. 111.

19. **numen** is especially used of a divinity wishing to make its presence felt; cf. Ovid, Fast. v. 673 *est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae: Si iuvat expertis credere,* numen *habet.*

20. **violo** may connote a reference to the marble replacing by a suppositious colour the native hues of the tufa, as in Verg. Aen. xii. 67 it is used for dying *ebur* with *ostrum.*

21. With this passage (to line 56) should be compared the epigram of Martial to Fabianus, iv. 5, beginning *Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore verus Quid tibi vis, Urbem qui, Fabiane, petis?* Boileau, Sat. iv., applied the language of Martial and Juvenal to the Paris of his day.

23. **here,** commonly *heri.* The form *here* is found in Plautus, but does not become a common form until the Silver age. Quint. i. 4. § 8 *In here neque e plane neque i auditur.* Cf. also id. 1. 7. § 22. 'And still this will to-morrow wear away some trifle from its scant remainder.'

24. The thought is the same as that expressed in Martial, iii. 4, where he tells his book to announce to the public that he has left Rome because *Non poterat vanae taedia ferre togae.* For the plural **proponimus** cf. i. 16 *et nos consilium dedimus Sullae.*

25. **Daedalus.** It was at Cumae that he descended again to earth and built the temple of Apollo. Cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 17, where Cumae is called *Chalcidica* as being a colony from Chalcis in Euboea. Here, as often, Juvenal describes the place by a literary association.

26. recta, 'upright,' in contradistinction to *curva senectus*.

27. Cf. Hor. C. ii. 3. 15, 16 *Dum res et aetas et sororum Fila trium patiuntur atra.*

28. bacillo, diminutive. 'A shaky stick to support a shaky frame.'

30. nigrum in candida seems to have been a proverbial expression. Cf. Ovid, Met. xi. 314 *candida de nigris et de candentibus atra. Candidus* is commonly the antithesis of *niger* (glistening white and glistening black), as *albus* is to *ater* (dead dull white and black).

vertunt. The indicative mood shows that there are particular persons who actually do this.

31. facile seems to connote the idea of recklessness. They would take a contract without caring for the nature of it, provided that it promised to make them rich. Cf. Suet. Claud. 29 *in equites tanta facilitate animadvertit*, &c. 'Who feel it a light thing to take contracts for building temples, damming rivers, dredging harbours, emptying the cloacae, and conducting funerals. Rome is the paradise of contractors and slave-dealers.' Under the empire, public buildings were in the charge of *curatores* who were charged with letting out contracts for the maintenance of these as well as other public works. Funerals were commonly undertaken by contract; they were sometimes contracted for by the family, sometimes by the State (*funus publicum*). See Marq. vol. vi. p. 340. The *libitinarii* at the temple of Libitina provided not merely the workmen necessary to carry out the funeral, but all the appliances as well, such as torches, cars, &c. A register of deaths was kept in this temple from the time of Servius Tullius.

33. 'And to offer a man for sale at public auction,' i.e. they become slave-dealers. **caput** is commonly used of a person, as *Triginta minas pro capite tuo dedi*, Cic. Verr. iv. 32. **praecones** were much despised; and indeed were disqualified by Caesar's municipal law for election to civic honours. See Fried. i. p. 312. Others take the meaning to be 'to go bankrupt and risk being sold up by the *Centumviri*': but it is doubtful if *caput* will bear this meaning. The *hasta* is called *domina*, inasmuch as it confers *dominium* over the *caput*. A spear was set up at auctions, a survival of the time when plunder was sold in war under a spear, just as it was in the ground where the *Centumviri* held their court, Mart. vii. 63. 7.

34. 'These men, now millionaires, once wound a horn at shows in country towns, and were known as "puff-cheeks": they now exhibit shows on their own account, and for popularity's sake they butcher the man whom the mob bids by turning up its thumbs.' **buccae** seems to be the nickname they got in the *municipia*. Gladiators were composed of condemned criminals, captives, slaves, and volunteers. Even at the end of the Republic we hear of bands of gladiators belonging to private individuals, as here: for instance Cicero enquires in a letter about a band that his friend Atticus had bought in the year 56 B.C.; he had heard that they fought very well; had Atticus chosen to let them out he would have covered his expenses in a couple of shows, Cic. ad Attic.

iv. 4*b* and 8*a*. See Friedländer, ii. 2, p. 375. Martial, iii. 16, has similar complaints about parvenus presuming to give such exhibitions; notably a *cerdo* who ruined himself by giving a show of gladiators: *Das gladiatores, sutorum regule, cerdo.* If a gladiator was wounded so that he could fight no longer, he and his assailant appealed to the spectators. If they wished his death, they turned their thumbs towards their breasts (*pollicem convertere*) and cried *ferrum recipe.* If they wished that he should go free, they turned their thumbs down (*pollicem premere*) and cried *mitte.* The *editor* had to decide whether the contents or the non-contents had the majority: if he decided for the gladiator's death, he carried out the popular will. Montaigne quotes line 36 in his essay 'on Thumbs.' *Pollices premere* was proverbial among the ancients; Plin. xxviii. § 25 *pollices cum faveamus premere etiam proverbio iubemur. Bucca* may be noticed as one of the many Low Latin words which have become the classical words in modern French. It is the origin of It. *bocca* and Fr. *bouche.* Such words are used in lighter style by classical authors. Cf. Cic. Att. i. 12. 4 *quod in buccam venerit scribito.* Cf. too Seneca, 'Αποκολ. 1 *dicam quod mihi in buccam venerit.*

37. 'Then, after being masters of these shows, they come back, and are not too proud to farm the public jakes; and why shouldn't they? since they are everything; they are the very men whom fortune raises from low estate to the pinnacle of power whenever she hath pleased to be jocular'—i. e. anything is sure to make their fortunes, for they are Fortune's darlings. *Der Gedanke ist matt*, says Weidner, and proposes to read with the Codex P. *poricas* for *porcas, et cur non omina*, i. e. 'and why shouldn't they contract for omens as well as for sacrificial swine, for Fortune would do it for them?' But the thought seems clear and natural as explained above: 'They are Fortune's darlings, and may be expected to shift and change even as their mistress.' Cf. Amm. Marc. xxv. 5. 8 *His ita caeco quodam iudicio Fortunae peractis.* Claudian, too, has the same thought, in Rufin. i. 21–23 *Iam non ad culmina rerum Iniustos crevisse queror, tolluntur in altum Ut lapsu graviore ruant.* The reading *poricas* seems to be due to the scribe catching sight of *populariter* in l. 37.

41. **librum si malus est.** Cf. Martial, xii. 40. 1 *Mentiris? credo: recitas mala carmina? laudo.* Martial gives similar advice to Sextus in iii. 38. 13, 14 *Quid faciam suade: nam certum est vivere Romae! Si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes*, i. e. you can only pick up a chance living if you are good.

42. **laudare,** after hearing it at a public recitation.

poscere, 'to ask' its loan for perusal. Cf. Pliny, Ep. vi. 21 'I shall squeeze the book out of him and send it you to read.' Books were much cheaper at Rome than would be imagined to be the case before the invention of printing; see Friedländer, vol. iii. 3 *Die schöne Literatur* p. 815. We must not therefore quote this borrowing as an argument for their dearness.

motus astrorum, i. e. I am no Chaldaeus or Mathematicus.

Astrology was widely believed in by the upper classes at Rome under the Emperors. Tiberius, though a luke-warm believer in the national gods of Rome, was devoted to astrology, Suet. Tiber. c. 69. See also Plin. N. H. ii. 23, and Tac. Hist. i. 22.

43. Epictetus Diss. ii. 7 expressly tells us that one of the regular questions put to haruspices was 'Shall I come in for my father's fortune?'

44. 'I am no haruspex.'

45. **quae mittit,** 'his presents.'

46. **quae mandat,** 'his message.'

47. 'I am honest, and *therefore* unfit to be one of the *cohors* of a knavish provincial governor'; the members of which were called his *comites*. Catullus thought it a shame that a governor's *comes* should return with his *sacculus plenus aranearum*, xiii. 8; cf. id. x. 8 sqq. *Fur* is a provincial governor who practises extortion on a grand scale, like Verres, line 53. *Exire* seems a technical word for 'going out' to the provinces in an official capacity; thus Plin. Ep. iv. 12 *Exire quaestor.*

48. 'My honesty cripples me, and makes me like a body with its right hand maimed.' Some editors read *exstinctae dextrae.* The difference between the genitive and ablative of quality has been explained above l. 4.

49. **conscius,** absolutely 'a confidant,' in a bad sense: one privy to some intrigue. Cf. Mart. vi. 50 *Vis fieri dives, Bithynice, conscius esto.* Cf. Amm. xiv. 14. 6. §*is adhibetur* (as guest of the rich patron) *qui pro domibus excubat aurigarum . . . aut secretiora quaedam se nosse confingit.* **cui** seems used as a disyllable, as it certainly is in Martial, i. 104. 22 in the hendecasyllabic line *sed norunt cŭī serviant leones.*

50. **aestuat** would, in classical Latin, be in the conj., as the poet is speaking generally of one of a class.

52. **secretum,** a participle used substantively, and joined with an adjective. Cf. Sat. x. 107, where we have an adjective used substantively and joined with an adjective.

53. A **Verres,** the type of peculators on a gigantic scale; propraetor of Sicily, B.C. 73–70, against whom Cicero spoke the celebrated Verrine orations. Juvenal carries out his intention of trying *quid concedatur in illos Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina,* i. 171.

54. '*But* let not Tagus and all the gold it rolls seawards, tempt you to think it worth your while to forfeit sleep.'

tanti. The genitive of price is really a development of the attributive genitive. *Homo nullius pretii* was the origin of other analogical formations, such as *non magni est pretii,* and then *hunc nullius pretii* or *nihili* or *non nauci habeo.* See Stolz and Schmalz, in Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, p. 271. Roby ranges the so-called genitives of price under the locative, § 118 b. Montaigne, chap. xvii, quotes these lines, adding, 'I am of a humour, that, life and health excepted, there is nothing for which I will beat my brains at the price of vexation and constraint.'

opaca *vocantur umbrosa* Fest. s. v., and the sense is here 'shaded

by trees'; so Martial, i. 50. 15 *Aestus serenos aureo franges Tago Obscurus umbris arborum. Tagus* was a commonplace for a source of wealth; cf. Ovid, Am. i. 15. 34; Luc. Phars. vii. 755; Martial, vii. 88. 7, x. 16. 4, xii. 3, 3. Martial was born at Bilbilis, not far from the sources of the Tagus.

56. **ponenda** for *deponenda*, 'which you must lay down again to your sorrow,' i. e. which you will probably have to part with. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 10. 31.

somno careas. Cf. Velleius, ii. 127 *Ti. Caesar Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignes honoribus complexum familias, habentem consulares fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis, singularem principalium operum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet: virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem, vultu vitaque tranquillum*, animo exsomnem. Cf. the piteous lines of Statius on his insomnia, Sil. v. 4.

57. 'And be the standing terror of your friend in power.' Cf. *miserae magnaeque pallor amicitiae*, Sat. iv. 74, 75.

58. Rome is rendered intolerable by foreigners, especially by Greeks. Adventurers of all kinds flocked to Rome to push their fortunes: Florus, an African, says (Jahn, Juli Flori Epit. p. xli) *potesne cum hoc singulari ingenio tantaque natura provincialem latebram pati? nihilne te caritas urbis, nihil ille victor gentium populus, nihil senatus movet?* &c. See Friedländer, vol. i. 1. p. 18; Marqu. iv. 483 for numerous notices of Greek and Asiatic musicians, athletes, sophists, grammarians. Cf. Amm. xvii. 9. 3; the soldiers called Julian *Asianum Graeculum et fallacem et specie sapientiae stolidum.* Seneca, Cons. ad Helv. 6. remarks that the greater part of the throng at Rome have come to a *city not their own.*

60. **pudor** expresses the virtue of civic moderation, or respect for the feelings of one's fellow-citizens. Its converse is *petulantia.* Cf. Cic. Cat. ii. 11. 25; Enn. ap. Non. 160. 5.

Quirites. The word that appealed to the heart of every Roman, reminding him of his privileges as a full burgess: in sharp contrast to *Graecam.*

61. **urbs,** the word especially applied to Rome; thus he means, 'I cannot stand the Rome so dear to Romans turning Greek.' Cf. Verg. Ec. i. 20 *Urbem, quam dicunt Romam.* Cf. also Lucan, Pharsal. vii. 404–405 *Nulloque frequentem Cive suo Romam sed mundi faece repleta.*

quamvis in classical Latin would be *quamquam*: **portio** would be *pars.* 'Though when I say "turning Greek," how few of these *canaille* really come from Achaia,' the Roman name for the province of Greece. Seneca, Dial. xii. 6. 2, gives a similar picture of the Grecising of Rome.

62. Cf. Amm. xvi. 10. 6 (Constantius) *stupebat, qua celeritate omne quod ubique est hominum genus confluxerit Romam.* Cicero, some 400 years before Ammian. (pro Flacco 27) cites proverbs current in Asia Minor, *Phrygem plagis fieri meliorem; in Care periculum faciendum esse: Mysorum ultimus si quis despicatui ducitur. Quis unquam Graecus comoediam scripsit in qua servus primarum partium non Lydus esset?* Cf. also chap. 29 on the unfavourable change worked on Decianus by thirty years spent in Asia Minor, *otium te delectat*, &c. Cf. also c. xvi. § 37 *testis levitatem totius Asiae protulit de qua nos et libenter et facile concedimus.* 'The scum of Syria which has tided into the Tiber from the Orontes' consisted of *psaltriae* and *sambucistriae, ambubaiae*, or *crotalistriae.* Their ordinary instrument was the *sambuca*, a kind of three-cornered harp with oblique strings. It will be remembered that Vergil's *copa* was *Syrisca.* Cf. Amm. xxii. 10. § 1 *Ibi hiemans ex sententia nullis interim rapiebatur illecebris* quibus abundant Syriae omnes. Rome was also being flooded with foreign slaves, many of whom were afterwards manumitted. Orontes stands for the Orient generally, like Euphrates, i. 104; so Prop. ii. 23. 21 *Et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes.* Cf.

> Now Seine is swallowing Tiber: if the Thames
> By letting in them both pollutes her streams.
> Commendatory verses to G. Herbert's Poems.

65. iussas, i. e. by the *leno* or *impresario* who engaged them to play at banquets or in the *cauponae*, as also to serve viler purposes.

67. rusticus means 'that very son of the country, your pride and strength'; cf. ii. 74 *illud montanum vulgus.* Cf. Mart x. 72. 11 *Siccis rustica Veritas capillis*, i. e. without foreign perfumes. Cf. *Cultus gestare decoros Vix nuribus, rapuere mares*, Luc. Phars. i. 164, 165.

τρεχέδειπνος is properly the nickname of a parasite, here apparently applied to some dinner garment or dress-shoes for dining out, as we might speak contemptuously of a John Bull wearing 'Zouaves.'

68. The Roman puts Greek ribands round his neck anointed with Greek ointment. He delights to pose as a Greek even in his athletics, which the Romans used in Horace's time to practise in the *Campus Martius*: Sen. Brev. Vit. 12 *qui in ceromate (nam proh facinus ne Latinis quidem vitiis laboramus) spectator puerorum rixantium sedet.* It was commonly complained that the use of such unguents in athletics was unhealthy. See Varr. De Re Rust. ii. pr. §§ 1–2.

69. alta Sicyone. The inhabitants were removed to the Acropolis by Demetrius Poliorketes, D. S. xx. 102. Amydon was on the river Axius in Macedonia.

70. Cic. Orat. Philipp. iii. § 15: Antonius, who was of an old family, had cited against Octavianus as a matter of reproach that his mother was a lady of Aricinum. 'You might suppose,' says Cicero, 'that he spoke of a woman from *Tralles or Ephesus.* You see how lightly we *municipes* are rated.' See Friedländer, vol. i. p. 183, *Die drei*

Stände. Andros was the most northern of the Cyclades; Tralles and Alabanda were in Caria.

71. They find their way from Greece and Asia Minor, 'even to the Esquiline and Viminal,' the very heart of Rome.

Esquiliae. The change from 'x' to 's' is similar to that seen in *sexcenti* to *sescenti*. **Esquiliae** = *ex-quil-iae*; viz. *ex* and *quil* = the root *col* seen in *colo*. The Esquiline was originally a burying ground lying outside the inhabited portion of Rome. Claudius, who took strong measures to prevent foreigners trying to pass as Roman citizens, *civitatem Romanam usurpantes* in campo Esquilino *securi percussit*, Suet. Claud. 25. The splendid gardens called the *Horti Maecenatiani* were laid out on the site of the old cemetery (see Lanciani, p. 67), and in the second century the Esquiline became the most fashionable quarter in Rome.

72. 'Even now the heart and soul of the households of the great, and soon destined to be their masters.' The emphatic position of *futuri* should be noticed.

viscera: Cf. Artemidor. i. 44 *οἱ παῖδες σπλάγχνα λέγονται.*

Cf. Shakspeare's portrait, which seems to suit the Greekling well—'A serving man, proud in heart and mind, that curled my hair, wore gloves in my cap: swore as many oaths as I spake words and broke them in the sweet face of heaven. False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand,' &c. Lear, iii. 4 (H. N.)

74. **Isaeo,** i. e. *sermone Isaei.* The quality is compared with the person who possesses the quality. Hardy compares *κύμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι* (Il. xvii. 51). Cf. also *par Agamemnonidae crimen* viii. 215. This Isaeus was an Assyrian *improvisatore* eulogised by Pliny, Ep. ii. 3, for his *ubertas.*

75. In his person he has brought us any person you please, i. e. 'he is everything by turns and nothing long': you cannot say in what *rôle* you will detect him.

76. The shortening of the *o* in *geometres* = *γεωμέτρης* is unusual

aliptes, 'trainer.' This is the original sense in which this word was used: the common use in Juvenal's time was as *curator corporis* in the baths.

77. **medicus:** see Cato's opinion as expressed in Pliny, N. H. xxix. 7: 'the practice of medicine is inconsistent with Roman *gravitas*: no one would attach any weight to the authority of other than a Greek doctor: *itaque hercule evenit ut cuicumque medicum se professo statim credatur.*'

Among the Greek physicians resident at Rome about this time were Herocles, Sotas, Alcon, Hermocrates: Baccara is mentioned by Martial, xi. 74: and Juvenal mentions Archigenes (xiii. 98) and Themison (x. 221). Among the teachers of Rhetoric were Apollonius, Dionysius (under Hadrian), Theodorus, and Plutio: among the dancers or actors were Ladas (Mart. ii. 86. 8), Thymele, and Carpophorus: among the musicians and singers, Hedymeles, Chrysogonus, Echion, Glaphyrus,

and Ambrosius: among the poets, Lucius (Mart. iv. 55), Palaemon (Mart. ii. 86. 11), Sotades (*ib.*), Attis (*ib.*), Theodorus (xi. 93. 1): among the cooks, Theopompos (Mart. x. 66. 2): among the barbers, Eutrapelus, Antiochus, Thalamus, Cinyphius: among the lawyers, Matho, Basilus: among the keepers of baths, Phoebus, Stephanus, Gryllus.

78. Aurelius Victor, Epit. xiv. § 2, tells us that Hadrian was nicknamed Graeculus, *potitus disciplinis canendi, psallendi, medendique scientia, musicus, geometra, pictor, fictorque ex aere vel marmore.*

iusseris. Jussive or concessive use, as in Vergil, *tu quoque magnam Partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes*, Aen. vi. 30–31.

79. **in summa,** 'to sum up.' Cicero uses *ad summam* in this sense; cf. the Italian use of *in somma*, 'in fact.' Daedalus was of no other nation, but a true Athenian.

80. Cf. *mediae Mycenae*, Verg. Aen. vii. 372.

81. **conchylia,** 'bright purple robes' unworthy of a Roman, and actually forbidden by several sumptuary laws to men to wear. Robes entirely of purple were restricted by Caesar to certain persons, and certain occasions, Suet. Caes. 43. Augustus permitted their use to Senators occupying a public office, Dio 49. § 16. Tiberius set the example himself of maintaining the regulation, Dio 57. § 13. Nero actually forbade the sale of Tyrian purple (Suet. Nero 32).

82. 'Shall I see foreign upstarts preferred to a genuine Roman like myself as witnesses and guests?' For the dignity of acting as witness or surety see Persius, v. 80. Dama is made a *libertinus* and then—*Marco spondente recusas Credere tu nummos?* For the rank of guests at table see Horace, Sat. ii. 8. 23 sq. There was sometimes a *nomenclator* to assign their places to guests; see Athenaeus ii. 29.

83. Damascus plums (damsons) and small Syrian figs, which were imported into Rome *via* Alexandria. For plums among the ancients see Hehn, p. 310. Hesychius says that Κόττανα were a kind of figs. *Pruna in peregrinis arboribus dicta sunt Damascena*, Plin. N. H. xv. 13. Cf. our *damsons = Damascene plums.*

84. 'Is it then to go so entirely for nothing that I was reared on the Aventine, in the heart of Rome, on Sabine fare?' (cf. l. 169) which was the simplest and produced the finest men. Cf. Vergil's *pubem Sabellam*, Georg. ii. 167. **baca** is the 'olive berry.' The best were from the Piceni; cf. Mart. i. 43. 8; xiii. 36.

88. 'They are actually adroit enough in their flattery to compare the long-drawn neck of an invalid to a hero at the time when he is at the supreme moment of his exertion, holding the giant above the earth.' This was the favourite attitude of the poets in which to describe wrestlers; cf. Lucan, iv. 618; Stat. Theb. vi. 893.

91. **ille** = *gallus* = *vox galli, sc. mariti.* The word *gallus* stands for a quality attributed to it, a use found only after an adjective of comparison, as *Isaeus* in l. 74 stood for *sermo Isaei.* 'He is in ecstasies at the squeaky voice than which the voice of the cock does not sound more paltry.' The ablative *quo marito* is a sort of ablative of attendant cir-

cumstances, serving almost as an adjective ; cf. *quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat,* Sat. i. 25.

92. 'Certainly we can flatter; but they get credit for their flattery, while we do not.'

93. *An melior est simulator cum comoedus agit muliebres personas quam in vera vita?* 'The Greek, we all know, is perfection itself as a player; now tell me whether he is not as good in playing a part in daily life? He is so good that even *off* the stage he plays as well as he plays *on* it; and his perfection in playing female parts is so great that you would say he was a real woman. He is equally at home in the part of a witty *hetaira* like Thaïs, or of a chaste wife, or of a waiting-maid, so trim without her tippet.' The servant wears her *tunica* only, without the *palliolum* or short mantle, which she has doffed from coquetry.

98. nec tamen. '*Yet,* although these Greeks are such good actors, they are not much better than the rest: a nation of comedians, and able to appreciate good acting, they would not envy the best actors who cannot act better than every Greek can act. Not even can an Antiochus excite their wonder.' Quintilian, xi. 3. 178, notices that Demetrius and Stratocles *placere diversis virtutibus.* Demetrius played grave and majestic parts, such as those of gods and mothers of families, and was noticed as especially powerful in attracting audiences by the way in which he used *iactare manus* and *dulces exclamationes theatri causa producere.* Stratocles was strong in the parts of tricky slaves, parasites, &c.

100. rides. The hypothetical protasis is here stated as a fact, and is by an artifice of rhetoric regarded as realized. In Greek this is commonly introduced by καὶ δή: cf. Aesch. Eumenides, 854 καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι, τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει: Eur. Med. 386; Aristoph. Vespae, 1224, &c.

102. nec dolet, 'and yet he feels no grief.' *Nec* for *nec tamen.* Cf. *ita occulte temperatur ut impleat nec redundet,* Plin. Ep. v. 6. § 36. For the feigned sympathy of these flatterers cf. Mart. xii. 83. 13–14 *omnia laudabit, mirabitur omnia, donec Perpessus dicas taedia mille Veni!*

103. ἐνδρομίς is in Greek 'a hunting boot,' only used of the boots worn by Artemis: in Latin it has the meaning of a warm overcoat or piece of cloth which athletes cast over them after their exercises.

accipit implies that he constrains himself to don it; cf. *rapere non accipere,* Amm. xvi. 5. § 11. Thus Trimalchio after the bath, Petron. 28, covers himself with a *coccina gausapa*; see Mart. iv. 19. 4. Cf. Becker, Gallus, p. 422.

104. non sumus. This line is enclosed in brackets by most editors. (1) It breaks the connection between *natio comoeda est* and what follows; (2) *semper* is weak; (3) it is a question whether the phrase *omni nocte dieque* is Latin. Mart. ii. 18. 2 has the phrase *sumus ergo pares.*

105. vultum. 'He can put on an expression to match the other's face.' The *vultus* is the changing expression: the *facies* the unchang-

ing lineaments of the face. He can therefore take his cue from the cast of his auditor's features.

108. trulla, 'a small ladle' or 'scoop' for dipping wine out of the *crater* or *vas vinarium*; sometimes of clay, as in Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 144. Weidner thinks that the Greek is represented as wanting also to dip wine; but the master plays him the trick of emptying the crater, and placing it before him empty. The Greek, in his zeal for flattery, not noticing this, strikes the bottom of the crater with the *aurea trulla*, and, instead of showing resentment at the trick, pays the master a compliment on his cleverness at a ruse. Others, taking *trulla* as a 'drinking cup,' explain that if the master turns his glass over to show that it is empty, and the last drops escape with a gurgling sound, the parasite goes into ecstasies even at this. And this seems the simpler interpretation.

113. See line 57 and note.

114–118. Weidner, following Teuffel, thinks it probable that these verses are a late interpolation after Tacitus, who, in Ann. xvi. 21–33, gives an account of the trial of Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus. Soranus, a man of position, was accused by a philosopher of Berytus, one P. Egnatius Celer. Egnatius was rewarded; Soranus was put to death: one of the charges against him was that of causing his daughter Servilia to use magic arts. Ritter once, followed by Mayor, adopted the reading *discipulamque senex* here, in order to make an antithesis between the *senex* and his disciple.

114. Plutarch, Qu. Rom. 40, says that the Romans believe that nothing has contributed so powerfully to weaken and enslave the Greeks as the gymnasia, which taught grace instead of soldiery.

coepit, in perfect tense, as Lucr. R. N. v. 14.

transi gymnasia: 'pass over, overlook the crimes of the training schools: and let us look at the wickedness of an accepted philosopher.' These gymnasia or high schools are mentioned as hotbeds of vice by Seneca, De Brev. Vitae xii. 2. The expression *amictu tenus philosophus* occurs in Amm. xiv. 13. 5 of Epigonus. The *abolla* (Aeol. ἀμβόλλα = ἀναβολή, the donning of the garment, and then the garment itself), was purple. The Ephebi wore the chlamys or *minor abolla*, Apuleius, Met. x. § 233: the Stoic philosophers the *maior abolla*. Mayor refers the words about the gymnasia to ll. 67, 68, making the sense, 'Let us pass by the gymnasia, and the shameful habit of copying the Greeks, even in our athletics, and now come to a crime *maioris togae*, i. e. *sceleris potentioris*.' In either case it must be admitted that the transition is somewhat brusque from 113 to 114. For the sense of *transi*, cf. vii. 190.

117. nutritus. Egnatius was *born* at Berytus in Phoenicia (Dio lxii. 26), but *educated* at Tarsus on the bank of the Cydnus, which claimed to have received its name from Bellerophon's fall from Pegasus, *Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus Bellerophontem*, Hor. C. iv. 11. 27. Ταρσός was supposed to refer to the 'wing' or 'hoof' of Pegasus

who fell there. Tarsus vied with Alexandria and Athens in literary activity, Strabo, xiv. 673 sqq., Amm. xiv. 8. 3 *Ciliciam Tarsus nobilitat urbs perspicabilis; hanc condidisse Perseus memoratur, Iovis filius et Danaes.* As commonly, Juv. alludes to the literary associations of the place.

118. **Gorgonei.** Pegasus sprang from Medusa's blood when Perseus struck off her head, Ov. F. iii. 450 *Gorgonei equi.* Notice the sneer contained in *caballus*, 'Gorgo's nag.'

119. **regnat.** A word distasteful to Roman ears. Cf. Hor. C. i. 37. 7 *regina*; and id. iv. 12. 8 *regum.*

120. **Protogenes** and **Hermarchus.** Unknown Greek intruders.

122. **solus habet.** Cf. Mart. iii. 26 *omnia solus habes.*

facilem, 'the goodnatured ear of his listener.'

stillo, used of pouring in liquids, as *auribus succum brassicae*, Plin. N. H. xx. 9. 33, and of words, as *instillare praeceptum auriculis*, Hor. Ep. i. 8. 16.

123. 'A drop of the poison natural alike to his character and to his country.' Cf.

> 'And in the porches of my ears did pour
> The leperous distilment.'
>
> Hamlet, Act. 1, sc. v.

124. **summoveor.** The word used of the lictor who *summovet turbam*, makes the crowd *move on*: thus Juvenal says 'I have the word to move on.' Cf. Liv. iii. 48.

perierunt, 'have gone for nothing,' as in Sat. 1. 18. Cf. *tot noctes periere, nihil pudet?* Propert. ii. 21. 5.

125. His relation as *cliens* is called *servitium.*

iactura, properly the jettison of a ship's cargo to save the ship. Cf. Livy v. 39 *facilem iacturam esse seniorum;* as we might say 'the throwing a client overboard.' Martial iii. 36. 10 complains that Fabianus expects the same attentions from him, a client of thirty *winters*, and concludes *nondum credas me meruisse rudem?* Cf. ib. xii. 13 *Odisse, quam donare, vilius constat.*

126. The sense is, 'Besides, to speak the truth, the pauper cannot talk of services or duty. His rich countrymen are his rivals even in claiming charity. What does he get, diligent though he be to don his toga ere dawn, and to run off to the *salutatio*, seeing that even the praetor posts in state on the same errand?'

porro means *besides, passing by* the Greeks and foreigners. *Officia* and *merita* are contrasted by Cicero, Fam. xi. 17. *Officia* means services; *merita* is a stronger word—services which entail claims; we may construe it *claims.*

127. **nocte,** before daybreak. See i. 128.

togatus. For the toga was always used on such official visits; cf. Martial, ii. 74. 1 *cinctum* togatis *post et ante Saufeium*, i. e clients in their toga.

128. **praetor lictorem impellat.** The praetor actually goes with

his lictors, i. e. in state. The lictors were discarded on non-official occasions, Tac. Ann. ii. 53. **Impellat,** treads on his heels to make him go faster.

129. Since their childless patrons have been long awake (and expecting their visit). The tricks and devices for capturing the good will of rich persons without heirs are one of the commonplaces of the classical writers.

130. **Albina** and **Modia** are rich ladies with no heirs: the praetor cannot make his lictor go fast enough to salute them: he alleges that they must have been long since up, and his colleague may anticipate him and win their favour. Weidner understands by *orbis* orphans who are waiting in the praetor's *vestibulum* to claim their rights or to ask for aid,—but surely the explanation given is correct.

131. **cludit latus.** Here a son of freeborn parents gives the wall to a wealthy slave: for the other (the slave) has money enough to squander on bad characters. Weidner supposes *hic* to correspond to *alter*, and says that two young dandies of fortune are spoken of; one who walks with a rich slave; another who squanders a tribune's pay in debauchery. But surely *hic* means 'here' deictically; though it may possibly mean 'at Rome,' as in l. 127. P reads *servo*, which gives the sense required.

cludere latus, to give the wall to: as Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 18 *utne* tegam *spurco Damae* latus? Cp. also Sen. Quaest. Nat. vii. 32 *mares inter se uxoresque contendunt uter* det latus *illis*. The attention would be of more real value at a time when walking in the streets was attended with dangers arising from their narrowness and the *grassatores* in Rome. *Servo*, i.e. one who had been a slave: the word is used to emphasize the difference between the *ingenuus* and *libertinus*, and probably with reference to the passage from Horace quoted above, as Dama is the name of a slave, and Persius describes the privileges acquired by *Dama* when he became *Marcus Dama*: Pers. v. 79–81.

132. **alter enim,** i. e. the sometime *servus*. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 11, cites the military tribune's pay as proverbially high. Cf. also id. iii. 13.

137. **hospes.** P. Scipio Nasica, who, as the *vir optimus* in Rome in 204 B. C., received the injunction to act as *hospes* to the mother of the gods. Cf. Amm. xxii. 9. 5 *Julianus Pessinunta convertit visurus vetusta Matris Magnae delubra, a quo oppido bello Punico secundo, carmine Cumano monente per Scipionem Nasicam simulacrum translatum est Romam.* See Livy xxix. 10, 11 and 14. For **da** as used in the sense of 'suppose' cf. x. 43, where it is used in the sense of 'picture to yourself,' 'think of,' Da *nunc et volucrem.*

138. Let even a Numa (the type of holy kings) step forth; in Amm. xvi. 7. 4 coupled with Socrates as a type of truthfulness.

139. L. Caecilius Metellus saved the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta, B. C. 241, but lost his eyesight through his exertions. See Livy, Epit. xix. The meteoric stone from Pessinus is coupled by Servius (Aen. vii. 188) with the Palladium and the *ancilia* as among

the sacred relics upon which the safety of the empire depended. See Lanciani, p. 147.

140. 'Straightway to his estate!' Seneca, Ep. 115. § 14, quotes the proverbial line

Sine me vocari pessimum ut dives vocer.

141. pascere is the regular word for keeping slaves and cattle; Sen. Ep. 17. § 3 *facile est* pascere *paucos ventres*: **possidere** for occupying the public lands as pastoral licensee.

142. paropsis, properly = *patella*; and then used, as here, for a costly dish or entrée. See Mart. xi. 31. 18, where Labullus is rallied on making up gourds into side dishes (*paropsidas*).

143. Cf. the proverb in Petron. 77 *assem habeas, assem valeas; habes, habeberis.* Cf. ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει δοθήσεται αὐτῷ Matt. xiii. 12; and Mart. v. 81.

144. The Samothracian gods were called *Cabiri*; and their mysteries were looked on as equally solemn with the Eleusinian mysteries. The Greeks invoked them in times of special danger, Aristophanes, Pax 278. They were the especial avengers of *perjury*. The Romans of the Imperial times regarded them as particularly impressive.

iuro, to swear by; cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 16 *iurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.* So *iurare quaevis numina,* Ovid. Her. 16. 319.

145. 'The poor man is thought to be beneath the gods' notice even as an object of punishment.'

147. 'Why add that our poor man is a butt to his patron, if his mantle is dirty and torn; if his toga is the least soiled, and one of his shoes shows a hole where the leather is worn; or if a patch or two where a rent has been cobbled shows clumsy fresh stitching?'

148. The **lacerna,** a loose mantle of later introduction than the *paenula*; it was thought affected to wear it. Cicero reproaches Antony for wearing one, Phil. ii. § 76; Mart. vi. 59 reproaches a vain *libertus* for wishing for cold weather which might show off his costly *lacernae* and make the poet wear his *mala lacerna.* The fact that the *lacerna* was costly and a sign of luxury would give a sting to the rich man's remarks if it were now threadbare.

153. ridiculus is often employed in Plautus as an epithet of parasites. We should understand here 'Poverty's greatest curse is that it makes men buffoons'; cf. Stichus, ii. 1. 17, where Gelasimus is made to say *propter paupertatem hoc adeo nomen repperi | eo quia paupertas fecit ut ridiculus forem.*

exeat. One of the insults to which poverty exposes the poor man is that he actually cannot sit with the wealthy in the theatre. The *Lex Roscia de quattuordecim ordinibus,* B. C. 67, reserved the first fourteen rows in the theatre to the knights. The law fell into disuse, being unpopular; but Domitian revived it (Suet. Dom. 8), and extended the privilege of occupying these seats to all who possessed the *census equestris.* There was an official called *designator,* whose business it was to see that none of the plebs came there. Martial, v. 8 has an

epigram on a rich *libertus* who thought he would make himself comfortable and took the seat of an eques, but was told to go out by Leitus, the public officer.

inquit, 'is the word,' used impersonally, as in vii. 242.

154. si pudor est. The Scholiast read *si pudor est de se*, which is adopted by Simcox.

157. nitidi. The *praeco* or auctioneer affected dandified airs: his son squandered the money he had amassed. The spruce *praeco* or auctioneer might well give himself airs if riches were to be taken as the test of success. Josephus speaks of Arruntius Euarestus, an auctioneer, as equalling in wealth the wealthiest Romans, Ant. xix. 1. 18. Martial, vi. 8, tells us that the daughter of an old man was wooed by two praetors, four tribunes, seven lawyers, and ten poets; without hesitation he gave her to a *praeco*. On the other hand, Horace says that his father did not fear reproach, *si praeco parvas, aut (ut fuit ipse) coactor Mercedes sequerer*, S. i. 6. 86.

158. The Samnis was a gladiator who wore a *galea cristata*: the *pinna* on his helmet was the trophy which his adversary, the *provocator*, endeavoured to wrest from him; the young dandies of Rome apprenticed themselves to a *pinnirapus* or a *lanista* to learn to fight *en règle*.

159. Cf. Martial's epigram on Phasis, v. 8.

160. Umbricius again begins to speak.

161. *Collige sarcinulas* 'pack up your dowry,' is a comical parody of *collige sarcinas*, a legal formula of divorce. Cf. Sat. vi. 146. Mart. speaks of *uxor sarcinaeque*, ii. 11. 8. Another was *tuas tibi res habeto*, Plaut. Trin. 266. Highly dowered wives were however deemed the curse of their husbands. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 24. 19; Plaut. Asin. 87.

162. The *aediles* were the police magistrates at Rome: to be their assessor would confer a certain amount of dignity on an ordinary citizen. Cf. *cur praetor te . . . in consilium vocavit*, Cic. Flacc. c. 32.

agmen implies that they ought to have marched out in military array; and is contrasted with *Quirites*, citizens.

163. olim, 'long since': the classical expression would be *iamdudum*. Cf. Sat. iv. 96. They ought to have made a second secession to the Mons Sacer. Cf. Suet. Nero 39 *Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate Quirites!*

164. 'Poverty is everywhere a millstone round the neck; but at Rome the struggle is harder than elsewhere.'

166. Cf. Velleius Paterc. Hist. Rom. ii. 10 *Censores abhinc annos centum quadraginta tres Lepidum Aemilium augurem, quod sex milibus sestertium aedes conduxisset, adesse iusserunt.* At nunc *si quis tanti habitet* vix ut senator agnoscitur. Cf. Friedländer, i. p. 25.

167. Cf. Mart. x. 96. 9 *Hic pretiosa fames conturbatorque macellus.*

168. 'Besides, at Rome the fashion is to use expensive ware.' Cf. Amm. Mar. xxii. 4. § 6 of the soldiers *testa bibere iam pudebat.* Simcox

defends the MSS. reading *negavit*, 'which the poor man, if transported, is sure to deny,' *negavit* having the aorist sense.

169. The Marsi and Sabelli are often coupled and instanced as the type of hardy and frugal peasantry. Cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 167, where it is cited amongst the glories of Italy that she has produced *genus acre virum Marsos pubemque Sabellam.* Cf. Mart. x. 33. 1.

170. contentusque. We should have expected the *que* to be more naturally joined with *veneto*; but the *contentus* seems to be used for 'and you would be contented'; just as *melior*, line 104, must be understood as *he is better.*

venetus, properly 'sea-coloured,' 'pale.'

cucullus, a 'cowl' or 'capote' to throw over the head in the cold weather; in viii. 145, for disguise.

171. 'Yes! there is a large part of Italy yet in which the toga is unknown until a man is dead.' Freemen were buried in the toga. Cf. Mart. ix. 58. 8 *pallens toga mortui tribulis.* Cf. Mart. iv. 66. 3, where the poet addresses Linus, who seemed to have been living frugally, *Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis*, i. e. your toga was only taken out and shaken on festivals. So Pliny, Ep. v. 6 ad fin. *nulla necessitas togae.* Cf. also Mart. x. 96, where he complains that at Rome he needs four or more togae in a year, and dwells on the expense of the capital. Tac. Ann. xvi. 5 dwells on the surprise of the country provincials at the large scale on which everything is done at Rome: *neque aspectum illum tolerare*, &c.

172. Everything here points to the simplicity of country life. The festivals occur only from time to time (*si quando*): the theatre itself is on the grass: the games are eagerly looked for (*tandem*): the mother, rather than not witness them, brings her baby in her arms. All this contrasts with Rome, where the games were never-ending. For the custom of celebrating these country games see Tac. Ann. xiv. 20.

173. Tacitus, as quoted above, expressly tells us that the old custom of holding rural theatrical exhibitions lasted long in the country. Livy, vii. 2, says that *postquam ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit*, unde exodia *postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt.*

178. The Romans, having no chorus, reserved the orchestra for the senate and magistrates: behind this were the fourteen *ordines*: and behind them was the *cavea* of the plebs. In the country towns these distinctions were not observed. The aediles sit in the orchestra; but even they do not don the toga, but merely the *tunica alba*, while the plebs dresses in the *pulla.*

180. Here the show in dress (*habitus*, gen.) transcends our means. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 18. 22 *gloria quem* supra vires *et vestit et unguit.*

184. quid das? What do you give (in fees to the slaves)? Sen. Const. Sap. 14. § 2 *sapiens non accedet ad fores quas durus ianitor obsidet?*

Cossus, unknown, except as the name of a patrician family of the *gens Cornelia*. A captator Cossus is mentioned disparagingly in Sat. x. 202, which looks as if Juvenal might here be referring to a successful parasite.

185. **Veiento** is characterised by Pliny, Ep. iv. 22. 4, by the words *dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi*. Cf. iv. 113; vi. 113. Cf. also Dio lxi. 6, who tells us that he trained dogs to draw cars like horses. From Tac. Ann. xiv. 50 we learn that Veiento wrote pasquinades on men of position under Nero, and he appears as a delator under Domitian. The meaning will be, 'What will you give for the right of bowing to a successful parasite, or to escape the lash of the reckless satirist?'

186. 'One patron holds a festival on the occasion of some favourite's beard being shaved, and another dedicates his page's lock to a god; then the house is full of cakes; you, the client, have to buy even these from the slaves. Does not this make your blood boil?' Mart. iii. 6. has an epigram congratulating a friend on his initiation to manhood by the ceremony of cutting the beard for the first time. Statius, speaking of such an *amatus*, S. ii. 1. 53 *o ubi venturae spes non longinqua iuventae | atque genis optatus honos, iurataque multum | barba tibi!* Cf. also Petron. 73 *tum Trimalchio 'amici' inquit 'hodie servus meus barbatoriam fecit, homo praefiscini frugi et micarius.*' Cf. too Mart. ix. 17 and 18.

187. **accipe** is a weaker word than **cape**; the advice is—'Take passively the cakes, and as you do so feel indignant'; *sumimus posita, accipimus data*, Isid. Diff. i. Cf. 103 and note.

189. **peculium,** the property which a slave was allowed to acquire for himself by law. A good slave might hope in five years to save up enough to purchase his manumission, Cic. Phil. viii. 11.

190. 'In country towns you need fear none of the dangers which make life intolerable at Rome; such as falling houses, fires, marauders, street noises.' For *gelida Praeneste* cf. Hor. Car. iii. 4. 22.

The houses in Juvenal's time were hastily and carelessly constructed by speculators. The upper storeys were built of wood, *tabulata, contignationes*: the walls often cracked, Plin. N. H. xxxvi. § 172 *reticulata structura, qua frequentissime Romae, struunt rimis opportuna est.* Seneca complains that one of the standing terrors of Rome is the roofs of the houses; it was advisable to fly even from a mansion with picture galleries as soon as a crack was heard (Epp. xc. 45). Even Catullus, xxiii. 9, speaks of *incendia* and *ruinae* as reasons for wishing to be poor. The two evils are constantly spoken of together as if their united terror had become proverbial. Cf. Sen. Benef. iv. 6. 2 *sine ullo incendii aut ruinae metu.*

191. **Volsiniis** (Bolsena), on the *via Clodia* between Clusium and Forum Cassii.

192. **Gabii,** cited Sat. x. 100 as a sample of a deserted country town now Castiglione, lay 100 stadia from Rome on the road to Praeneste.

Tiburis. Cf. Hor. Car, iii. 4. 23 *Tibur supinum*, on the slope of a hill, and so 'sunny.'

193. **tibicen,** 'a slender shoring,' which shoring however takes up a great part of the room in the streets. Lit. by a shoring, 'a great part of itself,' i. e. of the city. The thought seems to be the same as that in Sat. xii. 55 *discriminis ultima, quando Praesidia adferimus navem factura minorem.*

194. 'For thus (carelessly) does the landlord prop up the falling inmates, and when he has covered over the old gaping chink bids them sleep securely on the brink of a fall.'

195. **vilicus,** commonly used for a country bailiff; but also as here for *insularius*, a town lodging-keeper; cf. Mart. xii. 32. 23, where the poet writes an epigram upon a dishonest man who has been evicted from his lodgings by his landlord, *Quid quaeris aedes vilicosque derides Habitare gratis, o Vacerra, cum possis?*—i. e. as a common beggar. Cf. Petron. Priap. lxxxii. 1 *Vilicus aerari quondam, nunc cultor agelli.*

197. **incendia.** After the destruction of the city by the Gauls A. U. C. 364, the city was rebuilt in great haste. Bricks and tiles were distributed gratuitously: the straight line in the new streets and lanes was discarded; the size of the houses was increased at the expense of the streets. This haste in the construction of the houses and narrowness of the streets caused many fires. In Livy, xxvi. 27 the shops surrounding the Forum and the region of the Lautumiae were levelled to the ground: in Tiberius' time there were two dangerous and destructive fires, the first of which A. D. 27 devastated the Cælian hill, and the second A. D. 37 the Aventine and a large part of the Circus. After the great conflagration under Nero, another broke out under Titus, which raged for three days and nights in the Campus Martius (Suet. Tit. 8). The largest fire after that of Nero's time occurred under Commodus, Euseb. Chron. 193 A. D. *incendio facto Palatium et aedes Vestae plurimaque pars urbis solo aequatur.* See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, vol. i. p. 31 sqq. Lanciani publishes, p. 226, an inscription taken from a pedestal dedicated in the year 205 to the Emperor Caracalla. In this Severus and Caracalla authorize the *vigiles* or fire police to punish *fustibus vel flagellis* the janitor or any of the inhabitants of a house in which fire has broken out through negligence.

198. **nocte metus;** such as earthquakes (Tac. Ann. xii. 43 *crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus*): sudden floods (see Tac. Hist. i. 86—the Tiber rose and *plures in tabernis* et cubilibus *interfecti*; also Suet. Otho, c. 8 *inundationibus Tiberis retardatus ad vicesimum etiam lapidem ruina aedificiorum praeclusam viam offendit*: cf. also Martial's epigram, x. 85): and thieves.

poscere aquam is a technical term for 'to cry fire.' Cf. Quint. Decl. xii. 6 *aqua incendio inclamari publice solet.*

frivola, from root *ghar*, 'to rub,' connected with *frio* and χρίω, properly what is rubbed or torn; here applied to worthless furniture, as in Sat. v. 59.

199. Ucalegon, used for 'neighbour,' referring to Verg. Aen. ii. 311 *iam proximus ardet Ucalegon.* For Juvenal's frequent reminiscences of Vergil see *de Juvenale Vergilii imitatore* Göttingen 1886. 'You are above him in the attic under the roof, and you naturally know nothing of the fire till the third storey to your cost (**tibi**) is on fire.'

200. 'For if the alarm starts from the steps below, the poor inmate under the tiles is the last to burn.'

201. The top attics were called *cenacula* or *cenaculae*—in Plaut. Amphitruo, iii. 1. 3, Jupiter speaks of himself as *in superiore qui habito cenaculo*, in the top attic, jocularly for the sky. Cf. Sat. x. 18 *rarus venit in cenacula miles.*

203. 'Poor Codrus had furniture scant enough, 'tis true, but it was his all—'tis all now gone.' **Codro.** Martial has an epigram on Codrus which gives the reason for his poverty, iii. 15 *Plus credit nemo, quam tota Codrus in urbe. Cum sit tam pauper, quomodo? Caecus amat.*

Procula minor, possibly 'narrow even for his little wife.' Cf. ii. 68. Others have thought that *Procula* may refer to a noted dwarf of the day. For the construction cf. iv. 66 *privatis maiora focis*, xv. 140 *minor igne rogi*, 'too small for the fire of the funeral pile.'

urceoli, jugs with one handle to hold water for drinking. In Martial, xi. 56, a Stoic is spoken of as possessing such an *urceus*, without a handle.

204. abacus, a *slab* to hold plate, commonly of marble as here; introduced into Rome after the triumph of Cn. Manlius, B. C. 187, Liv. xxxix. 6; Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 8. § 14.

205. Chiro, Chiron the Centaur.

206. cista. He had an old hamper for his Greek MSS. in contradistinction to the *capsae* or *armaria* of the wealthy. The *cista* was sometimes *texta de vimine*, Ov. Met. ii. 554. See too Pliny, H. N. xvi. 77.

207. opici, the Greek word for *Oscan*, speaking what appeared to the Romans an unintelligible jargon; hence 'foreign,' 'uncultivated'; 'those Vandals, the mice.' Cat. ap. Plin. xxix. 7 'the Greeks call us barbarians and *opici*.' The word seems especially to have been applied to such as were ignorant of Greek. Cf. Fronto, Epist. ad M. Caes. ii. 6, where M. Aurelius writes *ego qui a Graeca litteratura tantum absum, quantum a terra Graecia mons Caelius meus abest . . . igitur paene me* opicum *animantem ad* Graecam *scripturam perpulerunt.* So here the mice destroyed the Greek books; they knew no Greek.

212. 'If the rich man has his house burnt down it is a different story: the matrons put on weeds; the notables don black; the courts are closed.'

Asturicus, a rich man. The name is taken from an illustrious family, cf. **Creticus,** ii. 212; *horrida* and *pullati* are predicates and the verb is omitted.

213. pullatus is connected etymologically with πελλός, 'dark grey.' It is used properly of the natural wool of dark sheep.

differt vadimonia, 'defers the day on which the defendant need

appear';—as in a *iustitium*: cf. Lucan Phars. ii. 17–19 *ferale per urbem Iustitium, latuit plebeio tectus amictu Omnis honos. Vadimonium alicui imponere* is to make a person give bail for his appearance in court: *facere vadimonium* (*alicui*) is used in the same sense, iii. 298. *Differre vadimonium* is the regular term for putting off the day of the necessary appearance in Court; cf. Cic. ad Att. ii. 7 [*Clodium*] *ire cupiebam: non mehercule, ut differrem cum eo vadimonium* (*nam mira sum alacritate ad litigandum*). It is possible that here Juvenal may be thinking of Asturicus' fortunes as affected by the fire, and that the meaning is 'the praetor gives him a longer term to meet his bills in.'

215. **ardet adhuc.** The house is still burning; even before the flames are extinguished his friends are by with presents.

216. **conferat,** lit. 'to collect his expenses'; to get together the sum he has spent, hence 'to subscribe to his expenses.' His officious rich acquaintance will give him, not merely the needful money, but even real works of art.

217. Another will give some *chef d'œuvre* of **Euphranor** or **Polyclitus.** Euphranor was an Athenian statuary and painter; Polyclitus, a statuary of Argos or Sicyon contemporary with Pericles. Polyclitus was commonly ranked as the first among the Greek artists; he was the great master in portraying youthful beauty; Statius, Silv. ii. 2, 67, mentions works of his in common with those of Myron, Apelles and Phidias among the ancient pictures and statuary in the villa of Pollius Felix in Sorrento. His masterpiece was the statue of the Argive Hera, Mart. x. 89. Cf. Sat. viii. 103 n.

218. Roth, from the readings *fecasianorum* and *phaecasianorum*, conjectured **phaecasiatorum,** the reading adopted by Mayor. The *φαικάσιον* was a kind of white shoe worn by priests at Athens and Egypt. Cf. Seneca, de Beneficiis vii. 21 *Pythagoricus quidam emerat a sutore phaecasia,* and Pet. Sat. lxvii. 4. The Pythagoreans were said to have drawn some of their doctrines from the priests of Egypt. Seneca also uses *phaecasiatum palliatumque*, Ep. cxiii. § 1, as the marks of a Greek philosopher. But the reading *Haec Asianorum* is supported by good MS. authority, and the number of statues and works of art transported to Rome from Asia was very large. Amm. xxiii. 6. § 24 relates how a statue of Apollo Comeus was taken from Seleucia, *portatumque Romam in aede Apollinis Palatini deorum antistites collocarunt.* The rich resources of the Roman province of Asia are a common topic with writers under the empire. Five hundred flourishing cities are cited as belonging to that province, Joseph. B. J. ii. 16. The Emperor Julian on visiting Nicomedia declared that it vied with Rome in the multitude and beauty of its edifices public and private.

219. **Foruli,** *armaria, loculamenta,* and *nidi* are names for the bookshelves which ran round the libraries, and contained the *volumina* with their cases (*capsae*).

media Minerva: a bust of Minerva midst the books: just as a statue of Apollo is placed among the books in Suet. Aug. 31.

modium argenti, 'a peck of money': a proverbial expression conveying the idea of carelessness on the part of the donor: a carelessness arising from affluence. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 96 and Petron. 37 *uxor Trimalchionis Fortunata appellatur quae nummos modio metitur.*

221. Probably Juvenal here refers to some well-known case which occurred in his day; it is not likely that he would speak of Persicus as living in the *magna Asturici domus*, though it is possible that the house in which he is living may be named after an Asturicus, no longer the owner. Some have seen in this passage an example of Juvenal's carelessness in details, quoting x. 36. 41, where the same man is spoken of as consul and praetor; but cf. note ad loc.

orborum lautissimus, an oxymoron, 'happiest of mourners.'

222. **tamquam,** used in the Silver Age of Latinity not as implying any doubt of the fact, but to show the *grounds* of the accusation. We say he was accused *of* doing. Tacitus, Pliny, and Juvenal would say *accusatus est tamquam fecisset*; cf. *reum postulavit tamquam*, Pliny, Ep. iii. 9. 29 (quoted by Mayor).

suas incenderit aedes. Cf. Mart. iii. 52, where the poet reproaches Tongilianus with having bought a house *ducenis*, i. e. for two hundred *sestertia*: *decies centena* were collected to cover his expenses when it was burnt down: may it not naturally be thought that Tongilianus has burnt down his own house?

223. 'If you can tear yourself from your beloved Circus, you can buy a capital house in some country town not too far from Rome, for the yearly rent you pay for a dark garret in town.' The *Ludi magni* or **Circenses** were held in April in the Circus Maximus. In Sat. x. 81 Juvenal speaks of their popularity with the mob.

si potes. The sentence is condensed: 'if you can tear yourself from your Circus games (you can be happier); you can get a capital house at Sora,' &c. The idiom is natural to other languages, like English.

Circensibus. The Circus Maximus, situated in the long valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, called the *Vallis Murcia*: it was fitted with rows of wooden seats by Tarquinius Priscus: the ranges of seats were built of stone by Julius Caesar (Suet. J. Caesar, § 39): partially destroyed by a large fire, in the year B. C. 31 (Dio. l. 10), it was restored by Augustus. In the year 36 A. D., it was provided with 'carceres' of marble and gilded metal by Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21). After this restoration it held 250,000 spectators (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 24). See Middleton's Ancient Rome, p. 286, &c. For the enormous popularity of the games cf. Cic. Verr. i. 18. 54 *frequentia totius Italiae comitiorum* ludorum *censendive causa.* Cf. also Dio, lxxviii. 26 *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην—ὑφ' ἧς ἀεί ποτε τὸ θέατρον ἐπληροῦτο.*

Sora, on the Liris.

224. **Fabrateria** and **Frusino,** both in Latium.

paratur, 'is to be bought outright.' For *paratur* we should expect

'some expression like *parari potest*: the use of the present seems to imply 'you have only to wish it and it is yours.' An *occasional* meaning of *paro* was 'to procure with money,' 'buy'; and from this use has developed the Romance meaning of the word seen in the Italian *comprare*, &c. Cf. Satire xiv. 140, and *servi aere parati*, Sall. Jug. 31.

225. **tenebras**, of a gloomy garret: cf. Mart. ii. 14. 12 of a dingy bath-house, *nec Grylli tenebras*. So also Catull. lv. 2 *Demonstres ubi sint tuae tenebrae*. On the other hand Plautus describes a bright house, Most. iii. 1. 112, as *clarorem merum*. In Caesar's time it appears that house-rent was four times as high in Rome as in country towns. Cf. Vell. Paterc. ii. 10, who says that a hundred and fifty years before his time an augur was *notatus* by the Censors for renting a house at a rate which would in his day be discreditably small for a Senator to pay. Cic. Cael. § 7 speaks of houses letting in his time for 30,000 *sesterces*.

226. **hic**, in the country. For the spirit cf. xi. 79 sqq.

brevis denotes that the water of the well is *at a short distance* from the mouth, not that the well is shallow, as the common interpretation is; cf. *quo brevius valent*, Tac. Ann. vi. 33 'the nearer (the less distant) they are the more powerful are they':—being so near the surface the water would of course demand no rope and bucket to raise it.

227. **tenuis**, 'delicate,' the regular word for newly-set plants. See Verg. Georg. iv. 115.

229. For the Pythagoreans eat nothing but vegetables, of which they eat every kind with the exception of beans; *quoniam mortuorum animae sint in ea* (*faba*) Plin. N. H. xviii. 12. 30. See Sat. xv. 173.

230. ''Tis a fine thing to feel that you own something, however out of the way your property may lie, and though it contains but a single living thing and that a lizard.' Johnson, 'I think it clear enough, as much ground as one may have a chance to find a lizard upon,' Boswell's *Johnson*, year 1778, vol. iii. p. 172, Routledge's edition.

231. **lacertae**. Cf. Mart. xi. 18, where in complaining of the small size of the farm bestowed on him by Lupus, he says *In quo nec cucumis iacere rectus Nec serpens habitare tota possit*.

232. The sense is 'many a poor creature dies at Rome from sleeplessness: the weakness was brought on by indigestion, death by want of sleep.' For the noises at night in Rome cf. Statius, S. iv. 4. 18, who calls Rome *clamosa urbs*. To keep out the noise and prevent the ingress of thieves the windows looking on the street were commonly closed with shutters, Pliny, N. H. 59. Cf. Fried. vol. i. 1. p. 28. **vigilandŏ**: Juvenal uses thus *audĕō*, Sat. i. 153 as short, also *octŏ*, *ergŏ*, &c., but does not elsewhere shorten the termination of the ablative.

234. **meritoria**, lodging-houses, like *cenacula*, and joined with that word in Suet. Vit. 7 *uxore et liberis quos Romae relinquebat meritorio cenaculo abditis domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret*.

235. **magnis opibus dormitur in urbe**: 'in the capital sleep is dear'; *magnis opibus* is an ablative of price. Cf. Martial, xii. 57. 28 *taedio fessis Dormire quotiens libuit, imus ad villam*. Cf. also id. x.

74. 12; ibid. 3, 4 *nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi In urbe locus est pauperi*: the whole epigram should be consulted.

236. Heavy waggon traffic was forbidden in Rome during the day; no doubt the regulation was but little observed; cp. Mart. v. 22. 7–8 *Vixque datur longas mulorum vincere mandras, Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides.*

arto inflexu, in the narrow windings. The narrow streets were made still narrower by the tables protruding into the streets; these tables contained the wares of different tradesmen, especially the bottles of wine-sellers; Mart. vii. 61.

237. stantis convicia mandrae. The abuse of the drovers when the droves are brought to a standstill. Others have referred the *convicia* to the bleating of the sheep.

238. Drusus. Tiberius Claudius Drusus, Caligula's successor, proverbial for his sleepiness, Suetonius, Claud. cap. 8 and 33. Seals were also proverbial as sound sleepers. See Pliny, N. H. ix. § 15 and Homer, Od. iv. 449. The collocation of Drusus and the seals is not intended to be flattering to the former.

240. The omission of the *ab* before *ingenti* may be explained by the slaves being conceived of as mere chattels, and therefore being treated grammatically as equivalent to lifeless objects: cf. xi. 191 *et quidquid frangitur illis*: but it seems more likely that it is to be explained (see note to i. 13) by the fact that the adjective is dwelt upon, so that *ingenti Liburno = proceritate Liburni*; and the construction is one κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. Sat. i. 95. Another reading is *Liburna*, which must be a large covered litter so called from the Liburni, porters from Illyricum (cf. Mart. i. 49. 33 *horridus Liburnus*) who were also employed as bargemen, and as *servi admissionis*.

241. obiter, 'on the way.' Cf. Pliny, Ep. ix. 36; '(In my place in Tuscany) I get into my carriage; there too I employ myself in the same way as when I am walking or reclining: my attention remains constant, being refreshed by the change itself.'

243. Sen. de Ira iii. 6. 3 *per frequentia urbis loca properanti in multos incursitandum est et aliubi labi necesse est, aliubi retineri, aliubi respergi.*

244. unda is used of the tide of human beings in Verg. Georg. ii. 462. For the whole picture see Becker's Gallus, Sc. iv. p. 46. (Eng. transl. 7th ed.)

246. metretam, 'a wine cask'; properly, as the name denotes, a cask of a particular measure, viz. 12 χόες, about nine gallons. Cf. Horace, Ep. ii. 2. 73 sqq. *Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum, Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris.*

247. Cf. Martial vii. 61, 6 *nec praetor medio cogitur ire luto*: cf. also id. iii. 36. 4.

248. The same complaint as in xvi. 14, 25. The Roman centurions are spoken of as 'magni' by Horace (Sat. i. 6. 72): the epithet *hirsutus* is often applied to them, which denotes uncouthness in

general. Cf. Pers. iii. 77 *hic aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum*, where the Scholiast explains *aut ad mores barbaros retulit.*

249. The guests are represented as here receiving their *sportula* in kind, and not in money: we must suppose that both kinds of distribution were usual, both before and during Domitian's reign, when we know that the custom of providing the clients with food instead of money was introduced anew by Domitian, Mart. iii. 30 and Suet. Dom. 7. The clients take their slaves with them and cook their food in portable kitchens in the streets. Friedländer, vol. i. p. 300, supposes that in this passage a picnic is described; but this seems unnecessary.

The **fumus** arises from the portable kitchens—or rather apparatus for keeping the victuals hot—borne by the slaves of the *clientes* who came to claim their owner's dole from the *sportula.*

251. **Cn. Domitius Corbulo.** Cf. Tac. Ann. xiii. 8. He is described as *corpore ingens, verbis magnificus.*

253. As the slave runs to get his place by the *sportula* he naturally fans the flame of the *culina.* The *currens servus* is a standing character in Latin comedy: it was considered inconsistent with Roman *gravitas* for a freeman to run: Alexander Severus had only a slave as a runner, alleging that *ingenuum currere nisi in certamine non debere* (Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 42).

254. **tunicae,** the close-fitting dress of the people in which they worked (cf. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 65 *tunicatus popellus*) without the toga.

255. **serracum.** Quintilian, viii. 3. 21, tells us that *serracum* was the *sordidum nomen* for *plaustrum.* Juvenal, in v. 23, characteristically uses the *sordidum nomen* in speaking of the constellation of 'The Wain.' The fact that he uses the word **altera** will show that he regarded *serracum* and *plaustrum* as synonyms. Cf. *nec in hunc usum pinus aut abies deferebatur, longo vehiculorum ordine vicis intrementibus*, Sen. Ep. 90. § 9.

256. **populo minantur. Nam,** &c. 'They threaten death, I say—*for* should the waggon turn over.' On the narrowness of the Roman streets cf. Tacitus, Ann. xv. 43, and for their dangers, Sen. de Clement. i. 5.

257. **saxa Ligustica,** marble from Luna (Carrara) and Pisa, used for building purposes. Hadrian expressly ordered that heavily-laden waggons should be excluded from Rome, Spartian. Hadr. 22. Cf. Martial, v. 22. 7 sq. *Vixque datur longas mulorum vincere mandras | Quaque trahi multo marmora fune vides.* The *marmor Lunense* (Strabo, lib. v. p. 222) was the native Italian white 'statuary' marble. The other kinds commonly used in Italy were those from Hymettus, Pentelicus, and Paros; see Middleton, p. 11.

260. 'Their body perishes entirely and becomes as invisible as their souls.' This is a comical reference to Homer, Od. xi. 222 *ψυχὴ δ' ἠύτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.*

261. 'Thus the master perishes: his family suspect it so little that they are getting his dinner ready.' Cf. Petronius (Bücheler), § 115

Et hunc (the corpse floating in the sea) *forsitan in aliqua parte terrarum secura expectat uxor; forsitan ignarus tempestatis filius: aut patrem utique reliquit cui proficiscens osculum dedit.*

262. bucca, the Low Latin word for 'mouth,' commonly used in a more or less derisive sense. Cf. line 35.

263. With a **strigil** (*stringere*, 'to scrape'). We should expect *strigilibus*; for the disappearance in pronunciation of the short antepenult cf. the forms *anglus* for *angulus*, *iuglus* for *iugulus*, quoted by Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, vol. ii. p. 405. Thus *calidus* appears in Italian as *caldo*. The Romans took a bath before dinner: cf. Becker's Gallus, pp. 393–4. and the references quoted there. The strigil was 'a flesh-scraper' used to remove the oil after bathing; much art was often expended on these, as on a new-fashioned one described by Apuleius, Florid. i. 9. The body was anointed with oil or unguent before bathing, and even during the bath the bather would come out, anoint himself afresh, and return to complete his bath. Then he would scrape off the oil.

lintea, 'towels'; **gutus,** 'oil-flask.'

264. 'While the family are expecting him home to dinner, the master the while (**iam**) is sitting on the bank of the Styx and shuddering at the grim ferryman.' He speaks scoffingly, as usual, of Greek mythology.

265. Juvenal here seems to have in his mind Verg. Aen. vi. 325, which should be compared with this passage. Cf. also ib. line 298 for the description of Charon, *Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat Terribili squalore Charon.* **novicius,** 'a new arrival': so new slaves were called *novicii*, Var. L. L. 8. 236. For *novīcius* see Brugmann, § 89. vol. ii., and cf. *missīcius*, Mart. Ep. iii. 91. 1.

267. 'He has no obol to offer with his mouth.' This refers to the Greek custom of placing an obol in the mouths of corpses. A small coin was put into the mouth of Greek corpses, as *ναῦλον*, to get them ferried over the Styx. This custom is described by Lucian, de Luctu 10. Cf. also App. Met. vi. 121 *nec Charon ille, Ditis et pater tantus deus, quidquam gratuito facit et pauper moriens debet quaerere.* The *obolus* is strictly the sixth part of a drachma, which was about the equivalent of the Roman *denarius*: the *triens*, or third part of an *as*, would be then of only about the value of the fourth part of an *obolus*.

268–314. 'There are many other dangers in Rome of a different kind (**diversa**), such as those arising from the height of the houses and from the street bullies.'

269. 'At what a distance are the high-pitched roofs, a distance or height so great that a potsherd falling down will dent the pavement and crush in a man's crown.' Cf. Seneca, Contr. ii. 9 *tanta altitudo aedificiorum est, ut neque adversus ignem praesidium nec ex ruinis ullum ullam in partem effugium sit.* After the great fire in Nero's time (64 A. D.) the houses were rebuilt in such a way that they might

best resist future fires. To this end they were fronted with the *lapis Gabinus* (*peperino*), which is quite fireproof, and is remarked on as such by Tacitus, Ann. xv. 43. But even after the restoration of Rome the houses continued to be built too high for safety. Pliny, N. H. iii. 67, remarks on the height of the houses as enabling Rome to contain a population greater than any other town in the world. Stat. S. iv. 4. 14 speaks of the *ardua moenia Romae*. Augustus had indeed forbidden the erection of frontages higher than seventy feet, Strabo, v. 3, and Trajan reduced this to sixty feet, Aur. Vict. Epit. 13. Martial, i. 117, tells us that he lives three storeys high; and line 199 above presupposes that the house spoken of contained four storeys.

270. **fenestris.** The more usual construction would be *de fenestris*; but the ablative is also used, especially in poetry, without any preposition. Cf. Livy i. 31 *crebri cecidere caelo lapides*. Mayor notices that there is a title in the Digest, ix. 3 *De his qui effuderint vel deiecerint*. So Ulpian, after a similar preface, has *Si eo ictu homo liber periisse dicetur, quinquaginta aureorum iudicium dabo*, &c., Ulpian, ib. 1 pr.

272. **silicem,** the pavement below. This *silex*, the modern *selce*, is 'lava poured out from the now extinct volcanoes near Rome. It was used for the paving of roads, and when broken and mixed with lime and pozzolana, formed the most durable kind of concrete.' (Middleton, p. 7.) See Pliny, N. H. 36. 53.

ignavus. Too 'lazy' to attend to the common duties of a citizen.

274. **adeo,** 'to such a degree,' 'so true is it, that there are as many chances of death as there are windows with watchers behind them' (**vigiles**).

275. **vigiles.** The windows with watchers are spoken of as themselves awake. Cf. Horace, Car. iii. 8. 14 *vigiles lucernas*; so Juv. has in Sat. xiv. 260 *ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi*. 'And so you may even pray and carry in your heart the cold comfort of the prayer that they may limit themselves to spilling their shallow basins.' We speak of to 'spill a cup' by a figure of speech whereby the verb which, strictly speaking, applies to the contents of the cup is applied to the cup itself. Such analogical extensions are common in poetry. Cf. 'the Attic warbler pours her throat' (Gray) for 'pours her notes.'

277. **patulas pelves,** 'shallow ewers' or 'footpans' = the Greek πελλίς. **defundere** may mean either 'to discharge,' as we speak of 'discharging the contents of a vessel'; or it may mean to discharge the vessel itself as a missile. The epithet *patulus* makes it more likely that the former sense is that in which the word is employed in this passage.

278. Tacitus, Annals xiii. 25, gives a lively picture of the *foeda domi licentia*, Nero playing the part of a common *grassator*. The passage should be read with this. *Grassatores* was the name given to the ruffians who infested the streets of Rome by night and rendered them unsafe. Nero went about as such a *grassator* (Suet. Nero 26), and Otho *ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus, atque invalidum quemque*

obviorum vel postulantium corripere ac distento sago impositum in sublime iactare; i. e. 'toss him into the air and catch him in his *sagum*.' (Suet. Otho, ii.)

279. **noctem.** The *grassator* who has not killed somebody in a street-brawl can't sleep for remorse: he is as vexed as Achilles was by the death of Patroclus, Il. xxiv. 10, 11. Cf. Sen. de Tranq. Anim. ii. § 11 *qualis ille Homericus Achilles est, modo pronus, modo supinus.* Cf. the boast of Sosia, Plaut. Amphitruo i. 1. 2, that he is the bravest man in the world to venture abroad of a night, *iuventutis mores qui sciam.* Lanciani, p. 212, gives the contents of several inscriptions bearing witness to the audacity of these footpads both in the neighbourhood of Rome and in the provinces.

281. This line is omitted by Weidner and Heineke as destroying the sequence of the thought. But we can well imagine that a question of the kind inserted in an exciting description like that which precedes it would have a telling effect on an audience. And we should always think of Juvenal as a reciter with a view to effect. (See Introduction.)

282. 'However much he have of the impudence of youth, *still* he has wits enough to know that he had better keep the rich man—who has a crowd of retainers—at a respectful distance.'

283. The **laena** was a thick warm cloak worn over the other garments, especially by the rich, who affected bright colours. See Martial viii. 59. 10, Persius i. 32.

284. 'And a long, long train of attendants.' Ammianus (xiv. 6. § 16) describes how even in his day some paraded the streets *familiarum agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes.*

285. **aenea lampas.** Like the candelabra discovered in Herculaneum and Pompeii, which are nearly all of bronze. Cf. Mayor's note. Lanterns of horn are spoken of in Plautus, Amphit. i. 1. 185, and in Martial, xiv. 61, 62 *Laterna ex vesica*, and *cornea.* Cic. ad Att. iv. 3, 5 refers to a lantern of linen. The rich man uses a more costly material.

286. **deducere,** the regular word for 'escorting' on the part of clients who wished to honour their patrons: *Cum magna multitudo optimorum virorum me de domo deduceret*, Cic. ad Fam. x. 12. 2. 'The moon is my regular and only escort.'

287. **candelae,** a piece of rope dipped in pitch or tallow which would soon burn out (**breve**), 'and which I must therefore husband and cherish.' **brevis,** short-lived, like *nimium breves flores rosae*, in Horace, Car. ii. 3. 13, 14.

292. **cuius aceto.** The dishes here mentioned were those of the lowest class at Rome. The wine was sour: the **conchis,** a common bean eaten by the poor; Mart. v. 39. 10 and vii. 78. 2. **sectile** or **sectivum porrum** is the blades of leek cut and eaten as we eat chives or asparagus. In Hor. Sat. i. 6. 114 we find *porrum* and *cicer* or chick-pea mentioned as the food of the poorer classes.

Inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.

The unpleasant smell of *alium* (garlic) or *porrum*, which was characteristic of the poorer classes in Rome, is often referred to: e.g. in Plautus, Mostellaria i. 1. 39, one slave abuses another for his odour of garlic, *fu! oboluisti alium!* Cf. also Hor. Epod. iii. and Martial xiii. 18

Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri
Edisti quotiens, oscula clusa dato!

The *grassator* then asks, 'What low company have you been keeping?' and accuses his victim of smelling of *porrum*. Cf. Varro, Menippeae 19 *avi et atavi nostri, cum alium ac caepe eorum verba olerent tamen optume animati erant.*

294. elixi vervecis. For sheeps'-heads as a popular dish, cf. Plautus, Capt. iv. 2. 40.

296. quaero. In asking a question the present indic. is often used when there is no doubt in the mind of the interrogator as to what the answer will be: 'Surely it is in a prayer-shop that I am to look for you?' Cf. iv. 130 *Quidnam igitur censes? Conciditur?* 'Cut it up, no doubt?' But it is not unfrequently found as a mere variant for the future: and indeed the idiom is not unknown in English: as when we ask 'what street do I take?' Cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 88 *Quem sequimur?* Ib. 367 *quae prima pericula vito?* In Plautus the present for the future is very commonly found after *non*; as Amphitruo i. 1. 295 *non obtempero*, 'I will not mind.' Cf. Most. iii. 1. 67, &c. Thus Sat. 1. 157 *deducis*, 'you are certain to have to draw' a furrow; so Sat. iv. 28 *putamus* for *putabimus.*

The **proseuchae** are the oratories of the Jews, who were much despised at Rome. **prosеucha**, a prayer-house, is explained by Ewald, Book iv. 2. 272 (quoted by Mayor), as the name commonly given in Egypt to a Jewish Synagogue. Asking a man then 'in what Jewish prayer-house shall I seek you,' was equivalent to calling him a proselyte, a class socially despised, but tolerated by the law: for an edict of Claudius, A.D. 42, granted the Jews full tolerance in religious matters, while enjoining them to respect the superstitions of other people, Joseph. A. J. xix. 5. 3.

298. 'They assault you, and then bring an action as if you were the aggressor.' **vadimonium facere.** Cf. Gaius iv. 184 *qui in ius vocatus fuerit ab adversario, ni eo die finiverit negotium* vadimonium *ei faciendum est.*

300. adorat. Heerdegen (Lat. Semasiologie) discusses fully the meanings both primitive and derived of *rare* and its compounds. The primitive meaning of *orare* seems to have been simply 'to speak'; a sense which it has preserved in *perorare*, as in *oratio* and *orator*. *Adorare* is not used by Plautus, Terence, or Cicero; it is used by Vergil (Georg. i. 343) and by Livy vi. 12. 7. The compound was then formed after *orare* had assumed its later meaning of 'to beg' or 'supplicate': here it means, as in Vergil, 'actually worships you,' so that he may get off with a few teeth in his head.

302. Besides these fashionable roysterers common thieves and street robbers have to be feared. **nec tamen,** 'and yet more'—used of evils succeeding evils, as in Vergil, Georg. i. 118, *Nec tamen haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores Versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser, &c., Officiunt.*

303. 'After the houses are shut and all around each fitting of the shop securely chained is fastened and has ceased to jar.'

305. agit rem, 'does your business.' Petronius, 82, describes such an one, who *agit rem.* Cf. *nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet,* Hor. Ep. i. 18. 84. Suetonius, Aug. 32, tells us that Augustus suppressed these *grassatores.*

306. 'As soon as ever the Pomptine Marshes and Gallinarian pine-wood are cleared of robbers, these all betake themselves hither, as if this were their natural feeding-ground.' Augustus attempted to drain the Pomptine Marshes in Latium. The Gallinarian pine-wood was near Cumae, a well-known haunt of banditti.

308. Cf. Sall. Bell. Cat. 37 *hi Romam, sicut in sentinam, confluxerant. Sic* answers to *tanquam*: and *sic* and *tanquam* are a variant for *sic ut,* as in Sat. xiii. 47 *talis ut* stands for *talis qualis.*

309. The order is *Qua fornace, qua incude, non graves catenae?*

310. modus. 'The greatest quantity of iron goes for fetters,' so that one well may fear that none will be left for spades and hoes. Cf. Justin, Hist. lib. ii *plus hominum ferrum atque arma quam naturalis fatorum condicio rapit.*

314. uno carcere. The Mamertine prison, in the district called the Lautumiae, beyond the Argiletum to the N.S.W. of the Forum, said by Livy, i. 33, to have been built by Ancus Martius. These Lautumiae, or stone quarries, were afterwards transformed into the Carcer called Tullianum (Lanciani, p. 75; Middleton, p. 80, gives a fuller description). The two chambers of the prison are described by Sallust, Cat. 55. In the lower chamber Jugurtha was starved and the Catiline conspirators were executed. See Burn (Rome and the Campagna, p. 80), who also explains the word 'Tullianum,' which was alleged to have been a dungeon added by Servius Tullius, as in reality meaning the 'well-house,' from an old word *tullius,* meaning a 'projection of water.'

315. Here the carriage comes up and Umbricius bids farewell to his friend. **poteram**: we might have expected *possem* or *potuissem*, but the apodosis is stated as a fact; and this may have had some influence in throwing the verb of the protasis into the same mood; though this is not the invariable effect of such constructions. Cf. the well-known *Et si non alium late iactaret odorem Laurus* crat, Verg. Georg. ii. 132.

318. 'As often as you come from Rome to Aquinum, I will come and stay with you.' Juvenal was probably a native of Aquinum in Latium, and may have had some property there near the shrine of Ceres and Diana.

320. Helvia was the name of a Roman gens:—Cicero's mother was a Helvia: Helvius Mancia appears de Orat. ii. 266.

There is an inscription extant, Mommsen I. R. Neap. 4312, Orelli 5599 (*Cere*) RI · SACRVM | (D. IV)NIVS · IVVENALIS TRIB · COH · DELMATARVM | · QVINQ · FLAMEN | DIVI · VESPASIANI | VOVIT DEDICA(VITQ)VE | SVA · PEC ·

322. P reads *auditor*—the reading adopted. He means, 'I will come as a hearer who has not yet lost his love for country simplicity in contrast to the spoilt and effeminate *auditores* in Rome; as men leave the heat in Rome (*Augusto mense,*) I will prepare to brook the cold in the country.'

caligatus, in military boots. 'I will come not as a mere inactive listener, but as one ready to do yeoman service in the cause to which I am devoted.' The *caliga* was a boot consisting of a strong sole studded with iron nails, leaving the toes open; it was worn by all grades of the army, including the centurions; but is generally used of soldiers as distinguished from officers, cf. Sat. xvi. 24. It was natural that Juvenal as a soldier should use a military metaphor—though we find Pliny employing similar language of the cultivated country gentlemen of his time armed at all points; Ep. vii. 25 *Sunt enim, ut in castris, sic in litteris nostris, plures cultu pagano quos cinctos et armatos . . . invenies* (quoted by Lewis).

This line is obviously modelled on and suggested by Lucan, Pharsalia i. 382.

SATIRE IV.

A ROYAL TURBOT.

THE fourth Satire, which stands by itself as a story told in verse, consists of an introduction, ll. 1–36; a narrative, ll. 37–149; and a peroration, ll. 150–154. It is quite possible that the introduction as far as l. 27 belonged originally to another poem, which was chiefly directed against Crispinus. The argument, 'If Crispinus was a glutton, what must the Emperor have been?' is rather too forced to have been intended as the opening passage of a singularly vivid description. Again, the burial of the vestal, alluded to in ll. 9 and 10 as *nuper*, occurred in A.D. 89 or 91; the latter part of the poem, attacking Domitian himself, can hardly have been written till Nerva's reign, A.D. 96–98. It is difficult to say what real story the Satire refers to. It would seem as if it must apply to Cornelia, the only vestal who was buried alive; but it is doubtful if she was guilty at all, and her supposed paramour was Licianus, who confessed to save his life, and was banished to Sicily. Licianus, a Roman of rank, a scholar, and disgraced, cannot have been Crispinus, an Egyptian, an upstart, and who remained powerful. Perhaps Juvenal believed that Cornelia was guilty, and that Crispinus was her real seducer. Suetonius implies that she had had several intrigues.

Again, the monster Crispinus! who committed incest with a Vestal virgin, ll. 1–10; but this poem only deals with a minor offence against morals (though one the censor would notice in any other person),—the purchase of a mullet for 6000 sesterces, simply for the glutton's own eating, ll. 11–27. When the buffoon of the palace fared in this way, what must the Emperor have indulged in? ll. 28–32. Sing the true story, ye Virgin Muses! 33–36.

In Domitian's time a fisherman at Ancona catches a turbot as big as those found in the Black Sea, ll. 37–44; he thinks it safer to make a merit of offering it to the Emperor, and finds him at his Alban palace, ll. 45–62; the fish is let in while the Senators are kept waiting outside, ll. 60–71; but as there is no dish big enough to hold it, a Council is summoned in hot haste, ll. 72–75. Pegasus comes first, the upright lawyer, but too constitutional for times out of joint, ll. 76–81; next Crispus, well-intentioned, but too timid to stake his life on the truth, ll. 81. 93; then Acilius, with his son doomed to death by his eminence, 94 103; then the profligate and foul-mouthed Rubrius and fat Montanus, and Crispinus reeking with scent, and Pompey the informer and Fuscus brooding over war, and blind Catullus with the tricks of a roadside beggar who loved the woman and praised the fish he could not see, ll. 94–129. The opinion of Montanus that a special dish be made for the turbot prevails as that of an expert, ll. 130–143. Hereupon the Council is dismissed, its important public functions having been discharged, ll. 144–149.

Would to God Domitian had spent his time in these trifles rather than in butchering the nobility! ll. 150–154.

This Satire, it will be seen, is composed of two parts, which seem but slightly, and somewhat inartistically, connected with each other. The inartistic and incoherent way in which the pictures of Roman life which the Satirist brings before us are connected, is seen in this Satire as markedly as in the first. The first part, 1–33, deals with Crispinus: the rest, 37 154, with Domitian's degrading tyranny. The thought which connects the two is found in ll. 28, 33, 'If the servant indulges in such unrestrained luxury, what may we not expect from the master?'

1. ecce iterum Crispinus! *Ecce* is a very common expression in Latin comedy to prepare the audience for the appearance of a character about to come on the stage. Cf. Ter. Eun. 3. 5. 28 *Ecce autem vides rure redeuntem senem!* Juvenal certainly has mentioned Crispinus in i. 26: but it seems questionable whether these words do not imply that the whole of a previous Satire, now lost, had been devoted to him. Heinrich suggests that the words may have passed into a proverb; possibly dating from some old satirist like Lucilius. 'Here we are again with Crispinus!' He appears, from the passage noticed in Satire i. and from lines 24, 33, to have been an Egyptian born. Now Augustus had expressly commanded that no Egyptian should have a seat in the Roman senate; and this law was strictly observed down

to Caracalla's time. Crispinus was certainly presented with the golden ring, line 32, and may possibly have been *praefectus praetorio*.

2. **ad partes** keeps up the metaphor of line 1 from the language of the theatre: 'I have to summon him on the stage.' Cf. Varr. R. R. 2. 5 *ut ad partes paratus veniat*, i. e. that he may come prepared to act his proper rôle.

4. **deliciae**: 'the fop, weakened (through vice), and strong but in passion alone.' Cf. Martial viii. 48. 5, 6, for *deliciae*, — *Non quicunque capit saturatas murice vestes; Nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color*, i. e. you will be detected if you try to take the Tyrian abolla which the immoral fop Crispinus used to wear; for it is not every one who would wear such a gaudy dress, it is only a rake (*deliciae*) like Crispinus. The epigram above quoted is, it will be noticed, addressed to Crispinus. Heinrich, following some MSS., reads, *aeger . . . delicias viduae*; and construes 'he scorns no charms but those of maidens.'

vidua is the regular word for any unmarried woman. Cf. Spalding, Quintilian ii. p. 359, and Hor. Ep. i. 1. 78. The root is *vidh*, 'to be empty, lacking,' seen in ἠίθεος.

5. '*Therefore*—wretch as he is—what does it matter how wealthy he may be? His wealth can never bring him happiness, in spite of the size of the cloisters he owns in which to drive in wet weather; in spite of the land and houses he has purchased in the heart of the city.' It is hard to agree with Simcox's remarks, Hist. of Latin Literature, vol. ii. p. 127 'There seems to be something personal in Juvenal's contention with Crispinus, for he has, after all, very little to say against him. . . . The worst that is said of him is that he seduced a vestal, and gave £50 for a fish.' Surely the point is that he was so utterly heartless that he did not shrink from seducing a vestal, though he knew that the penalty for her fault was that she would be buried alive. Besides, if we accept the view of Juvenal's religion that he revered, or at all events wished to see revered, the genuine old Roman cult, as distinguished from the new-fangled Greek and Oriental importations, we shall believe that his indignation was genuine at seeing religion violated in the person of the vestal.

refert stands for *rei-fert*: *mea* and *tua*, with which it is joined, are really datives, but were early taken for ablatives. In the Latin of the Silver Age we often find a defining genitive attached to *rei*: e. g. Quintilian ix. 4. 44 *plurimum refert compositionis*. See Stolz in Müller, Handbuch der kl. Altertümer § 78.

6. **porticibus**: 'covered columns' or 'cloisters' for riding in, or taking the air in palanquins during wet weather. These porticoes were sometimes attached to private houses as here; sometimes public. The porticoes occupied the whole plain of the Campus Martius, stretching from the foot of the hills on the left bank of the river to the river itself. They followed one another almost without interval, filling up the spaces between the great buildings, such as the circuses, theatres, stadia, temples, &c. Augustus made them popular, either building them

with his own money, or else helping and inviting his personal friends and admirers to follow his example. Augustus himself built the Porticus Octaviae on the site of the Porticus Metelli, Suet. Aug. 29; Ovid, A. A. i. 69 and iii. 391. It consisted of a very large quadrangle with an open colonnade all round it. It enclosed two temples dedicated to Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina: see Middleton, p. 383, Lanc. p. 94 sqq.

nemora. Trees planted within the house; cf. Hor. Ep. i. 10. 22 *Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas.* A large rectangular hall in the so-called Villa of Mauras contains tiers of stages on which plants of different sizes were placed: cf. Middleton, p. 404. The porticoes themselves, however, enclosed gardens, and this may be the meaning of *nemus* here. For the thought, cf. Seneca, Cons. ad Helv. ix. *Quo longiores porticus expedierint.*

7. i. e. *quot iugera vicina foro, quot aedes vicinas foro emerit?* In the year 702 A.U.C. Julius Caesar spent 100,000,000 of sesterces to purchase the area for his new forum, Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24, Suet. J. Caes. 26, Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. The area purchased by Caesar does not exceed 90,000 square feet, so that this would bring the value of the land purchased to about £18 per square foot. Cicero purchased his house on the Palatine from Crassus for three-and-a-half million sesterces, over thirty thousand pounds; on his return from exile the house was in ruins, and the Senate offered him two millions of sesterces as an indemnity, estimating the value of the ground on which it stood at one-and-a-half million, Cic. ad Att. iv. 2. 5.

8. **nemo malus felix.** For the effects of conscience, cf. Sat. xiii. 192 sqq.

9. **incestus.** The corruption of a vestal virgin was regarded as incest, Isidor. Orig. v. 26, 27. The house of the Vestals at the foot of the Palatine hill was discovered at the end of A.D. 1883, and is fully described by Lanciani, ch. vi., and by Middleton, ch. vi. Their number was limited to six, and they were treated with the greatest respect and reverence. Wills of emperors and State documents were entrusted to their care. They were chosen as umpires to make the peace between contending political parties. The terrible punishment attaching to a breach of purity by a Vestal is described at length by Pliny, Ep. iv. 11. 6 sqq. *cum Corneliam, maximam Vestalem, defodere vivam conupisset (Domitianus)*, &c.: and by Plutarch, Num. 2, and Qu. Rom. 83 fin. 96. The culprit was covered by a pall and laid in a hearse; she was then brought through the Forum, the Vicus Longus, and the Alta Semita to the Porta Collina, and immured alive in a crypt near the Porta Collina under the agger of Servius Tullius. For **vittata**, cf. Ovid, A. A. i. 31 *Este procul vittae tenues insigne pudoris.*

10. Cp. Sat. ii. 29. 31, where Juvenal alludes again to the fate of the Vestal, which had evidently powerfully impressed him.

11. 'But now we pass to crimes less weighty indeed than incest; but still, if any other Roman had performed them, he would be convicted before the censor of morals.'

12. **caderet,** 'he would lose his case'; 'be cast': cf. x. 69. The imperfect instead of the pluperfect means 'he would at the present day lose his case.' *Cado* is a good instance of the closeness of the relation between the intransitive and the passive meaning; *cadere* practically means *condemnari*; just as ἀποκτείνω has corresponding to it ἀποθανεῖν as the passive: cf. the uses of *perco*, *veneo*, &c. See K. and C. Comp. Gr. p. 117.

iudice morum. Domitian arrogated to himself the title of *Censor perpetuus*, and as such condemned four vestal virgins to death. See Suet. Dom. 8.

13. **bonis:** to ordinary honest men such as *Titius* and *Seius*; names used in Roman law to represent imaginary personages—John Doe and Richard Roe. Heinrich instances 'Hunz und Kunz.' For the sentiment, cf. Sat. viii. 181, 182. The names L. Titius and C. Seius are coupled in Tertullian, ad Nat. i. 4, in the same sense as in this passage.

14. 'What can you do when the character is so bad that he is worse than any charge you can bring against him?'

15. The ordinary weight of a **mullus** was from two to four pounds. Cf. Pliny, H. N. ix. 30 *binas libras ponderis raro admodum exsuperant.* Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 33, ridicules the idea that fish tasted better because they were large. For the large sums lavished on delicacies by Roman gourmands, see Friedländer, iii. 1. p. 39 sqq. (edition 1890). Thus Sen. Ep. xcv. 42 tells us that one P. Octavius gave 5000 sesterces for a fish weighing five-and-a-half pounds, and had the satisfaction of boasting that he had bought a fish too dear, not merely for the Emperor Tiberius, but even for his great rival Apicius (cf. line 23). Friedländer produces authority for the fact that a large sturgeon in St. Petersburg will fetch over £20 at the present day.

16. **sane.** 'To be sure he gave a sestertium for every pound, as those say who on big subjects talk still bigger.'

18. 'I congratulate the sly fellow on his trick, if he gave so handsome a present to get himself made heir-in-chief to an old gentleman. But it was all for himself that this Egyptian *canaille* bought it.'

19. **praecipuus** in the writers of the Silver Age for the more usual *primus* or *maximus*; but *praecipuum* is also a law-term signifying what is distributed under a will before the general distribution: so *praecipua dos*, Ulpian. Dig. xxxiii. 4. 2 fin., and Juvenal may employ the word in this sense.

orbi: cf. Amm. xiv. 6 § 21 *vile esse quidquid extra urbis pomaerium nascitur aestimant praeter orbos et caelibes, nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae*; and Tac. A. xiii. 52 *Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat—reus valuit pecuniosa orbitate et senecta.*

20. There is a further end in view (even than pleasing the *orbus senex*) if he gave a present to a lady in high station (who might aid him afterwards to rise higher).

21. **specularibus.** The *lapis specularis* or talc was employed in

the windows of *lecticae* and of houses. Seneca, de Prov. 4 § 9 *quem specularia semper ab afflatu vindicarunt* (Mayor). Glass was in common use in Pompeii; many of the windows were glazed, and much of the common ware was made of glass.

antro, 'a palanquin' covered so as to ensure her privacy, but with large windows so as to ensure, at the same time, that she could keep her eyes open.

23. 'We have lived to see many extravagances committed in comparison with which those of Apicius seem miserly and sparing.' Apicius (Sen. ad Helv. 10. 9: Dio lvii. 19 amassed 100 million of sesterces: he spent his fortune in refined extravagance, and committed suicide when he found it reduced to ten millions.

24. **succinctus** = *alte cinctus* Horace, Sat. ii. 8. 10, giving a picture not merely of a slave, but of a slave hard at work. *Succinctus* suggests the bustle and haste proper to a slave. Pliny, xiii. 22, tells us that the Egyptians made garments of papyrus. 'The reed apron of your country tucked up for work.'

25. **squamam,** of course for a fish; but the satirist picks out the most useless part to signify the whole.

26. **provincia.** 'The Province sells estates for the price: *nay,* in Apulia a really large one.' *Provincia* is probably used here to denote Gallia Narbonensis, which was emphatically called the Province: see Pliny, H. N. iv. 31 § 1. Cf. Ovid. Met. viii. 283, to illustrate this use of **sed**: *Misit aprum quanto maiores herbida tauros Non habet Epiros, sed habent Sicula arva minores*; and Apuleius uses *sed* as a mere resumptive, *totum me, sed prorsum totum recepit* (Met. x. 22). Apulia was a dry, parched-up province, thinly inhabited. Cf. Seneca, Ep. lxxxvii. 7 *tantum suburbani agri possidet quantum in desertis Apuliae possideret.*

28. **putamus.** 'What must we think?' Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. c. 20 *quod tandem spectaculum fore putamus?* Cf. also Catullus, i. 1 *Qui dono lepidum novum libellum?* And again *in qua te quaero proseucha?* Sat. iii. 296.

29. **induperatorem.** The archaic form gives point to the irony, as it also suits the metre.

30. **margo,** the mere side-dishes.

31. **scurra,** 'the private jester' of the Emperor; satirically for his boon companion. We must remember that Crispinus is spoken of in 1. 27 as *Tyrias umero revocante lacernas.* Nero forbade the use of Tyrian and amethystine purple (Suet. Nero 32), but Domitian seems to have been more tolerant (Mart. viii. 10, iv. 61. 4).

32. During the first century of the empire the emperor occasionally promoted his favourites to the rank of *eques*, by presenting them with the golden ring. See Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 8 § 2. The enormous influence and wealth of rich *libertini* under the empire is described by Friedländer 1. 82 sq. The old aristocracy saw with disgust the favour bestowed upon these rich upstarts by the emperors. The most striking mark of

confidence and approval that could be bestowed upon one of these during the first century of the empire was the bestowal of the golden ring; this honour was only occasionally conferred, as upon Pallas (Plin. Ep. viii. 6) and Icelus (Suet. Galba 14). The latter passage is worth quoting as illustrative of this: (*Galba*) *regebatur trium arbitrio quos una et intra Palatium habitantes, nec unquam non adhaerentes, paedagogos vulgo vocabant. Hi erant T. Vinius . . . Cornelius Laco, ex assessore praefectus praetorii . . . libertus Icelus, paulo ante anulis aureis et Marciani cognomine ornatus, ac iam summae* (al. *summi*) *equestris gradus candidatus.* The expression *princeps equitum* and the summons to the imperial council point to the probability that Crispinus was *praefectus praetorio.* But when Martial wrote Book vii of his Epigrams (A.D. 92) Crispinus cannot have been *praefectus praetorio*, for Martial speaks of him rather as a court favourite than as one possessing official rank. See Hirschfeld, quoted by Mayor ad. loc. For the unfavourable view taken by both Greek and Roman writers of the character of the Egyptians at Rome see Friedländer, vol. i. 2, p. 87. Their scurrilousness was proverbial. Dio, Chrys. Or. xxxii. p. 360 (quoted by F.) speaks of them as *σκῶψαι πάντων δεινότατοι.* Plin. Paneg. c. 31 calls them *ventosa et insolens natio.*

33. 'He would buy up shads, his fellow townsmen (implying that they were about as valuable as he), which he had bought from a parcel of damaged goods.' The *siluri* are salted or preserved, and kept in earthenware jars; if these got cracked the whole parcel would be spoiled and sold cheap as damaged goods, *merx fracta.* Crispinus had been accustomed to summon the mob to buy these damaged wares, to act as public *praeco.* See Bücheler in Rh. M. xxxv. 392.

It is uncertain what kind of fish the *silurus* really was. Some have thought that it might be the *silurus mystus* (a sturgeon), which is found in the Nile, and might often arrive in Rome in bad condition: cf. xiv. 132. The *silurus* may possibly have been a *res fisci*, and sold for the treasury: it was a royal fish in mediaeval England. *De Sturgione aliter observetur quod rex illum integrum habebit propter privilegium regale*, Fleta, i. c. 40. At the same time it was imported into the Continent in casks, salted for general use; Liber Albus Guildhalle, vol. i. p. 382. If we assume that sturgeon caught in the Tiber were sold for the city, which accounted for the proceeds going to the Treasury, Crispinus might be the salesman, *fracta de merce*, out of a cargo divided into exchequer and private property. In xiv. 132 the *silurus* certainly seems to be a small fish, but the sturgeon family has some very small members.

34. 'Begin, Muse of Epic poetry: you needn't get up to declaim, as it is no fiction, but mere historical fact that I ask you to tell.' The rhythm is mock heroic; cf. Verg. ix. 525 *Vos, o Calliope, precor aspirate canenti.*

37. The picture seems drawn from a tiger worrying its prey, such as any Roman must often have seen in the Circus.

38. calvo. Domitian was very sensitive as to his personal appearance. Cf. Suet. Dom. 18 *(Domitianus) postea calvitio deformis . . . Calvitio ita offendebatur, ut in contumeliam suam traheret si cui alii ioco vel iurgio obiectaretur.* Juvenal calls Domitian (the last of the Flavians, the dynasty founded by Vespasian) 'Nero the bald,' the name 'Nero' having passed into a proverb for 'tyrannical.' Thus Otho was greeted as 'Nero,' Plut. Oth. 3. Verus too is mentioned Jul. Cap. Verus § 10 as *in pluribus Nero.* Ausonius, de Ord. xii. Imp. 12 *calvum dixit sua Roma Neronem.*

39. **spatium admirabile.** A parody of such Epic expressions as *βίη Ἡρακληείη* : cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 18 *formae magnorum ululare luporum.*

40. Dorica. Ancona was founded by Dorian refugees from Syracuse. Cf. Strabo v. 241.

sustinet implies that the temple was supported by a high rock ; it was sacred to *Venus marina.* See Catull. xxxvi. 11 sqq.

41. sinus, 'the folds' of the net.

illis, sc. **rhombis.**

42. Cf. Ovid, Tristia iii. 10. 49. who, describing the Euxine, says

Vidimus in glacie pisces haerere ligatos
Et pars ex illis tunc quoque viva fuit.

glacies Maeotica is the ice on the sea of Azov. Here the fish were frozen in during the winter, and in the spring they passed through the Cimmerian Bosporus into the *Pontus.* For the ice upon the Euxine see Owen's note on the above quoted passage. 'The ice stretching out from the shore from five to thirty-five miles, blocks about 300 miles of the most important section of the northern Black Sea littoral.'

43. solibus, 'hot sunny days,' as Verg. Georg. i. 393 *nec minus ex imbri soles.*

44. desidia. They grew fat from inaction (like a prisoner), for they were icebound, and could not stir.

46. Ironical : he refers at once to the sacred office of pontifex, and to the fine suppers to which the priests were addicted, which had passed into a proverb. Cf. Hor. C. ii. 14. 28. Cf. also id. C. i. 37. 2 *Saliaribus dapibus* : and Mart. xii. 48. 12. Horace seems to touch with light irony what Juvenal visits with severer satire. Heinrich renders *dem erhabensten Fresser* ; and cites Macrobius, Sat. ii. 9, who gives the *menu* of the *cena* of the pontifex Metellus. After the death of Lepidus, in B.C. 13, Augustus accepted the office and title of Pontifex Maximus, which was ever after regularly conferred upon the new Emperor by a vote of the senate.

proponere, 'to expose' for sale in the open market.

48. alga, proverbial of anything worthless ; Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 8 ; C. iii. 17. 10. The idea here is 'they would search even the poor sea-wrack for their prize.'

49. 'These spies, who would search even the seaweed for contraband

goods, would take the law even of the naked fisherman.' Domitian, Suet. Dom. 9 *fiscales calumnias magna calumniantium poena repressit: ferebaturque vox eius 'Princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.' Delatores* were strictly informers in the interest of the *fiscus*, or imperial treasury, as to goods which fell to that institution.

agere cum, to take the law of: cf. Quintilian, iv. 4, § 18 *adulterii mecum agitur* (Mayor).

50. 'They would allege that even the seas and rivers were the private property of the Emperor'; though this was expressly opposed to the spirit of the Roman law, which enacted *flumina omnia et portus publica sunt ideoque ius piscandi omnibus commune est in portu fluminibusque*, Just. Inst. ii. 1. 2.

fugitivus, like a runaway slave.

51. **vivaria,** fishponds, such as wealthy Romans kept for the supply of their tables. They were sometimes of salt water, and sometimes of fresh. It was a grievance that Domitian encroached on the *vivaria* of his subjects: cf. Plin. Paneg. 50. § 1. Martial, iv. 30, warns a fisherman not to fish in the lake of Baiae Lucrine Lake 'for the fish are sacred and know their owner (Domitian) so well as to feed out of his hand. Nay, they actually have names, and come when called.'

53. **Palfurio.** Palfurius and Armillatus were, the Scholiast tells us, jurists of Domitian's time and *delatores* as well. His authority, he tells us, is one Marius Maximus, a chronicler under the empire, whose works are now lost.

55. These worthies maintained that the fish in the sea belonged to the private fiscus of the Emperor, and not to the public aerarium.

56. 'The fish, therefore, shall be presented to him, lest it should count for nothing.' For the use of *pereat* cf. Sat. viii. 225, *dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas. Ne pereat* might also mean 'lest it should go bad.' Autumn was the season of the prevalence of the insalubrious South Wind: cf. Horace, Sat. ii. 6. 18, 19 *plumbeus Auster Autumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae:* and *imbrifero pallens Autumnus hiatu*, Stat. Sil. ii. 1. 217. Fevers were very commonly complained of: a large number of altars and shrines were dedicated to deities of Fever, to Verminus, Mefitis, and others: see Lanciani, p. 52.

The following verses are mock-heroic.

57. The patients began to hope that their daily attack of fever might turn into a quartan. *Saeva necens febris saltem quartana fuisses!* Mart. x. 77. 3. Cicero writes to Tiro (ad Fam. xvi. 11) as if the effects of the quartan fever from which the latter was suffering would eventually prove actually beneficial. Some wore amulets round their necks as a charm against quartan fever, cf. Amm. xix. 12, § 14. Celsus, iii. 15, expressly tells us that the quartan fever kills no one; but it goes hard with a patient when it changes to a *febris quotidiana*; thus the line quoted from Martial above probably means 'the violent (daily fever ought at least to have been reduced to a quartan.'

58. **stridebat.** An ugly cold wind was howling. *Deformis hiemps* is used Sen. *ἀποκολ.* 2.

59. The south-west wind would spoil fresh fish: cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 41 *At vos Praesentes Austri coquite horum opsonia.*

60. **lacus.** Two small lakes at the foot of the Alban hills, the lacus Nemorensis and the lacus Albanus. The Albanum, Domitian's favourite palace, lay on the Alban mount, and these two small lakes lay beneath his feet. 'Between Castel Gandolfo and Albano four magnificent terraces, rising one above the other, were traced by Cav. Rosa as forming part of the Albanum Caesarum, and in the Villa Barberini there is a considerable part of a cryptoporticus, ornamented with stucco reliefs, which probably stands over the old substructions of the Villa Clodi.' Burn, Old Rome p. 203.

61. **ignem Troianum**; brought by Aeneas from Troy and never allowed to be extinguished: the continuity of Rome's existence depended on the maintenance of the sacred fire; cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 296 *Et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.*

quamquam Alba. Though Alba Longa was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, Vesta's temple, with the sacred fire, was spared, and Vesta's *lesser* shrine was revered near the Albanum, as her greater shrine was in Rome. The letters of Symmachus, a contemporary of St. Ambrose, mention a College of Vestals on the Alban hills. Cf. Marini, Fr. Arv. 654, 663.

62. **parumper**—*parum* is connected with the root 'spar'; the terminal *per* is that found in *nuper*, &c., and etymologically connected with *παρά*.

63. **facili.** Difficult of access as Domitian was, the *fish* could get in, when less favoured applicants were excluded.

64. Pliny, Pan. 48. §§ 4–5, tells us that terror seized all those who had occasion to seek an audience of Domitian.

65. **Atriden.** Agamemnon, the type of self-willed majesty, and reproached by Achilles as a tippler, who addresses him as *ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές*, Hom. Il. i. l. 158, and as *Οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο*, l. 225. The line is parodied by Timon in Athenaeus, Lib. iv *Δειπνομανές, νεκροῦ ὄμματ' ἔχων.*

Picens. There is one of this name who is insulted by Martial as an old and bad poet, viii. 57. 2.

66. **genialis.** 'Hold this day as the festival of your genius': the most festive day in a Roman's life. See Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 144; C. iii. 17. 14.

67. **sagina,** 'to stretch your stomach by the gorge that awaits it.' P. reads *saginam*, whence Mayor reads *saginans*, 'let your stomach out by cramming it.' Jahn reads *saginae*: in which case a glance may be intended at the custom of preparing for a meal by taking medicine.

68. Cf. the fisherman's words to Polycrates in Schiller's fine ballad, 'Der Ring des Polycrates,' l. 82 sq.

69. Cf. Martial, ix. 32. 5, on a goose sacrificed on the occasion of the

successful expedition of Domitian to Sarmatia, *Ipse suas anser properavit laetus ad aras*.

apertius, 'more obvious, gross, palpable.'

70. 'He raised his crest, as a cock raises its comb, flattered even by such extravagant nonsense.' **illi**, in l. 69, is, of course, the Emperor.

71. **dis aequa potestas.** The locus classicus for Domitian's arrogant assumption of lofty titles is Suet. Dom. 13. Suetonius expressly tells us that Domitian loved to hear the greeting on gala days in the theatre *domino et dominae feliciter!* He also began his rescripts *dominus vester ac deus. Unde institutum post hac ut ne scripto quidem et sermone cuiusdam appellaretur aliter.* Augustus forbade the use of the title *dominus* even to his children, Suet. Octav. 53. Constantius was hailed by the contio whom he was addressing *arbitrium summi numinis id esse, non mentis humanae*, Amm. xv. 8. § 9. *Potestas* may be used absolutely for a magistrate, cf. x. 99 note.

72. **patinae mensura,** the size of the dish was too small for the fish.

73. **proceres.** Those prominent men whom he deemed vile enough to be worthy of forming his privy council: he hated all the nobles, and would fain have got rid of them all at one blow.

74. **magnae amicitiae:** cf. Sat. i. 33. Cf. Ovid, Tristia, iii. 4. 43 *Vive sine invidia mollesque inglorius annos Exige, amicitias et tibi iunge pares.*

75. **Liburnus.** The *servus admissionis*: a native of Illyricum, whence came the best *lecticarii* iii. 240.

76. The **abolla** was a stout cloak to keep off the rain. The Cynics wore it, cf. Mart. iv. 53. 5. **Pegasus** probably wore it to please the Emperor, who affected to approve of a rough, old-fashioned simplicity.

77. **Pegasus** had lately been created *praefectus urbi*: cf. for this office Tac. Ann. vi. 11. The epithet **vilicus** implies that he was the head of a gang of slaves (the Roman populace), who belonged to the Emperor, who was *dominus* of the city.

78. **quorum optimus.** 'Pegasus was the best of these *praefecti urbi*, but even *he*, during that Reign of Terror, thought that he did his duty in administering simple justice and avoiding to take up arms in her sacred cause.' Pegasus is mentioned as a celebrated lawyer in the Institutes and Digests: Inst. ii. 23. 5; Dig. i. 2. 53.

79. **quamquam** without a verb is peculiar to Silver Latinity.

81. **Crispi,** *pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos* Tac. Hist. ii. 10. Cf. Mart. iv. 54. 7 *Divitior Crispo.* Tac. Dial. de Orat. 13 says *Crispus et Marcellus adligati adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis facere videntur, nec nobis satis liberi.* He was proconsul of Africa under Domitian. Quintilian, x. 1. 119, says that he was better in private than in public cases on account of his timidity. He is mentioned as liberal, Mart. xii. 39. Suet. Dom. § 3,

mentions a *bon mot* of his which proves that he was one of Domitian's intimates.

82. **mores,** 'character.' *Mores* are the habits or qualities which collectively make up the whole character, the character formed by habit. Cf. Plautus, Most. 171 *ut lepide omnis mores tenet sententiasque amantum.* Cf. also Verg. Georg. i. 51 *varium cacli morem.*

84. **comites** and **amici** were used indifferently to express the friends of the emperors, and especially those *primae admissionis.* Suet. Tib. 55 expressly tells us that Tiberius *super veteres amicos et familiares viginti sibi e numero principum civitatis depoposcerat velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis.* For Domitian's friends cf. Vit. Alex. Sev. c. 65 *Domitianum* pessimum *fuisse*, amicos *autem bonos habuisse. Amici* and *comites* must then here be regarded as technical terms: cf. Friedl. 1. 2, p. 139. These friends are the *proceres* spoken of in line 73. It did not follow that they were *patres.*

86. **violentius,** 'more capricious': liable to more unreasoning outbursts. It seems an epithet commonly applied to the winds, and to denote their fitfulness. Cf. *vis violenti venti* Lucr. 5. 1225, *violentior Eurus* Verg. Georg. ii. 107, &c.

88. **fatum pendebat amici**: cf. *cuius ex nutu prope dixerim* pendebat *incedentium omnium salus*, Amm. xviii. 12. § 13. The character of Domitian, as portrayed by Suetonius, Dom. 11, should be noticed, *nunquam tristiorem sententiam sine praefatione clementiae pronuntiavit, ut non aliud iam certius atrocis exitus signum esset quam principii lenitas.* Horace mentions the weather as a topic on which he conversed with Maecenas in the days of their earlier intimacy, Sat. ii. 6. 45.

89. **igitur.** 'And so, in consequence of his good nature, and of the risk being too great, he would never swim against the stream.' Vergil has a parallel simile for one who fails in perseverance; *atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni* Georg. i. 203.

90. 'He was not a good enough citizen to risk his life in the cause of truth.'

91. Cf. Lucan. iii. 382 *patriaeque impendere vitam*; Stat. S. v. 1. 63 *vitamque impendere famae*; so *vitam impendere usui alicuius* Tac. Ann. xii. 65.

93. **solstitia** is used for 'summers,' as in Verg. Georgics, i. 100. The ancient division of the year was into winter and summer only.

94. **Acilius.** The father and son. M'. Acilius Glabrio was consul with Trajan in A.D. 91, and was murdered in the eleventh year of Domitian's reign, after surviving a contest with a lion at the Albanum on the occasion of the Juvenalia: Dio lxvii. § 14, Suet. Dom. 10. 'The amphitheatre is situated between the Church of S. Paolo and that of the Capuchin convent. . . . It is supposed to have been the scene of the feats performed by Domitian in killing with his own hands hundreds of wild beasts with arrows and javelins, and also of the degradation of Acilius Glabrio,' Burn, Old Rome.

96. **olim.** 'Long since old age and nobility have ceased to go

together, and so I would prefer to be one of those who can boast no ancestry but mother earth. I will be content to be the "little brother" of mother earth's giant brood.' *Ignobiles* are spoken of as *terrae filii*. Cf. Petron. 43 *nescio cui* terrae filio *patrimonium elegavit*. Cf. Ben Jonson, Volpone, Act iii. sc. 1 fin.:

> Hear yourself written bastard and profest
> The common issue of the earth.

Olim would in classical Latin have been *iamdudum*; cf. iii. 163.

100. Tac. Ann. xiv. 14 *Nero nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scenam deduxit*. Vitellius, Tac. Hist. II. 62 attempted to put a stop to the practice. Domitian (Suet. 8) ostensibly maintained the policy of Vitellius, but in chap. 19 we find that he himself took part in such contests. Dio lxvii. tells us that he had Acilius executed for his action. Juvenal says that Acilius tried to make the Emperor believe that he was half-witted, or at least politically harmless, by condescending to fight wild beasts like a common gladiator 'It did him no good to have sought to win the Emperor's favour by descending into the lists as a common gladiator: by this time a mere simpleton could see through the tricks of the patricians to win favour. Acilius is no Brutus, and Domitian is sharper witted than Tarquin of old.' Cf. Satire viii. 185, where Juvenal describes the way in which the patricians descended to the level of common gladiators.

103. barbato. See xvi. 31; cf. *intonsi Catonis* Hor. Car. ii. 15. 11. Barbers were said to have been introduced into Rome from Sicily about the year 300 B.C., Varro, R. R. ii. 11, Plin. H. N. vii. 59. Cf. *quotiens* priscus homo *et rusticus Romanus inter nundinum barbam radebat?* Varro, Menippeae 186. Worthies of the old time are constantly referred to as bearded; Cic. pro Sext. § 8 *unum aliquem te ex barbatis illis exemplum imperii veteris, imaginem antiquitatis, columen reipublicae diceres intueri*. Hadrian reintroduced the custom of wearing a beard, which had fallen into disuse, and the beard was adopted by philosophers to give them an appearance of *gravitas*. The early Christians considered that Christian humility was inconsistent with shaving their beard, and Clemens expressly recommends that it shall be allowed to grow.

imponere, 'to impose.' Probably a metaphor from placing a burthen upon a beast; the comic poets use it of placing beasts' burthens upon the shoulders of men whom they wish to take in. Cf. Plautus, Most. iii. 2. 94. Cf. Mart. iii. 57. 1 *Callidus imposuit nuper mihi copo Ravennae*, and iv. 79. 2.

104. nec melior. 'Rubrius did not look more cheerful, low as his birth may have been.' Rubrius Gallus was sent against the rebels in Spain, under Nero, and espoused Galba's cause. He is mentioned twice in Tacitus, Hist. ii. 51 and 99. The Scholiast asserts that he had corrupted Domitian's niece, and feared vengeance.

105. **offensae.** This genitive is commonly called 'the genitive of accusation.' It is really a defining genitive, some one of the numerous

law phrases, like *crimine*, *iudicio*, *nomine*, or *lege*, being understood. Stolz and Schmalz in Müller's Hdbch., p. 270, § 73, cite Cic. de Off. ii. 51 *ne quem innocentem iudicio capitis arcessas:* and compare it with Cornif. i. 11. 18 *Teucer inimicum fratris capitis arcessit.* Analogy spread this use of the genitive more and more widely; Vergil talks about *voti reus*, Aen. v. 237; and Nepos has even *voti damnari*, Tim. § 5, and so Livy, xxvii. 45.

106. **improbus** is applied to any one who exceeds due bounds and transgresses against civic moderation. Here it is applied to one who exceeds the natural bounds of liberty allowed to speech; 'more foul-mouthed.'

107. This *may* possibly be Curius Montanus, who was declared incapable of holding office A. D. 66, on the ground that he had lampooned Nero—*detestanda carmina factitantem*, Tac. Ann. xvi. 28; who also speaks of him as *probae iuventae*. Hence Borghesi deems that some other is meant, Œuvres, v. 523.

abdomine. The word properly applies to swine, Plin. H. N. viii. 51, Plaut. Curc. ii. 3. 44. 'His paunch delayed him.'

108. **matutino.** He did not wait until the regular time, viz. the bath before dinner, to perfume himself. **Amomum** was a perfume prepared from the leaves of a shrub, Plin. N. H. xii. § 48; cf. Vergil, Ec. iv. 25 *Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.*

109. Martial, iii. 12, has an epigram on a stingy host who gave plenty of good unguents to his guests, but nothing to eat. He says *Qui non cenat et unguitur, Fabulle,* | *Hic vere mihi mortuus videtur*; i. e. a true corpse gets anointed and a mock supper (*silicernium*); but you may call a real corpse a man who gets no entertainment except his ointment. Cf. too Persius, iii. 104 *crassis lutatus amomis.*

funus may mean a *corpse* as in Prop. i. 17. 8 *haeccine parva meum funus harena teget.* So Verg. Aen. ix. 491. The corpse was perfumed by the *pollinctor* to avoid the natural smell and to preserve the body as long as possible. The body was exposed, in the case of rich families, for seven days. For the construction *saevus aperire* cf. Hor. Ep. i. 15. 30 *Quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus.*

110. **Pompeius,** possibly the Pompeius Silvanus mentioned by Tac. Hist. ii. 86 as a *dives senex.*

tenui, 'insinuating': it is the word used by Vergil, Georg. i. 92, of the rain which steals into the earth. Cf. Cic. de Fin. iii. 12. § 40 *limata et rerum et verborum tenuitas,* which seems to show that *tenuis* here is used metaphorically of a weapon whose point or edge is so delicate that it cuts, pierces, insinuates itself very delicately. Cf. Ben Jonson, Sejanus, i. 1,

> These can lie,
> Flatter and swear, forswear, deprave, inform,
> Smile and betray; make guilty men: then buy
> The forfeit lives to get their livings; *cut*
> *Men's throats with whisperings.*

Cf. Amm. xiv. 5, § 9 *Nec enim quisquam facile meminit sub Constantio, ubi susurro tenus haec movebantur, quemquam absolutum.*

112. **Fuscus.** Cornelius Fuscus, *praefectus praetorio* under Domitian, met his death in the Dacian war, 86-87 A.D. Tac. Hist. ii. 86 speaks of him as a warm supporter of Vespasian, and a regular Hotspur in war. Cf. Suet. Domit. 6 *Domitianus suscepit secundam expeditionem in Dacos Cornelio Fusco oppresso, praefecto cohortium praetorianarum, cui belli summam commiserat.* Martial wrote his Epitaph, vi. 76.

marmorea: cf. Amm. xxii. 4, § 6 *quaerebantur et aedes marmoreae cum scriptum sit antiquitatibus Spartanum militem coercitum aeriter quod procinctus tempore ausus sit videri sub tecto.*

meditari means 'to think out,' 'compose the plan of,' as a warrior in repose would naturally do.

113. Fabricius **Veiento** is spoken of in Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 50, as one who had libelled the senate and priests. He is also mentioned by Pliny, Ep. iv. 22 § 5 and ix. 13. He was a senator, banished under Nero, but recalled by Domitian, under whom he became an informer; see Sat. iii. 185 and note. He is coupled in Pliny, Ep. iv. 22. § 5, with L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, as a man who had been rendered by his blindness pitiless and incapable of blushing. Nerva, Veiento, and some other friends were supping together; the Emperor asked *Quid putamus passurum fuisse si viveret? Et Mauricus 'Nobiscum cenaret.'*

116. **dirus:** cf. Amm. xiv. 5, § 8, *Paulus ut erat in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus.* The word seems to denote irresistible perseverance in a guilty plan.

a ponte. The bridges were the regular resort of beggars. They were narrow, and would cause vehicles to drive slowly, so that the beggars might proffer their requests at their ease. For the same reason beggars took up their station at the *clivi*, or steep ascents of public roads on the Campagna, especially at the Clivus Aricinus, a steep gradient of the Appian way, just outside the gates of Aricia, fifteen miles from Rome. Lanciani gives a woodcut of the Clivus Aricinus, p. 209. Cf. Mart. xii. 32. 25 *haec sarcinarum pompa convenit ponti.* If Catullus had once been a beggar it must have been long before this, as he had since been a Roman governor and probably consul. Cf. xi. 42 *digito mendicat Polio nudo.* Juvenal, however, must mean that Catullus was no better than a pestering beggar from the bridge.

117. 'He was a worthy rival of those princes of beggars, the Aricians.' Aricia was on the high road from Rome to Puteoli; the beggars posted on the hills craved an alms, and if they received it, blew a kiss to the donors as they sped down the hill. Cf. Mart. ii. 19. 3.

119. Juvenal plays on the word **stupuit.** He was really *amazed* or *aghast* at the fish, for he admired it, taking it to be on the left, while it was really on the right. **Stupere** has so much of the meaning of *mirari* that, like it, it takes an accusative after it. *Ardere* is similarly used in the sense of to love; and so *deperire* by Catullus, Plautus, &c.

121. **Cilicis,** 'a gladiator,' in the armour of his native country. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 44 *Threx est Gallina Syro par?*

122. **pegma,** a machine whereby actors were raised from the floor into the air. We gather from Sen. Ep. 88. § 22, that these were of several storeys: that they could be quickly raised: and that they could be quickly taken apart. The English word 'pageant' is derived from this: see Skeat s. v. **Velaria** is explained by Mr. Mayor as the higher part of the Amphitheatre near the vela or awnings which could be spread over the whole edifice to keep off the sun. (Cf. Plin. H. N. xix. 25 *vela nuper et colore caeli stellata per rudentis stetere etiam in amphitheatro principis Neronis.*) He remarks that the word does not seem to occur elsewhere; but see Ammian xiv. 6. 25 '(many of the poor at Rome) *velariis umbraculorum theatralium latent.*'

124. **Bellona,** the symbol of blood-thirstiness. Cf. Ovid, Met. v. 155. Her gadfly pursued Io through the world. Bellona was an old Roman goddess whose name seems to have been transferred to an Oriental goddess introduced in the time of the Mithradatic wars from Cappadocia (Plut. Sull. 9). Martial, xii. 57. 11, speaks of the *turba entheata Bellonae* as one of the obstacles to peace in Rome; in Sat. vi. 511 sqq. her chorus is coupled with that of Cybele, whose priests gashed and mutilated themselves in passionate ecstasy, and under the stimulus (*oestrum*) of this excitement prophesied; for *oestro*, see Tib. i. 6. 45, 50. She resembled in her attributes the Hindoo goddess *Kali*. Ammian, xxvii. 4. 4, describes the Thracians as placating her with human victims. Julianus appeased her *ritu secretiore*, ib. xxi. 5. 1. The word *fanaticus* seems peculiar to the cult of Bellona; cf. Henzen, i. 2316 and 2317 *Elsinius Capitolinus ex aede Bellonaes pulvinesis* fanaticus u. D.D. Cf. too ib. 2318 L.LARTIO ANTHO CISTOPHORO AEDIS BELLONAE PULVINENSIS, which points to some mystic pomp like that of the *κανηφόροι*.

127. **Arviragus.** A British chieftain, not mentioned, however, by either Tacitus or Dio. The word has been supposed to be connected with *Ardriagh*, 'high king': and 'Arthur' is supposed to be another derivative from the same root. In Cymbeline, iii. 3. 96, Arvirāgus is Cymbeline's son.

128. **erectas in terga.** This strange accusative, where we should have expected an ablative, must mean 'backwards.' The **sudes** or 'palisades,' which would remind a Roman of his camp entrenchment, point towards the fish's tail.

hoc defuit, i.e. he seemed to know so much about the fish that it was surprising that he did not name its country and its age as he had told all besides, as Montanus knew the origin of the oysters, l. 140.

130. **quidnam igitur.** The words of the president of the council.

conciditur, 'cut it up?' The use of the indicative implies that the answer must be plain, viz. *No*. Cf. line 28 and note on iii. 296.

131. **alta.** That none of the fish's juices may be lost.

133. **Prometheus,** 'some divine potter.' Cf. Lucian, Prom. 2 *οἱ*

Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας καὶ ἱπνοποιοὺς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι πηλουργοί, Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν.

134. sed. 'But let this warn you, Caesar, from this time forth, to run no more risks from lack of potters!'

135. castra. Domitian was proud of his exploits in the field. Suet. Dom. 13 *post duos triumphos Germanici cognomine assumpto*, &c.

137. noctes Neronis. Suet. Nero 27 *epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat, refotus saepius calidis piscinis, ac tempore aestivo nivatis.* Cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 42 *Nero tamen, ut erat* incredibilium cupitor, &c., and xvi. 20.

138. iam medias. The *iam* denotes that the midnights came upon them by surprise.

aliam famem is explained by his method of refreshing himself by warm baths, and iced water to induce fresh appetite. Possibly too the practice of taking emetics is alluded to. **Falerno.** The Falernian was the best Roman wine, but was very strong: new Falernian was deemed very heady. It was made in Campania near Fundi. It was a dark red wine, Mart. ii. 40. 6 *fuscus*, which would give a dark tint even to the snow whereby it is cooled (Mart. ix. 22. 8). So Mart. viii. 56. 14. A sparkling Falernian, an anticipation of Champagne, was manufactured at Meroe, Pharsal. x. 163.

140. The first artificial oysterbed was laid down in the Lucrine lake by Sergius Orata (Pliny, H. N. ix. § 168). This was about the year 100 B.C. Orata, says Pliny, deemed the flavour of the Lucrine oysters superior to all others, as the oysters of Britain had not been discovered. In Mart. iii. 60. 3, the Lucrine oysters are spoken of as the delicacy enjoyed by the rich patron, while the poor client is put off with a mussel. Cf. Hor. Epod. ii. 49 *Non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia.*

Pliny himself asserts that the best oysters were those from Circeii: *his neque dulciora neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est* Pliny, N. H. xxxii. 6. 21 (§§ 60, 62). Next he ranked the Lucrine, and last those from Rutupiae, Richborough. Richborough was the ordinary landing place from Boulogne, Bononia. Ammian, xxvii. 8. 6 describes the crossing of Valentinianus, and the height of the tides in the Channel, between the two ports.

143. 'He could actually tell whence came an **echinus** without tasting it at all.' The sea-urchin was much prized as an article of diet; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 30.

145. Martial has an Epigram, iv. 1, on the birthday of Domitian in which he prays that the Emperor may long be spared to worship Minerva in his Alban palace. Cf. Mart. xi. 7. 3 *Caesar in Albanum iussit me mane venire.* Domitian's mania was building on a colossal scale. Plutarch, Poplic. ch. xv. § 7, says that whoever had seen a colonnade, a hall, a bath, or the dwelling of one of his mistresses would deem that the builder of the palace had, like Midas, sought the charm of turning everything into gold.

dux magnus. The Emperor really was defeated by these tribes,

but held a triumph none the less. Cf. Tac. Agricola, 39 *inerat conscientia derisui fuisse falsum e Germania triumphum quem egit emptis per commercia quorum habitus et crines in captivorum specimen formarentur.*

149. Cf. Martial, ix. 36. 5 sq., to a parasite who pretended that he had important news from abroad in order that he might be able to get an invitation to dinner: *Verba ducis Daci chartis mandata resignas; Victricem laurum quam venit ante vides.* Fronto. ed. Niebuhr, p. 81, de Eloq. 2 (quoted by Friedländer, i. p. 110) *Caesarum est . . . per orbem terrae litteras missitare.*

pinna seems to be a technical term referring to *pinnatae litterae*, in which bad news was announced. Just before the assassination of Domitian *Parthenius nuntiat esse qui magnum nescio quid afferret, nec differendum* (Suet. Dom. 16), whereas good news was borne by a messenger with a spear bound with myrtle. Cf. Statius, Silv. v. 1. 92, 93 *Omnia nam laetas pila attollentia frondes Nullaque famosa signatur lancea pinna.*

150. For *atque utinam* as marking the transition from banter to pathos, cf. Sat. vi. 335.

his nugis. Cf. Sen. Apoco. 7 *Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse.*

153. 'The handicraftsmen'; just as we use the word 'snob,' which properly means a bootmaker's apprentice. The word is used generically as a proper name denoting a class, much as we speak of 'Bob and Dick.' Cf. Juvenal's previous use of Titus and Seius, iv. 13. It is, however, possible that Juvenal had in his mind some particular cerdo who had taken part in the murder of an emperor, not necessarily Domitian. Mart. iii. 99 has an epigram on a 'cerdo,' who he implies had murdered some one: cf. also iii. 16 and 59. For the murderers of Domitian see Suet. Dom. 17.

154. The family of the Lamiae is cited as the representative of the Roman nobility. Juvenal cites their family again Sat. vi. 385 as a type of the Roman nobles. Horace has two odes addressed to the Aelius Lamia of his day; viz. i. 26 and iii. 17. Suetonius, § 10, tells us that Domitian put to death several senators, some of whom had been consuls. He had Aelius Lamia executed for a joke made by the latter.

SATIRE V.

ON NIGGARDLY PATRONS AND THEIR PARASITES.

THERE is nothing to determine the date of this Satire, but from the style, which more distinctly recalls Horace, Satires lib. ii. 8, than any other of Juvenal's, and from the care with which allusions to Domitian are excluded, and examples of oppression or stupidity chosen from the

times of Nero and Claudius, there is a slight probability that it is one of the poet's earliest, and was composed while Domitian was alive.

The Satire is an outburst of indignation against the professional diners-out and hangers-on of the wealthy at Rome, who could condescend to sell their wit and sink their self-respect for a good dinner. We have a good description of such parasites in Plautus, Captivi i. 3. 1, and in a fragment preserved to us of Eupolis, in which the chorus of Κόλακες describe their policy; and specimens of their wit, such as it was, are preserved to us in Horace, Satires i. 5. 51-69, where Sarmentus and Cicirrus banter each other in a way which we can hardly deem witty. This Satire affords us a good picture of the life of the millionaires at Rome with their outward affectation of pristine Roman simplicity and *gravitas*, and their private life of luxury and self-indulgence. For the sensuality described see Lecky's History of European Morals, vol. i. ch. ii., and Friedländer, vol. iii. pp. 1–172.

You must be the vilest of men if you can bear the life of a parasite, while there is a beggar's stand unoccupied on which you may squat and eat dog-cake, ll. 1–11. An invitation once in two months is considered ample return for all your arduous dancing of attendance, ll. 12–23. What a feast! You get sour and heady wine out of a cobbler's pot; he drinks the generous juice of the grape mellowed by centuries, out of goblets plated with amber and studded with gems, ll. 24–49. For him the iced water served by the graceful Asiatic boy; for you the tepid draught handed carelessly by the sinister-looking and gaunt negro, ll. 50–66. Your host has the soft rolls of white bread: and you get the hard crusts that shine with age. Was it for this that you trudged through hail and fog, leaving your wife's side? ll. 67–79. Note the difference of the fine cray-fish put before the lord; the paltry crab served to yourself; contrast his sauce of clear olive-oil with yours of stinking lamp-oil,—the mullet or lamprey the great man brings from Corsican or Sicilian waters, with your eel or pike that has fattened in the Roman drains, ll. 80–106. And let the rich man observe that no one wants him to be generous: we only wish him to observe the courtesy of equal fellowship at his meals, ll. 107–113.

Look again at the capon, the boar, the truffles; hear the patron's vaunt of wealth; watch the graces of the professional carver; and observe the strict etiquette that is enforced, ll. 113–127. No poor man can talk with his host on equal terms, ll. 127–131. But become rich, and you are Virro's friend; be childless, and he in turn will be your flatterer; yet even if you have a large family, your wealth will purchase you consideration, ll. 132–145. Even to mushrooms and dessert will the distinction of ranks be preserved at that table, ll. 146–155. Do you think all this is Virro's economy? First, he does it to enjoy the comedy of a disappointed parasite, and to watch your looks as you calculate whether a costly dish will hold out till it reaches you. He appraises you at your true value, a possible buffoon, ll. 156–173.

This satire is a *locus classicus* as to the condition of the *clientes* under the Empire. The number of the *clientes*, i. e. persons who depended either partially or entirely upon the bounty of their *patronus* for a livelihood, must have been very large judging by the numerous references to their condition met with in the writers who have touched on the social condition of Rome. The honourable name of client betokened no longer under the Empire an honourable connection between protector and *protégé*, but generally speaking a relation of dependence degrading alike to the wealthy patron and to the idle recipient. Traces of the ancient and honourable relationship were not unknown at the close of the Republic, as for instance that described by Horace as existing between the Consular L. Marcius Philippus and Volteius Menas (Hor. Ep. i. 7. 46 sqq.. Cic. in Caec. Div. ch. 20, describes the memory of that old reciprocity of service as alive in his time. But the genuine good feeling between patron and client showed a tendency to relax as the patron came more and more to regard his clients as mere figures to augment his pomp. The more numerous these lay figures became the less personal was necessarily the relationship between the bestower of the bounty and its recipient. Juvenal, in Sat. vii. 144 sq., describes how necessary it was deemed for the mere maintenance of their social position that merchants of very moderate fortune should display a showy band of retainers round their litters. The readiness of clients to accept the degrading conditions must be set down in some degree to the unwillingness of the Romans generally to engage in trade on a small scale, and also to the demoralising policy of the Empire of diverting the thoughts of the people from politics by gratuitous public spectacles and distributions of corn. For a troublesome and vexatious series of these small services, the clients received a trifling reward in the shape of money or food. Besides this they were now and then invited to take a seat at the table of their patron and treated as this Satire describes. Sometimes they were treated to a worn-out cloak (Pers. i. 44, or a few *iugera* of land (Juv. ix. 159; Mart. xi. 18). In any case, those who depended entirely on their patrons for their living are represented by Martial, iii. 38. 11, as pale and hungry. Their duties were to wait on their patron at the early *salutatio* in the heavy and troublesome toga: to escort him when he went out, to applaud him when he recited, and sometimes to lend themselves as instruments to his dangerous and flagitious intrigues. In return for all this they were treated as children or as buffoons. For the whole position of the *clientes* the reader should refer to Friedländer I. iii. p. 249 sqq.

For the subject of the Satire, cf. Martial iii. 60 on the invidious difference between the dinner of the patron and the client: cf. also in Martial Epigr. ii. 18. and 68, iii. 30, vi. 11, vii. 86. This Satire and the passages in Martial bearing upon the same subject are the main authorities for the invidious treatment of the clients at table. Cf. also Pliny, Ep. ii. 6, who tells us, 'I had been the guest of a certain man who unites in

his own estimation, splendour with economy, in mine, meanness with extravagance. For he and a few others had the best of everything served them, while the rest of the company had common fare and mere scraps,' &c. Cf. also Lucian, Cronosolon, de Mercede Conductis § 13 sqq.

1. 'If you do not yet blush for your plan of life, and if you are of the same mind, that you think it the supreme end in life to live from another's fragments.' Martial iii. 77. 3, and ix. 91. 18, uses *quadra* as a square piece cut out of a scored cake; and Juvenal and Martial seem so familiar with each other that it is hard not to suppose that they must have used such words as *quadra* in the same sense. *Quadra panis* seems used almost proverbially by Seneca, de Ben. iv. 29. § 2 *Quis beneficium dixit quadram panis?* Vergil in Aen. vii. 114 describes an episode turning on the use of *quadra* as *mensae*.

3. **Sarmentus.** Plutarch (Ant. 59) tells us of a Sarmentus, a favourite of Augustus. Sarmentus was also the name of the opponent of Cicirrus in Horace, Satires i. 5. 52. The Scholiast tells us of a Sarmentus who, by his wit, attained a fortune and the office of *decuria quaestoria*. Elated by this, he appeared in the theatre as a Roman knight, on which the populace composed on him the following pasquinade :—

Aliud scriptum habet Sarmentus, aliud populus voluerat.
Digna dignis: sic Sarmentus habeat crassas compedes—
Rustici, ne nihil agatis, aliquis Sarmentum alliget.

iniquas. Mr. Mayor takes this as 'ill-assorted,' where Emperor and parasite eat together: but the meaning seems rather to be where the treatment is so shamefully different in the case of the rich and the poor that the injustice raises your indignation. Cf. Sat. i. 30 *iniquae urbis*, where the unfairness of unprincipled upstarts is the thought. Cf. Plaut. Amphitruo Prol. 35 *Iusta autem ab iniustis petere insipientiast Quippe illi iniqui ius ignorant neque tenent.*

4. **Gabba.** Gabba was a scurra under Augustus. Martial i. 41 has an epigram on a buffoon who deemed himself a wit; *Quod soli tibi Caecili videris: | Qui Gabbam salibus tuis, et ipsum | Possis vincere Tettium Caballum;* he has another x. 101 in which he speaks of Gabba as a great wit, *Ille suo felix Caesare Gabba vetus.*

5. **quamvis iurato.** The *quamvis* goes closely with *iurato*. 'However much you might be on your oath.' **iuratus** is formed like *cenatus, pransus*, &c.; cf. Plaut. Amph. Act I. scene 1. line 283. Such participles partially supply the want of the past participle active in Latin. 'If, Trebius, you are so degraded that you can bear to imitate a common parasite, no man would trust your oath.'

6. **frugalius:** used as the comparative of *frugi*, which is proved by the Plautine expression *frugi bonae* Pseud. 468 (see also Cic. Att. iv. 8. b 3) to be the dative of an old word *frūx=frug-s*: so that the expression originally meant 'for the good of.' It is an instance, like *igitur* (from *agitur*) of a word becoming *isolated* and then passing into a part of speech to which it was originally a stranger. *frugalius*,

'less exacting,' cf. Seneca, Ep. 60. § 3 *quantulum est enim quod naturae datur? parvo illa dimittitur.* The sentiment is a commonplace in Seneca.

8. 'Say you are starving, surely you might beg rather than play the parasite! Is there no quay or bridge to give you a place? Is there no beggar's mat too short by half?' **Crepido** is a raised footpath. Petr. 9 *vidi Gitona in* crepidine *semitae stantem.* **teges,** a beggar's mat. Mart. xi. 56 has an epigram on a Stoic philosopher who had a *teges et cimex* to sleep on: cf. also ix. 93. 3 *vilis tegeticula.* **Dimidia brevior** may mean 'torn in two,' and thus lacking one of its halves, or 'too short by half'; in any case *parte* is understood. Quays and bridges were known resorts for beggars, cf. iv. 116; Sen. Contr. i. 1. 3 *Quis crederet iacentem supra crepidinem Marium aut fuisse consulem aut futurum?*

9. **tantine.** 'Is the degradation of the meal worth its price?' The expression = *tantine est cena tam iniuriosa?* cf. iii. 55, note; and the genitive is adjectival like that in *gratum litus amoeni secessus* in Sat. iii. 4. For the sentiment cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 6 *si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas,* where *contumelia* means by insulting other people; so Quint. Decl. 298 *iniuria pasci*; Paneg. in Pison. 103 *nullius subitos affert iniuria risus.* Domitian in this respect set a good example to his subjects that *nihil prius aut acrius monuit quam ne quid* sordide *facerent* Suet. Dom. § 9.

10. For the **cum possit honestius illic** of the MSS. some editors have adopted the reading *possis cum honestius illic.* The present reading seems satisfactory. **ieiuna** must be pressed. 'Is hunger so starved as this, when it might with more self-respect shiver and shake on the quay and munch the refuse of dog biscuit?'

12 23. 'The score of gratitude due from your patron is wiped out by a single meal, and for this you are willing to undergo any inconvenience.'

12. **fige,** 'impress on your heart'; stronger than *pone.* Cf. Sat. ix. 94 *Et tacitus nostras intra te fige querelas.*

13. 'You receive payment in full for all your long services in the past; no thanks are due beyond.'

14. **imputat,** 'sets it down,' 'counts it against you.' *Imputat* is used in the same sense in Martial iii. 6. 3, so Tac. H. i. 38 *hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet*; so Mart. xii. 48. 13 says if 'a god himself were to give me nectar it would become vinegar to me if he reckoned it as a favour' (*imputet*). Cf. Mart. xii. 83. 4 'the captator who tries to get invited to dinner will catch the ball at the game to prevent your having to stoop to pick it up, and will reckon this to your account,' *imputet acceptas ut tibi saepe pilas.*

rex, 'your patron'; as we might say, 'the great man.'

17. **culcita.** The *imus locus imi lecti,* called the *locus libertini.* The host would fill up the lowest couch, on which he lay himself, last, and therefore the discourtesy would be all the more pointed. Cf. Petronius, 38; Plaut. Stich. 492; and Lucian, Gall. 9, where Eukrates tells Mikyllus that he is to hold himself in readiness to come, and to

wash himself thoroughly, so as to be fit to take the place of any of the regular guests who might be indisposed. Of the three couches in a *triclinium*, the *summus* lay to the left, and the *imus* to the right of the *medius*. The *medius lectus* was the most honourable post; then the *summus*, lastly the *imus*. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 8. 40 *imi convivae lecti*. Pillows or cushions, *culcitae*, were placed between the guests: *torus* is a mattress: *lectus* the wooden frame, cf. Mart. v. 62.

19. **Trebius.** The name of the parasite, which was a good Italian name. Cf. Livy xxiii. 1, where a Trebius is mentioned as having given up his native town Compsa to Hannibal. The hardship of having to perform the *officium* is very commonly dwelt on: cf. Martial xiv. 223 *Surgite: iam vendit pueris icntacula pistor, Cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.* So Pliny, Ep. iii. 12. § 2 *erunt officia antelucana.*

20. **ligulas,** 'neglecting to fasten his shoe-buckles': *ligula* is a variant for *lingua, ἡ γλῶσσα τῶν ὑποδημάτων.* Weidner wrongly interprets the word as the breakfast spoons with which the Romans ate their early breakfast or *icntaculum*: and so would construe 'neglecting his breakfast': but this seems fanciful, though the word is to be so construed in Mart. xiv. 120.

21. **peregerit,** 'shall have gone through their round of visits.'

22. 'When the stars are yet fading, or, at even an earlier hour, when the Bear is seen wheeling round the Pole,' i. e. just before the stars begin to fade.

23. **Boötes** is commonly called *piger*, or, as in Homer, Od. v. 272 *ὀψὲ δύων.* Cf. Ausonius, Eclogarium *Serus in alta Conditur Oceani ripa cum luce Bootes.* Simcox takes the second alternative to refer to the Autumn season, when Winter is setting in; as Boötes sets on the 27th of October. But that the time of night is intended to be referred to is clear from Statius, Theb. iii. 683 (quoted by Mayor). **pigri,** in any case, refers to the length of time he takes to disappear beneath the horizon, owing to the fact that he sets longitudinally. Martial has an epigram, viii. 21, in which he prays that Domitian may return to Rome. *Placidi numquid te pigra Bootae | Plaustra vehunt, lento quod nimis axe venis*: i. e. can it be that you are taking a ride in the slow constellation of the Great Bear?

24–106. 'And what a meal it is when you have it! and to what degradation does it not expose you!' Lines 24–79 refer more especially to the *gustatio*, or first part of the meal.

24. **vinum quod sucida.** A passage in Varro. de Re Rustica ii. 11. § 6, is referred to as explaining *lana sucida.* He asserts that sheep begin to sweat in the spring season, whence *sudore recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est: tonsas recentes eodem die perungunt vino et oleo.* From this passage and from Plin. xxix. 9 it would appear that bad wine was mixed with oil as a fomentation for the sheep after shearing, and applied on wool. Even the *sucida lana* would object to have to absorb such stuff.

25. **de conviva.** 'From a guest you will see him pass into a mad-

dened fanatic.' For this use of *de* cf. vii. 197. The regular priests of Cybele were called *Galli*: the *Corybantes* and *Curetae* were the wild enthusiasts who formed part of the processions in honour of that Oriental deity, and celebrated the festivals of their goddess with wild music and frantic gesticulation.

26. **iurgia**; 'bickerings,' instead of the *promulsis*, are the prelude, form the only *entrées*, and give the keynote of what is to follow. It seemed natural to expect such quarrels: and special regulations were in force for the protection or compensation of those who were maltreated. Cf. Leges convivales (Bücheler, *Queroli finis. Mercedem vulnerum victus accipiat. Parasitus in convivio si fuerit veste discissus, a rege convivii duplam mercedem reparationis accipiat . . . Si parasitus quamvis tractatus incommode tamen de malis suis intestatus occiderit, heres agere non poterit*, &c. Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 234 *ad pugnam proludit*: also Cicero, Divin. in Caec. § 47, where *prolusio* is opposed to *pugna* (H. N.). Petron. 74 during the banquet Trimalchio offended Fortunata: she called him a dog; *Trimalchio contra offensus convicio calicem in faciem Fortunatae immisit.*

28. The *libertini*, or regular retainers, would look with jealousy on the interloping parasites, and the jealousy shows itself in actual blows in which the cups are used as weapons. Cf. Hor. Car. i. 27. 1 *Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis Pugnare Thracum est.* For the airs assumed by *libertini* cf. Petron. 38 *reliquos enim collibertos eius cave contemnas. Valde sucossi sunt: vides illum qui in imo imus recumbit: hodie sua octoginta possidet: de nihilo crevit.*

29. **Saguntina.** The Saguntine ware was famous. Pliny's testimony to it (xxxv. 46, § 2) need mean no more than that it was solid and durable: it seems unlikely that vile wine would have been put in costly jars and given to these parasites. Cf. Mart. iv. 46. 15, and xiv. 108.

lagona answers to the Greek word **λάγυνος**. The *lingua rustica* had a tendency to change the sound of *u* = *y* to that of *o*; in many cases this change is preserved in the Romance languages, cf. Spanish *cobre* as representing *cuprum*: so *ancŏra* = *ἄγκῦρα*. In classical Latin the Latin *o* corresponding to Greek *υ*, as in *nox* = *νύξ*, is quite exceptional; cf. Henry Gr. Comp. § xvii., Schuchardt ii. p. 130. 'The fray grows hot, begun with a Saguntine jar.' Cf. Martial viii. 6. 7

Hoc cratere *ferox* commisit *proelia Rhaecus*
Cum Lapithis: pugna debile cernis opus.

Martial, quoted below (and cf. on v. 40), refers to *cymbia ficta Saguntino luto* as if such ware was more useful than precious.

30. **ipse,** 'the master,' *αὐτός*: cf. Catullus iii. 7 *suamque norat* Ipsam, *tam bene quam puella matrem.* Cf. Petr. 38 ipso *enim homo melior non est*: a man is what his master makes him.

capillato. Cf. iv. 103. Mart. iii. 62. 2 *quod sub rege Numa condita vina bibis*: and Mart. ix. 47. 2.

diffundere is the technical term for 'bottling off' from the *dolia* into the *amphorae*, or *cadi*, which were then corked and pitched. Cf.

Hor. Ep. i. 5. 4 *Vina bibes* iterum Tauro diffusa. **Defundere** is to draw wine for the table.

consule. The name of the consul in whose year of office the wine was made and the name of the vineyard were affixed to the *amphorae*. Petron. 34 *amphorae vitreae diligenter gypsatae, quarum in cervicibus* pittacia (labels, *erant affixa cum hoc titulo* '*Falernum Opimianum annorum centum*.' Opimius was consul A.U.C. 633, and the wine of the same date is praised by Martial i. 27. 7 and ix. 31. 88.

31. Horace speaks of this wine, Car. iii. 14. 18 *Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli*: the war waged by the Italians B.C. 91 and the three following years for their enfranchisement by their acquisition of the *civitas*. He connects the wine with the fight for liberty, *Cum timuit* socias *anxia Roma manus* Ov. Am. iii. 15. 10.

32. cardiaco, 'dyspeptic.' Pliny xxiii. 25 recommends wine as the surest remedy for a dyspeptic patient. Seneca Ep. 15. § 3 says that drinking and perspiring are the remedies for this disease. Celsus iii. chap. xix. de Cardiacis says *Fertium auxilium est imbecillitati iacentis cibo vinoque succurrere.* καρδία is used in Greek for 'the stomach': cf. Thuc. ii. 49 καὶ ὅποτε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι.

cyathus, the ladle for drawing the wine from the *crater* into the *pocula*: it contained only the twelfth of a pint: so the poet says 'he would not send even a spoonful of wine to a friend to save his life.'

33. cras. 'To-morrow he will change his brand, but it will be for one equally old and choice.' For both Alban and Setine wines were considered very choice: see Hor. Car. iv. 11. 2 and Mart. vi. 86. 1, 2. Albanian was reckoned as the best wine after Falernian and Caecuban. Setine was a Campanian wine, a favourite of Augustus, Plin. N. H. xiv. 6. It was of a bright colour and is said *ardere*, Sat. x. 27. Martial often refers to it enthusiastically: cf. x. 13. 5 *Candida Setini rumpant crystalla trientes*; i.e. though large measures of Setian wine burst your clear crystal goblets.

35. fuligine. The *amphorae* were placed in an upper room through which the smoke passed, which was supposed to mellow them. Cf. Hor. Car. iii. 8. 10.

36. Paetus Thrasea perished under Nero for his love of liberty: Tac. Ann. xvi. 21. His stepson, Helvidius Priscus, was banished from Italy, Tac. Hist. iv. 6 *Ruina soceri in exilium pulsus*, and was executed under Vespasian, Dio lxvi. 12. 'The selfish aristocrat drinks for his own pleasure daily what the grand champions of Roman liberty drank only on the birthdays of those whom they delighted to honour.' It was customary among the Romans to keep the birthdays of distinguished men. Thus Domitian had Salvius Cocceianus executed because he kept the birthday of his uncle Otho, and Junius Rusticus because *Paeti Thraseae et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros; cujus criminis occasione philosophos omnes urbe Italiaque summovit* Suet. Dom. x. Thus under Nero *objectum est, Cassio Longino juris consulto, ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate*

C. Cassii, percussoris Caesaris, retinuisset imagines: Pacto Thraseae tristior et paedagogi vultus Suet. Nero 37.

37. The host holds massive amber work, the very gift of the Heliades, and beryls embossed on his cup. The Heliades were supposed to impart to amber its flavour. Cf. Mart. ix. 13. 6 *Gemma quod Heliadum pollice trita notet.*

38. 'Virro's cups are encased in amber or studded with beryl.' The Heliades, Phaethon's sisters, were turned into poplars, whence tears exuded which were hardened into amber, *Inde fluunt lacrimae, stillataque sole rigescunt De ramis electra novis* Ov. Met. ii. 364.

crusta here = *poculum crustatum*, 'in relief'; the *crusta* is of amber.

40. Mart. xiv. 108 *Quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister Sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto.*

41. Mart. ix. 59 *Et virides picto gemmas numeravit in auro.*

42. 'Excuse him, his jasper has a special reputation.' The words of the *custos*. **praeclara** is a predicate.

43. 'Virro has gems which can boast of as old a family history as any aristocrat; gems worn by Aeneas, whose graces won him Dido's preference over Iarbas.' The reference is to Verg. Aen. iv. 261 *Atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva Ensis erat.* It is a marked characteristic of Juvenal that he often expresses names by a periphrasis appealing to some literary reminiscence; cf. vi. 7. Petron. 50, 51, and 52 should be read in connection with the antiquity assigned to Virro's gems, though there the *argentum* is the subject of the boast: *Habeo lapides M quas reliquit patrono meo Mummius ubi Daedalus Niobam in equum Troianum includit*, &c. In Juvenal we have a reference to a cup out of which Philip of Macedon had drunk, Sat. xii. 47, and there, as here, the person is described and not mentioned.

Possibly the transference of the ring from the finger to the wine-cup may be indicative of a transference of affection, as Lewis thinks. For the custom of transferring gems from rings to goblets cf. Mart. ix. 87. 7 *Nunc signat meus anulus lagonam.*

46. 'The cobbler of Beneventum' is Vatinius; cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 34 *Vatinius inter foedissima eius* (sc. *Neronis*) *aulae portenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto*, &c. A kind of ugly calix or goblet with four spouts was probably called after him *calix vatinianus.*

47. **nasorum,** genitive of quality.

48. The calix is broken so hopelessly that it can never fetch anything except as old glass, which was changed by hucksters for sulphur matches; cf. Martial i. 41. 3. Martial has an epigram, x. 3, on some poetaster who had passed off some wretched verses as Martial's composition. The poet says that they are so worthless, ll. 4. 5 *Quae sulpurato nolit empta ramento | Vatiniorum proxeneta fractorum*, i.e. that the vendor of broken glass vessels would not care to buy them for a sulphur match.

50. **Geticis.** Ovid in his Tristia had made the Getic cold proverbial, cf. Trist. iii. 12. 15.

Quoque loco est arbor turgescit in arbore ramus,
Nam procul a Geticis finibus arbor abest.

decocta, water boiled and then artificially cooled by snow: an invention of Nero's. Plin. N. H. xxxi. § 40. Cf. Mart. ii. 85, v. 64. 2, &c. *Tu super aestivas, Alcime, solve nives.* The moralists, such as the elder Pliny and Seneca, constantly refer to this artificial cooling of wine as an unnatural and effeminate trait of luxury, e. g. Plin. N. H. xix. 55, Sen. N. Q. iv. 13, Ep. 78, 23. Friedländer, iii. p. 23, points out that what is with us, and especially in warm climates, an indispensable necessity, is regarded by these moralists as a luxury, and this may lead us to modify our opinion on some of the too sweeping censures which they passed upon the causes of the decadence which they witnessed.

51. This verse is omitted by some editors, as by Heinrich, as unnecessary and feeble.

52. cursor Gaetulus. 'A Berber outrider' pressed into the service as a waiter for the day. Martial describes a *cursor* similarly impressed into the service of Bassus to carry eggs—

Nec feriatus ibat ante carrucam
Sed tuta feno cursor ova portabat (iii. 47. 13 sq.).

54. To meet an Ethiopian was a bad omen, as we are expressly told by Plutarch, Brutus xlviii. ad fin.; but Juvenal probably means nothing more than that that the negro has such a villainous countenance that you would not like to meet him of a night.

55. The Via Latina led from the Porta Capena and crossed the Tusculan hill. It met the Appian way at Casilinum, nineteen stadia from Capua. The presence of the tombstones would make the meeting more weird still.

56. 'He gives more for his pet cup-bearer, "the Rose of Asia," than all the income of an old Roman king.' Mayor quotes Plin. H. N. vii. 56, who mentions that Antonius when triumvir bought, for 200,000 sesterces, two handsome pages. At Trimalchio's banquet, Petr. 41 *puer speciosus, vitibus hederisque redimitus, calathisco uvas circumtulit.*

Flos is common in this sense. Cf. Catull. 24. 1 *O qui flosculus es Juventiorum:* and Ter. Eun. ii. Sc. ix. *Flos ipse,* ''tis the flower of age.' Martial ix. 22. 11 alludes to one of these Ganymedes. The contrast with the usage in such passages as Verg. Aen. viii. 500 *Flos veterum virtusque virum* must have struck the satirist. In referring to the income of the Roman kings of old Juvenal has probably in his mind Horace, Car. iv. 7. 15 *dives Tullus et Ancus*; and the spirit of Verg. Aen. viii. 347–348 *Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.*

59. frivola, 'chattels.' iii. 224: *frivola sunt proprie vasa fictilia quassa* Fest. p. 90. We should have expected some word signifying revenues.

quod cum ita sit. '*And since* his slaves are so costly and have such airs when you are thirsty, look out for your Moorish Ganymede,' i.e. the *cursor*. Ganymede was a name often given to pet pages;

we have an instance in Petron. Sat. § 92 *laudo, inquit, Ganymedem (puerum a cyatho)*.

60. nescit, is unable (from want of habit).

61. The **puer** is the Flos Asiae.

62. ille, the *cursor*.

63. Hot water mixed with wine was a popular drink at Roman banquets: Martial has an epigram on an *eques* who had drunk much wine in the theatre, i. 11. 3, 4 *Iam defecisset portantes calda ministros, si non potares, Sextiliane, merum*, i. e. there would not have been enough hot water if you had not taken to drink your wine pure. Cf. Petr. 31. Encolpius begs pardon for a slave: the slave covers his benefactor with kisses: '*ad summam, scietis*' *ait* '*cui dederitis beneficium.* Vinum dominicum ministratoris gratia est.'

64. The description of society as it was in Ammian's day should be read with this, Amm. xiv. 6. 16 sqq. On the attention paid to these petted slaves see Friedländer iii. 1. p. 141. Petron. 27 speaks of its being thought a privilege to dry one's hands in their hair.

65. poscas and **recumbas** are in the subjunctive mood because the clause is virtually in the oratio obliqua.

67. ecce. 'Here is another who grumbles as he presents you bread which looks as if the corn which made it were only half ground.' The corn is not merely mouldy but also lumpy. Martial vi. 11. 3 has a similar complaint. Inequality in circumstances or treatment is a bar to true friendship. Once *Non melior panis turdusve dabatur Oresti*, &c.

69. 'Which must give your jaw a shock,' as *lapidosus*; see Sen. Ben. ii. 7.

70. niveus. Hehn, p. 424, remarks on the marked distaste of the Romance nations for rye bread. Goethe remarks (Campagne in Frankreich, 24 Sept., 1792) 'White and black bread is the true shibboleth that parts German and Frenchman. Where the girls are blond the bread is black, and where the girls are dark the bread is white': so in Goethe's poem 'Soldatentrost'—

'Nein, hier hat es keine Noth,
Schwarze Mädchen, weisses Brot.
Morgen in ein ander Städtchen,
Schwarzes Brod und weisse Mädchen.'

72. artopta = *artoptes*. For the form *artopta* cf. *charta*, χάρτης, &c. Cf. *ιππότα* by the side of *ιππότης*, Henry, p. 205. The slave baked the bread and served it out. He had both kinds of bread in baskets handed round at the same time, 'but woe to you if you lay hands on the fine bread! Keep your respect for the grand Greek baker!' For the expression *salva sit* cf. *salva tibi sit constantiae fama* Plin. Ep. ix. 1.

The richer classes used fancy bread made at home; the loaves made in the bakeries seem to have been made of coarse flour for the use of slaves and the poor. That the bakers of Pompeii ground their own

corn is proved by the mills which exist in all their bakeries: Rolfe, p. 234 sqq. Cf. Varro Menip. *si quantum operae sumpsisti ut tuus pistor bonum faceret panem, eius duodecimam philosophiae dedisses, ipse bonus iampridem esses factus.*

73. **improbulum,** 'a little forward.'

superest, 'there is one behind'; probably referring to another slave.

74. **vis tu,** 'be good enough.' A rather imperious form of bidding. Cf. Martial x. 73. 9 *Vis tu simplicius senem fateri*, i.e. 'do be good enough in a more straightforward way to avow yourself an old man!'

76. **scilicet.** 'And so it was for this that I left my wife and braved the cold!' cf. Mart. x. 82. 2. 3. 'If my misery does you any good—

Stridentesque feram flatus aquilonis iniqui
Et patiar nimbos excipiamque nives.'

Cf. also xii. 26.

78. **Esquiliae,** called *aquosae* by Propertius iv. 8. 1.

79. **paenula,** φαινόλης, a close-fitting travelling cloak of wool or leather worn in rainy weather. Quint. vi. 3. § 66 *Galba . . . paenulam roganti respondit 'non pluit, non opus est tibi:* si pluit, ipse utar.' Martial has an epigram, ii. 57, in which he speaks of one Cordus, a fop, as *Alpha paenulatorum.* In Bk. xiv. 145 he speaks of the *paenula* as *gausapina*, i.e. made of frieze; to wear a *paenula* in the summer was proverbially an absurdity. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 11. 18 and Wilkins' note ad loc.

80–145. The different *ferculа* of the banquet. 'The master gets a crayfish and you get a crab. What a fine long body has yon crayfish which parts the dish in two! it is garnished with asparagus and turns up its tail contemptuously at the guests.'

80. **Distinguere** means to mark off: it is particularly used in the sense of 'to throw into relief,' 'to make stand out,' and so 'to adorn.' So *distinguit autumnus racemos Purpureo varius colore* Hor. Car. ii. 5. 11: so *gemmarum nitor distinguit aurum*, Sen. Med. 573. Cf. Calp. vi. 45 of a boar's tusk hung round a pet stag: *ubi pendulus apri Dens sedet et niveа* distinguit pectora *luna.*

81. **squilla,** either a lobster or a crayfish: in either case highly prized. Cf. Pliny, Ep. ii. 17. § 28 *Mare non sane pretiosis piscibus abundat; soleas tamen et squillas optimas egerit.* Horace refers to *squillae* Sat. ii. 8. 42, where the word seems to denote 'prawns.'

82. **asparagis.** Cf. Plin. H. N. xix. § 8 *omnium hortensiorum laudatissima cura asparagis*: cf. too Juv. Sat. xi. 69 *montani asparagi.* Hehn, p. 405, points out that the names of most of the vegetables and fruits common throughout Europe testify that they came into modern use through Roman civilisation; cf. cucumber, kail, vetch, mint, &c. Pliny N. H. xix. § 54 complains that the care bestowed on the cultivation of vegetables had the effect of making the distinction between rich and poor more glaring: 'nature has bidden asparagus to

grow wild: and in Ravenna artificially grown asparagus weighs three heads to the pound!'

84. 'You have a common crab with half an egg jammed in on either side.'

85. feralis cena, 'a true funeral meal,' viz. the *novemdialis cena* placed on the grave the ninth day after burial, in which eggs formed the chief ingredient, as they were deemed to have a purifying power; cf. vi. 518. See Becker's Gallus iii. 296.

86. Venafrano. Pliny N. H. xv. § 3 (2) *principatum in hoc quoque (oleo) bono obtinuit Italia toto orbe, maxime agro Venafrano.* The oil of Venafrum on the borders of Campania was the most celebrated in Italy, though Martial declares (xii. 63 1) that his native Spain produced better: *Uncta Corduba* laetior Venafro, &c. Nothing requires more careful handling than the olive in order to produce good oil (cf. Hehn p. 96). The Sicilian and Sardinian oil at the present day, like the African oil in Juvenal's time (see Pliny H. N. xv. 3), is so impure as to be good for little else than soap making and use in cloth works. **perfundit**, 'souses'; there is no stint of oil for the master, and he has it of the very best.

87. Olere is one of a class of intransitive verbs used with an accusative after them, which is merely an extension of the cognate use. Thus we have in Plaut. Most. i. 3. 120 *quid oleant nescias*, and *ceram*, *crocum*, &c., *olere* in Cicero. This use must itself be looked upon as an *adverbial* use of the case: the accusative defining, qualifying, amplifying or restricting the sense of the verb. Such phrases as *ludum ludere* are to be explained in the same way as *perfidum ridens*: i.e. the accusative qualifies the verb as an adverb, see K. and C. Comp. Gr. p. 177. Compare such phrases as the French *cela sent bon* and *cela sent l'huile.*

'The master has the best Venafran oil on his fish: you get cabbage and lamp-oil, such as some Moorish grandee imported from Numidia: oil so foul that no Roman will bathe with a Moor who uses it.'

89. Canna was the name given to a Nile boat made of reeds; Pliny, N. H. vii. § 206. **Micipsa** and **Boccar** are the names of Numidian princes, and are used as we might speak of 'Pompey' and 'Sambo.' Micipsa was the father of Hiempsal and Adherbal, Sall. Jug. v. 89. Boccar is the name of a king of Mauritania, Livy xxix. 30. Even the Africans, it appears, had learnt what to the Romans appeared the indispensable secret of good health, to rub their bodies with oil. Augustus asked the aged Polio Romilius how he kept in such good health; the answer was *intus mulso, foris oleo* (Plin. H. N. xxii. 114 (53)). Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 124 *ungor olivo Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.*

subvexit, 'has brought up the Tiber.'

92–106. The second course. 'The master gets a mullet from Corsica or Sicily, and a lamprey; you get a wretched eel from the river.'

93. Tauromenitanae rupes. Naxus, on the east coast of Sicily, was destroyed by Dionysius the elder B.C. 403; but the Naxians were

settled in Tauromenium, the modern Taormina, by Andromachus, in 358 B. C. It is at the present day remarkable for the remains of a large theatre.

94. dum, usually constructed with the present after a clause containing a verb in the past tense, when the actions spoken of are contemporaneous. Cf. iii. 10.

95. Cf. for the sentiment Petron. 92

Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis
Atque Afrae volucres placent palato
Quod non sunt faciles . . . .
ultimis ab oris
Attractus scarus atque arata Syrtes
Siquid naufragio dedit, probatur.

Cf. also Seneca, Ep. 89. § 22 *quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria* scrutatur, *hinc terras.*

Pliny, H. N. ix. § 108, in the same pessimistic spirit, narrates how under Tiberius, Optatus Elipertius, *praefectus classi*, succeeded in introducing the *scarus* from the sea between Crete and Rhodes and acclimatizing it on the west coast of Italy between Ostia and Campania. He regards this as an act of great gluttony, and adds that we cannot now be astonished if foreign birds lay their eggs in Rome! Fried. I. i. p. 32.

96. nec patimur: i. e. and we do not allow the fish in our own seas to attain their full size.

97. Cf. Ganymede's complaint at Trimalchio's banquet, Petr. 44. 'The aediles are in collusion with the bakers: serve me, I'll serve you.' *Itaque populus minutus laborat: nam istae maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt.*

'The provinces, then, have to supply our kitchen fires: 'tis thence that the fortune-hunter buys his dainties for the widow Aurelia, who sells them again.'

98. On the **captatores** cf. Friedländer, vol. i. p. 413.

99. muraena. Here again Martial and Juvenal coincide. Cf. Mart. Epigram xiii. 80. 1 *Quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo.* These *muraenae* were kept in *vivaria* in Rome, and sometimes *tamed*. Cf. Pliny, H. N. ix. § 169; (the *locus classicus* for this fish.)

100, 101. These lines are mock-heroic.

100. se continet, 'stays indoors,' cf. Sat. x. 80; cf. *continere se domi* Suet. Caes. 81. Ovid, Met. xi. 432, uses *contineo* for keeping the winds safe in their prison-house. Juvenal probably takes the word from Ovid and burlesques the passage. Fish generally were prized so much as a delicacy that the word ὄψον was understood to signify, in the first instance, a fish.

103. anguilla. The very name, connected with *anguis*, suggests kinsmanship with the snake, and the sneer with which Juvenal speaks of the eel. Seneca speaks of lampreys as snake-like, de Clem. i. 18.

104. Tiberinus. For the fish in the Tiber see Lanciani, p. 23. With Tiberinus probably *lupus* (a pike) is to be understood, cf. Horace,

Sat. ii. 2. 31. Cf. also Lucilius, Fragm. iv. 5 *pontes Tiberini duo intercaptu*. The best *lupi*, which were highly prized as an article of diet when in good condition, were caught *inter duos pontes* near the island of St. Bartolomeo, and near the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima.

et ipse, i. e. he, too, *like the other* (the eel); cf. Verg. Ec. ii. 63 *torva leaena lupum sequitur: lupus ipse capellam*: i. e. 'the wolf, like the lioness in this, chases the goat.' Cf. Suet. Dom. 12 *Generum fratris, indigne ferens albatos et ipsum ministros habere proclamavit*, &c.

105. **vernula riparum;** born and bred by its banks, and no better than a slave. 'The largest of the sewers, supposed to be the Cloaca Maxima of Pliny, forms a conduit for a considerable body of water, issuing from the valley of the Subura,' cf. Middleton, p. 75. The Roman sewers emptied directly into the Tiber, thus polluting its waters, which were used not merely for bathing, but also for drinking.

106. **crypta,** 'a subterranean drain' into the Subura.

107–113. A break in which Juvenal gives vent to his indignation. 'No one asks you to give munificently like the patrons of the last generation; *then* the glory of munificence was its own reward; we ask only that you should remember that while you are a millionaire you are also a citizen. You need not invite guests merely to insult them; avoid this, and be as luxurious and as stingy as you please.'

107. **pauca velim;** the omission of the verb is common in epistolary and conversational style, cf. *paucis te volo* Ter. Andria i. 1. 2.

109. **Seneca** and **Piso** are celebrated as munificent patrons by Martial also in two epigrams coupling the Pisos and Senecas: (1) iv. 40 *Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto | et docti Senecae ter numeranda domus*: (2) xii. 36. 8

Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque
Et Crispos mihi redde, sed priores.

The reference in (1) is to the two Senecas and Lucan, who are referred to conjointly in i. 61. 7. Seneca himself says in his de Ben. i. 1. § 7, 'Who can feel real gratitude towards a man who loftily throws a kindness down, or testily flings it at you, or from sheer weariness, to be free of importunity, makes you a present of it?' The whole work is full of reflections of the same nature. Piso seems to have been the ringleader in the conspiracy against Nero referred to by Tacitus, Ann. xv. 48.

Cotta. Tacitus mentions Cotta Messalinus Ann. ii. 32, xii. 22, iv. 20. &c. as a degenerate descendant of noble ancestors and of a cruel disposition: this leads us to suppose that Juvenal is here probably thinking of Cotta Maximus, who befriended Ovid *Tu lacerae remanes anchora sola rati*, Ex Ponto iii. 2. 6; and again Ovid calls him *Pieridum lumen praesidiumque fori*, iv. 16. 42.

112. **civiliter,** 'as a citizen with citizens.' Suetonius' description of Claudius is a very good commentary on *civiliter*. At the commencement of his reign he had been proud of his *civilitas*; but now—*non convivia inire ausus est nisi speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent*,

&c. Domitian was *ab iuventa minime civilis animi, confidens etiam, et cum verbis tum rebus immodicus*, Suet. Dom. 12. *Civilis* means then possessed of that spirit of reasonableness and self-control which it is an integral part of a citizen's duty to cultivate.

113. Cf. Mart. ix. 3. 1 Pauper amicitiae *cum sis Lupe non es amicae.*

114–124. The third course. 'The master gets a huge goose's liver, a fat capon, a boar, and truffles; the client has the gratification of seeing him eat them.'

114. iecur. The geese were artificially fattened on figs. Pliny, N. H. x. (52) xxvii. has a curious chapter about geese and the method of preparing them for table. The Strasburg *pâtés de foie gras* are celebrated at the present day. It is noteworthy that the word for 'liver' in the modern Romance languages is derived from *ficatum*; as the French *foie*; Italian *fegato*. Martial refers to this delicacy xiii. 58 *Aspice quam tumeat magno iecur ansere maius!* and again iii. 82. 2: cf. also Persius, vi. 71 *Ut tuus iste nepos olim satur anseris extis.*

115. altilis, any fatling (from *alo*), specialised into 'a fat capon.' Horace, Ep. i. 7. 35, speaks of *altiles* as a delicacy enjoyed by the richer classes: and Varro de Re Rust. iii. 9. §§ 19. 21 describes the process of preparing capons for the table by cooping them up in a dark place and stuffing them with barley.

Meleager was the chief of the heroes who slew the wild boar of Calydon. Cf. Ov. Met. viii. 270, and Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon.

117. Pliny, N. H. xix. 37, however, tells us that truffles grew best in autumn, especially if there was thunder.

118. Alledius. An Alledius Severus is mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. xii. 7. as an *eques Romanus*. Here he is spoken of as a glutton, who says, 'Never mind sending us corn from Libya (which was, with Egypt, one of the main corn supplies of Rome) so that you send us truffles.'

120. The **structor** is the carver, as in xi. 136. Cf. Mart. x. 48 *Et quae non egeant ferro structoris, ofellae.* Another part of his duties was to arrange the dishes on the tray on which they were served up, as in vii. 184; cf. Petron. Satyr. 35 *Repositorium rotundum duodecim habebat signa in orbe disposita, supra quae proprium convenientemque materiae structor imposuerit cibum.*

121. chironomunta, a Greek word for a Greek fashion. As we might say, *jouant des mains*. He gesticulates like the leader of an orchestra with his baton. It is worth while to compare with this passage John Russell's Boke of Nurture (E. E. Texts), who devotes 100 lines to giving exact directions for the 'Kerving of Flesh,' showing how each dish was to be held in the hand in the absence of forks; for instance venison, as being heavy enough to stand by its own weight, was not to be touched by the bare hand, but partridges, chickens, &c. were to be taken up by the pinion. The best illustration that can be given of this is Petron. 36, where at Trimalchio's supper 'the carver came forward and gesticulating to music so slashed the dishes that

you would have thought it was a gladiator displaying his prowess to the tune of an organ.' Cf. also Sen. Ep. 47. § 6–7.

125–145. 'Now hear the insulting way in which the poor man is treated by the rich. No friendship is possible between them.'

125. Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 264 *pedibusque informe cadaver Protrahitur.* Martial has an epigram, v. 66, on Hercules, Domitian's model and rival, in which he refers to the prowess of the demigod who slew the monster *tacita qui fraude solebat Ducere nec rectas Cacus in antra boves.* Cf. also Ovid, Fasti i. 550.

127. **tamquam,** used, as commonly in Silver Latinity, in the sense of 'on the ground of,' not in the sense of 'as if.' Thus the passage means, 'You must not presume to open your mouth *on the strength* of being a libertine, and so having equally with the free-born Roman three names (the *praenomen*, the *nomen*, the *cognomen*).'

Hiscere, 'to open your mouth ever so little,' cf. *Nec Telamoniades etiam nunc hiscere quidquam | ausit* Ov. Met. xiii. 231. **tria nomina:** *libertini* assumed the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their former master: as M. Tullius Tiro. **propinat:** Martial x. 49 uses the same word with the first syllable long, *Prōpinas modo conditum Sabinum.*

128. **contacta:** when used in the perf. part. this word commonly has the sense of 'defiled,' as here: cf. *contacta civitas rabie duorum iuvenum,* Liv. iv. 9. It seems possible that the meaning of the word may have been affected by *tinguo.*

129. **usque adeo,** 'so completely.'

132. Cf. Martial i. 104 *Si dederint superi decies mihi milia centum, Qualiter o vivam, quam large, quamque beate.*

quadringenta, a knight's income, as we might say, 'the magic four hundred thousand.'

133. The **homuncio,** or 'mannikin,' seems opposed to *deus,* 'if a god, or even the veriest mannikin, would give you this.' Cf. Ter. Eunuch. 590 *At quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. Ego homuncio hoc non facerem.* Cf. Petron. 34 *diutius vivit vinum quam homuncio.*

quantus ex nihilo. Possibly a reminiscence of Lucret. de R. N. i. 150 *Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus unquam.*

135. **frater** is used as an expression of affection, as is *pater* in Hor. Ep. i. 6. 54. In Don Quixote the duchess calls Sancho Panza *hermano,* 'brother,' as Keightley notices. Quintilian, Decl. 321, p. 641, expressly says, 'If we wish to be very courteous to those who seem to be our friends, no flattery can go further than calling them *frater.*' Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 66 *volo mi frater fraterculo tuo credas.*

136. **ilibus,** 'the loin.' Mayor quotes Martial x. 45. 4. Some editors would construe *frater ab ilibus* to mean my very own brother = αὐτάδελφος, ὁμόσπλαγχνος; so Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. xxxv. 393. But there is no instance of *ilia* occurring in this sense; and it is quite classical in the sense of the loin: so Martial has an epigram, x. 45, on a reader who does not know good from bad; he says 'you prefer to gnaw

a rib, though I offer you that delicacy—a boar's loin: *Ilia Laurentis cum tibi demus apri.* **ab** means on the side of: as we might say '*on* the upper side.' **o nummi,** &c. Martial has an epigram, viii. 81, on a lady who instead of swearing by any of the fashionable Oriental deities of the day, swore by her pearls: *Hos amplectitur: hos deosculatur, hos fratres vocat et vocat sorores: Hos natis amat acrius duobus.*

137. **vos estis,** "'Tis you, the cash, and he, who are the real brothers. But if you would become a true patron, and a patron's patron, you must boast no necessary heir.'

dominus. It must be especially remarked that though the term *dominus* was not employed at Rome in the Imperial times with the frequency with which we employ *Sir*, yet the clients were obliged to address their patron by this title; cf. Martial ii. 68

Quod te nomine iam tuo saluto
Quem regem *et* dominum *prius vocabam.*

See Fried. i. p. 443 sqq.

138. A parody of Verg. Aen. iv. 328, where Dido says, *si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas.*

140. 'We have no good friends if we have a wife and children.'

141. **Mycale** is taken by some editors as the name of a concubine; so that the meaning would be, 'So now, your Mycale may have as many children as you please: the patron will fondle them to flatter you,' as he knows that they cannot inherit. But according to this view surely *sed* would not be the word wanted, but some word like *ergo*. It seems better therefore to interpret, 'But as it is, your low-born wife may have as many children as you please; and Virro, knowing that he has nothing to expect from you, will condescend to fondle them.' The name Mycale occurs in Ov. Met. xii. 263 as that of a witch, and in Nemesian. iv. 69 as the mother of a rustic singer.

143. **viridem thoraca,** *armilausiam prasinam ut simiae* Schol. It seems to have been 'a green waistcoat.' Weidner quotes Lucil. ii. 17 *Ricae, thoracia, mitrae.*—Augustus wore a *thorax* in winter apparently over his *subucula*, Suet. Aug. 82.

144. **minimasque nuces,** 'the tiny nuts' with which the ancient, like the modern, boys played. So Augustus, *animi laxandi causa, nucibus ludebat cum pueris minutis*, Suet. Aug. 83 (quoted by Lewis). Children used them instead of dice: cf. Mart. xiii. 1. 7 *Haec mihi charta nuces, haec est mihi charta fritillus.*—i.e. 'my poems are the dice with which I play for popularity; but they are only children's dice; for their gain or loss alike would be but small.' Cf. too Mart. v. 84. 1; Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 171; Pers. i. 10.

assemque rogatum. For the little parasite's first lesson was to beg like his father. Terence has the expression *parasitaster paululus*, Ad. v. 2. 4 (779).

146–155. The dessert.

146. **anceps** is used of fungi by Pliny, H. N. xxii. § 96. 'Certain fungi have been known to poison whole families; *quae voluptas tanta*

tam ancipitis *cibi?*' Cf. too Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 20. *Dubius* is used by Terence, Ph. ii. 2. 28 (343), of a meal so good that you know not which viand to take first. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 77 sqq. This passage should be read in careful comparison with Mart. iii. 60; on the difference between the dinners of the client and the patron respectively, cf. especially line 5 *sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos.*

147. **sed,** 'aye and more': cf. Suet. Nero, 33 fin. *Locustae impunitatem praediaque ampla* sed et *discipulos dedit*; so Plin. Ep. i. § 5 *mane,* sed *plane mane.* This use of *sed* was probably borrowed from conversational Latin: it occurs very commonly in Martial: cf. Mart. i. 107. 3; vii. 72. 15, &c. *Sed* is etymologically the primitive form of the ablative of the reflexive *se*, the primitive meaning being 'by oneself' and thus *apart*; see Henry, Gr. Comp. p. 250.

Claudius was poisoned by Agrippina with a *boletus medicatus*, Tac. Ann. xii. 67. See too Suet. Claud. 44: Ner. 33: Dio 60, § 34. Cf. Mart. i. 20. 3, 4 *Quid dignum tanto tibi ventre gulaque precabor? Boletum qualem Claudius edit edas.* It seems likely that the obscure passage in Mart. v. 78. 31, 32 *Claudiam sequeris Quam nobis cupis esse tu priorem* is to be explained 'You shall follow Claudia, whom you naturally wish to see eat the food before us, to show that it was not poisoned.'

148. **illum uxoris.** When we use *that, those,* &c., to avoid repeating the preceding substantive, the pronoun is not commonly expressed in Latin; we cannot say in Latin *edit multos boletos ante illum uxoris*; but *ante uxorium illum.* The explanation of the use of *illum* in this sentence is that *illum* retains its demonstrative signification, and serves to demonstrate the nature of the *boletus* as defined in the latter part of the sentence *post quem nihil amplius edit.* The last clause is in fact practically identical with *extremum* or *mortiferum.* The sentence is therefore really similar to that quoted by Zumpt, § 767 from Cicero, pro Arch. c. 11 *Nullam enim virtutem aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat praeter hanc* (the one of which I am speaking) *laudis et gloriae.* Cf. lines 145, 150.

150. Here seems to be a *double entente*; for the words might mean 'whose very scent is as good as a feast,' and 'whose scent is all you are likely to get,' though in that case *tu* would have been naturally added. However the latter thought seems supported by Mart. i. 93. 9 *Passeris et nigrae solo nidore culinae*—quoted by Lewis. For the fragrance of apples cf. Mart. iii. 65 1.

151. Referring to Homer, Od. vii. 114 sq.

152. **sororibus Afris,** the Hesperides. Cf. Petr. Priap. xvi. *Qualibus* (pomis) Hesperidum *nobilis hortus erat*: Ovid, Met. xi. 114: Mart. iv. 64. 2. Juv. sneers at the Greek tradition by calling its subject 'the negro sisters.'

subrepta, filched in spite of the dragon that guarded them.

153. 'You enjoy a rotten apple such as the Praetorian soldiers give a

monkey which they have dressed up to look like a comrade.' The *agger* seems to be the Servian wall extending from the 'Porta Collina' to the 'Porta Esquilina.' Behind this, between the Porta Viminalis and Esquilina, lay the Praetorian camp, and the soldiers amused themselves by dressing up a monkey in a helmet and arming him with a shield and setting him on a goat and teaching him to throw a spear. Some have interpreted **qui tegitur** to mean a raw recruit who learns his drill from a centurion contemptuously dubbed **Capella.** But the interpretation here given seems the most probable, and the objection which has been taken to it that *ab equo iaculari* is not Latin, and that *ex capella* would be used instead of *a capella*, is met by the two quotations: Prop. iii. 11. 13 *Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea rates*, and Ovid, A. A. 210 *Telaque ab averso quae iacit hostis equo.*

157. hoc agit; vii. 20: 'He does it on purpose': *hoc agere* is a phrase. *Hoc age* was properly a sacrificial term. The sacrificer or *popa* asked the priest, *Agone*, 'am I to do it?' and the latter answered *age* or *hoc age*, 'do it.' This reply of the priest to the interrogation of the popa was intended to enlist the attention of the assembly: hence *hoc age* comes to mean 'give attention.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 100 *eloquentiam velut umbram, non hoc agens, trahit.* Cf. also Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. c. 11. § 23: Plaut. Asin. Prol. 1: Ter. And. i. 2, 15. For the sacrificial sense cf. Suet. Calig. 58: cf. too id. Galb. 20.

comoedia. Such as were commonly given at feasts; cf. Pliny, Ep. ix. 17. The host thinks the farce of the 'crying stomach' most humorous.

159. si nescis, a polite way of saying 'I would have you know.' Cf. Verg. Ec. iii. 23 *Si nescis, meus ille caper fuit.*

160. pressoque diu stridere molari, 'and to grate longtime with your labouring teeth.'

163. quis enim. 'Who, if he were born wealthy or even decently off, could be so utterly destitute as to put up with Virro twice?'

165. The **nodus** is a leather strap to which the **signum,** the so-called *bulla scortea*, was fastened. The point in speaking of the *bulla* is that it was only worn by the free-born. Freemen other than the sons of *libertini* wore *bullae* of gold: Stat. S. v. 3. 120 *nobile pectoris aurum*: so Propertius, iv. 1. 131. The freedmen's sons wore *bullae* of leather, as appears from this passage. The golden badge is called *Etruscum* because, like most of the Roman badges of rank, it was borrowed from the Etruscans. Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. § 10, tells us that a son who had killed an enemy *in praetextae annis* was presented first by Tarquinius Priscus (who came from Etruria, Livy i. 34) with a *bulla aurea: unde mos bullae duravit, ut eorum qui equo meruissent filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum.* It is characteristic of Juvenal to imply the *bulla* by a description.

166. ecce . . . altilis, the aside of the hungry parasite.

167. Martial has an Epigram ix. 48 on a rich and stingy old man to

whom he sent a Laurentian boar as a present: the old man ate it all himself and (l. 10) *nec costa data est caudave missa mihi.*

168. 'A minute, and the undersized capon will come to us!'

169. **stricto.** 'Your bread is ready for action, like a drawn sword.' Cf. Ov. Am. I. vi. 14 *non timeo strictas in mea fata manus.*

170. 'He is a shrewd man to employ you thus (for his amusement): if you *can* bear any thing you ought to bear it.'

171. 'You will one day come *in reality* to play the part of a regular *stupidus* or *morio*.' The stupid fellow who was knocked about was one of the standing characters of Roman comedy. He was represented as closely shaved. Cf. Arnobius, vii. 33 *mimis nimirum di gaudent . . . delectantur stupidorum capitibus rasis.* Cf. Petron. 100–103, where Eumolpus shaves Encolpius and Giton so that they may be taken for slaves. These *moriones* were sometimes introduced at banquets for the diversion of the guests. They sometimes cost a great deal. Mart. viii. 13 speaks of one who cost 20,000 sesterces. Cf. Marq. Pr L. 149. 5: 328. 6. They were sometimes real crétins, and generally deformed as well. In Trimalchio's banquet (Petr. 69) Habinna's slave imitates flute-players, mountebanks, and muleteers. Cf. too Mart. vi. 39. 15 *Hunc vero acuto capite et auribus longis Quae sic moventur ut solent asellorum Quis morionis filium neget Cyrtae?* The parasites in the comedians, e. g. Plaut. Captivi, i. 20 21, often complain of the knocks and slaps which they have to support, *Et hic quidem hercle, nisi qui colaphos perpeti | Potis parasitus frangique aulas in caput | Vel extra portam trigeminam ad saccum ilicet*: cf. too Ter. Eun. 243 sq., and Plaut. Pers. i. 2. 8, where they are called 'hardy head-men,' *duri capitones.*

172. **quandoque,** 'one day.' The indefinite *que* is added to *quando* used in its temporal sense.

173. **flagrum,** 'the lash' applied to slaves; Hor. Sat. i. 3. 119. So that Juvenal says you will be treated like a *morio* and punished like a slave.

Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, Act iii. Sc. 1, has a fine description of a superior parasite, some part of which is taken from Theophrastus *περὶ κολακείας.*

> 'But your fine elegant rascal that can rise
> And stoop almost together, like an arrow
> . . . . . .
> This is the creature had the art born with him,
> Toils not to learn it, but doth practise it
> Out of most excellent nature: and such sparks
> Are the true parasites; others, but their zanies.'

LIBER TERTIUS.

SATIRE VII.

ON THE MISERY OF AUTHORS.

THIS Satire is descriptive of the miserable state of authors in Juvenal's time. Friedländer, in his Sittengeschichte iii. 413, points out that there seems to be a want of connection between the Introduction (1–21) and the body of the poem. In the Introduction we are told that hope has arisen for the poets since Caesar took them under his patronage. The Satire speaks of the influence of the great patrons of letters, the Maecenases, &c., as past and gone. Again the Satire speaks of men of letters in all branches; the Introduction of poets only. Hence as Trajan did encourage rhetoricians and professors, while Hadrian was a poet himself and a poet's patron, he infers that the Introduction was an afterthought and added by Juvenal under Hadrian's reign. Others assume that the Caesar referred to is Trajan, who is spoken of by Pliny (Paneg. 47) as having given breath and blood and fatherland to studies. Professor Nettleship believes that the Caesar referred to is Domitian, who seems spasmodically to have patronised literary men: and it is certainly true that many of the allusions in the rest of the Satire, such as those to Statius, Quintilian, and even Palaemon, fall into his reign. There is no reason why the belief in Domitian that animated Statius should not have kindled Juvenal to hope in the future even though the hope may have been undeceived. The connection between 1–21 and the rest of the poem seems to be 'we must trust, I say, to the Emperor alone: for society will not support authors.' For Domitian's attitude towards literature, cf. Sueton. Dom. ii. *Simulavit et ipse mire modestiam; imprimisque poeticae studium, tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abjectum: recitavitque etiam publice.* Tac. Hist. iv. 86 speaks of him as *studium litterarum et amorem carminum simulans.* Cf. also Quint. Inst. x. 1. 91. Pliny the elder in the preface to his H. N. speaks also of his erudition. Domitian died in 81, Nerva in 96, and Trajan in 117 A. D. and was succeeded by Hadrian.

There is one circumstance which seems to show that the body of the poem was written under Trajan. It contains an allusion to a saying ascribed to Licinianus, who, having been banished into Sicily and gone to the bar there, opened his first cause by saying, *Quos tibi Fortunae ludos facis! Facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores.* This saying made a sensation in Rome, where it furnished Pliny with the occasion for a whole letter, and Juvenal reproduces it ll. 197, 198

Si Fortuna volet fies de rhetore consul,
Si volet haec eadem fies de consule rhetor.

Now Pliny, who says that this anecdote had just reached Rome, mentions that it was Nerva who allowed Licinianus to settle in Sicily and alludes to Nerva as dead. Consequently the story would suit the time of Trajan. The Satire is referred to the time of Hadrian by Mr. Macleane and Mr. Lewis, for the obvious reason that Hadrian is better known as an encourager of literature than Trajan. On the other hand, it may be noted (1) that the Satire is in Juvenal's early and better manner, (2) that he alludes to Quintilian, who died at an advanced age just after Hadrian's accession, as still in the prime of life, ll. 193, 194, (3) that the allusion to disappointment for unrequited service seems to belong to the time when Juvenal had just retired rather than when he was very old, and (4) that Domitian might with some propriety be regarded as an encourager of literature. Martial v. 19 certainly extols the debt under which the Palatine gods lay to Domitian, and the liberty which characterized his reign: but complains of the difficulty with which the poor man can make friends among the wealthy.

ARGUMENT.

The hopes and possibilities of our studies lie in Caesar alone. None but he has cared to cheer the Latin muses when real poets have had to starve, sell their furniture, and turn bath-keepers, bakers, auctioneers. If you cannot get your bread by writing, you must needs come down to such trades as these; this is better than swearing to falsehoods, as is the way of our new aristocracy, ll. 1–16.

But this sad state is past and gone. Poets may take heart, their prince is seeking out the worthy; to seek other patron were lost time; our rich men praise learning, as children admire peacocks: 'tis their fancy: meantime the age for action and useful work is passing by, and a poet's old age is sad and hungry, ll. 17–35.

The man you call your patron thinks he is a far better poet than you and poses as such: he counts on your pride preventing you from attempting to borrow of a fellow-poet; but he will extend you such contemptuous patronage as lending you a dirty old hall and a claque for your recitations, ll. 36–47. And yet we persevere, ploughing the barren sand! You can't give up the longing to write; 'tis an ingrained unhealthy malady which ages even as you age. But an inspired poet is only made by an easy and cheerful mind. Horace had supped when he cried out Euhoe! A genius must not have ever to be thinking of buying a blanket. Had Vergil been without a slave and a decent roof to his house, the snakes would have fallen from his Fury's head: her trumpet would fail to thrill us: and yet we ask that our poor poet should rise to the height of the buskin of the old time, when his masterpiece is produced at the expense of his dishes and cloak! The proud aristocrat Numitor, has, poor fellow, not the means to aid his friend in need; though he has plenty to keep a mistress and a tame lion: but then a lion, of course, eats less than a poet! Lucanus had wealth and

may be content with fame, but what is fame to poor Serranus and Saleius? Poor Statius is the darling of the town; he brings down the benches with applause, but after all has to starve if Paris will not buy his play. Yes, Paris is the man! He can give away even military posts. Your actors who play popular parts can make praefects and captains! But pity your poet who has to write the parts for these to play. There are no great patrons now: none to reward the pale cheek and the student's fast, ll. 48–97.

But is your historian better paid? He is half ruined by the paper alone, and yet he would get more if he were to read out the public chronicles, ll. 98–104.

Lawyers get just as little for all their fuss and all their lies. The incomes of a hundred lawyers about equal the harvest reaped by a single driver in the circus. After all your roaring and all your arguments before a clown as iudex, you may receive pay in kind, say a flitch of bacon, or some onions, or poor wine. Say you get even an aureus, the attorney gets his share of that. An Aemilius gets the full fee allowed by the law, because he is rich. Nay, it pays to hire fine clothes and rings to plead in, for lavish Rome is most lavish to those that have. You must go to the provinces to practise if you set a high value on your tongue, ll. 105–149.

Do you teach rhetoric? You must have nerves of iron to sit and hear your class murdering tyrants in cadence! 'Tis the same to-day, to morrow and the next day; 'tis the monotony that kills. They all want to learn, but none want to pay, and when you demand the fee, they plead that they have learnt nothing. 'Oh, of course the teacher is in fault, because the boy is a dullard; I can hear his "Hannibal" even now! Ask any sum you please and I'll pay it down if only the boy's father may have to hear what I have had to hear and as often.' So say the teachers and turn in disgust to the bar. But if they will take my advice they will seek some other profession. The music master gets more. He has baths, porticoes, dining-chambers with marble pillars, butlers, cooks. Quintilian though was rich? Yes, but that was not through his fees; he was a lucky man, and a lucky man gets on *quand même*. Most men weary of the teacher's chair. Good were the old times when the teacher was looked on as parent. Nowadays the schoolmaster gets flogged by his own pupils, ll. 215–229.

Your teacher of grammar gets even less: the pedagogue nibbles his morsel off that little, and the paymaster of the rich man's household will take his percentage. You must bargain with him to see how little he will take and how much you can get, like a shopman selling quilts. And you will probably have to go into court before you get anything, ll. 215–230.

But pray be exacting enough, parents! See that every teacher is an Admirable Crichton, and can tell you all the facts of history useful or useless. Ay, and require him to be moral too, and to inculcate good morality into the boys, difficult as it may be; 'and at the end of the

year I'll give my ideal teacher as much as the editor *ludorum* gives as extra prize at the *ludi circenses* to the successful driver,' ll. 230–243.

1. 'Both the hopes *of* poetry and the means *for* pursuing it lie with Caesar.' If the view above noticed is correct, this will refer to Domitian.

studia, used generally for 'liberal arts,' is post-classical. It is used in Mart. i. 101. 1 distinctively of poetry written in honour of Domitian; as in this Satire, l. 17. For the poverty of poets see Friedländer Sitteng, iii. 429 sqq.

3. **respexit,** 'has looked with favour on'; cf. Verg. Ec. i. 28 *Libertas quae sera tamen respexit inertem.* The profession of an author could not have been profitable in an age which recognised no law of copyright. Ovid was begged by his father to lay aside the thought of any such useless pursuit; 'even Homer left nothing,' Trist. iv. 10. 21. Again in the Ars Amatoria, iii. 411 sqq., he complains that the service of the Muses is blamed as learned idleness. The same complaint is uttered by Tacitus, Dial. 9, § 3: even if the poet have dedicated a whole year and passed sleepless nights in producing a poem, he must go round and beg for an audience and hire a room in which to accommodate them. A good *speaker* on the other hand gets honour and pay as well.

4. **balneolum,** were making the experiment of renting a petty bath at some country town like Gabii, or a bakehouse at Rome—pursuits ignoble to any Roman of the old school, but especially to a poet. Pliny, Ep. ii. 17. 26, expressly tells us that there was a street in Laurentum;—*in hoc balnea meritoria tria*; i. e. public baths for which a fee was paid. Both the trades mentioned seem to have been in little repute: the richer people had their baths and bakeries at home; and the public ones would be patronised only by the poorer classes.

6. **praecones.** The *praeco* was at once a public crier, an auctioneer, and a maintainer of order in a public court or meeting. Horace, Ep. i. 7. 56, speaks of their station as proverbially low. Cf. also Mart. iv. 5. 7, v. 56. 11, and Juv. Sat. iii. 33. For their large incomes cf. Fried. i. 312; for those of builders, i. 314.

7. 'Clio turns her back for very hunger on the Muse's spring on Helicon and settles in the auction rooms.' The *atria auctionaria* were private auction rooms; cf. Cicero, de Leg. Agr. i. § 7, who speaks of them as kept by a man of low character; and again, pro Quinct. § 12 he speaks of the *atria Licinia.*

8. **umbra,** the 'poet's grove,' referred to by Mart. ix. 85. 3, and Tac. Dial. 9, § 6; possibly with a further reference to the *vita umbratilis* of the professed student.

9. **ames,** 'you must be content with'—*ἀγαπᾶν δεῖ.* For this use of *amare* cf. Hor. S. i. 10. 60 and Plin. Paneg. xxxi. 4 *Nilus amet alveum suum.*

Machaera. Probably some auctioneer of the day; possibly the name *μάχαιρα* has reference to *cutting up* and distributing the goods at auction, and is meant to recall such words as *sectio* and *sector.*

10. commissa auctio. Variously interpreted. Mayor, following Grangaeus, takes it to be a metaphor from the gladiatorial school. Two gladiators were *commissi*, 'matched' against each other. Cf. Mart. viii. 43. 3 *victores* committe *Venus*, and Juvenal's own use of the word, Sat. i. 162 *Securus licet Aeneam Rutulumque ferocem Committas*:—and this seems the natural interpretation. The expression would thus be equivalent to 'the battle of the auction room.' Others take it as 'the auction goods entrusted by the people to the praeco for sale.' Lewis takes it to mean 'the auction of confiscated goods,' *fisco adiudicatorum*, referring to Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 19, and to the law writers. But, as we have seen, these auction rooms were private, and the sale of confiscated goods would be public.

11. oenophorum, 'a wine jar.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 109 *pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque*; and Persius, Sat. v. 140.

armaria, 'cupboards,' Fr. *armoires*; **cistas,** iii. 206, 'hampers.'

12. Poor productions of poor poets of the day, who wrote on the commonplaces of tragedy. For the story of Alcithoe see Ov. Met. iv. 1 sqq.; for Tereus, Ov. Met. vi. 424 sqq. Martial, xiv. 1, has an epigram on the Saturnalia at which he says he is going to give some verses to be raffled for. Saturn objects that they are poor stuff. The poet rejoins *Vis scribam Thebas, Troiamve malasve Mycenas?* 'You would not wish me to write a Thebaid?'

13. 'Even this is better than perjuring yourself for pay after the manner of our new aristocracy from Asia.' As a thing falls *sub iudicium*, so is it decided *sub iudice*; cf. *caderet sub iudice morum*, Sat. iv. 12. For the character of 'Asiani,' cf. Amm. xvi. 7. 6 (*Eutherius*) *praepositus cubiculi etiam Iulianum aliquoties corrigebat*, Asiaticis coalitum moribus ideoque levem. The senate was largely recruited from the provinces by Vespasian (Sueton. Vespas. c. 9) and in Trajan's time a Moorish grandee, Q. Lucius Quietus, was actually raised to the consulship; this was in 115 A.D. Against Greeks and Orientals the prejudice was stronger than against non-Romans of western extraction. Cf. Sat. iii. 81, also Sat. i. 113. Alexander Severus, a Syrian by birth, was ashamed of his origin and laid claim to Roman lineage (Vit. Alex. Sever. chap. 28 and 44); see Friedländer, 1. 3. pp. 94 and 238 sqq. Cicero, Philipp. iii. 6, § 15, speaks of a woman of Tralles or Ephesus with profound contempt. Cf. also Cic. pro Flacco, the whole of which speech is instructive on the subject; cf. especially chap. 25–27, whence it appears that 'Cappadocian' was a word of reproach. Martial, x. 76, complains that a poet, a genuine Roman by birth, is left to starve: *Civis non Syriaeve Parthiaeve Nec de Cappadocis eques catastis, Sed de plebe Remi, Numaeque verna*; he has *unum Sed magnum vitium, quod est poeta*. Martial, it must be remembered, was an eques himself, Ep. iii. 95.

15. Some editors have deemed this verse to be spurious, alleging (1) that the Cappadoces and Bithyni would be included in the Asiani: (2) because the first syllable of Bithyni appears elsewhere to be long:

but Asia and Bithynia (including Pontus) were two separate Senatorial provinces, while Cilicia and Galatia were separate Imperatorial provinces.

16. 'Those which New Gaul (Galatia) sends over sea in the *catasta*.' (The latter was a large cage or frame in which slaves were exhibited to show them off: it seems to have been worked by some machinery: cf. Stat. Silv. ii 1. 72 *Non te barbaricae versabat turbo catastae.* Tibull. ii. 2. 60 calls it *barbara.* Cf Sat. i. 111 and Mart. x. 76.) In the year 278 certain Gaulish tribes left Brennus and were invited into Asia by Nikomedes of Bithynia, and settled in Gallo-Graecia by Attalus I. about 230 B.C. Cf. Amm. xv. 9. 3, who speaks of the Gauls as *Galatas dictos—ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat.* St. Jerome says that he heard the same language in Phrygia as in Treves. It would thus appear that there were Gaulish settlements all over the Eastern part of Asia Minor. The words of St. Jerome are (Prol. Comment. ii. in Ep. ad Galatas. p. 430): *unum est quod inferimus et promissum in exordio reddidimus, Galatas, excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem habere quam Treviros.* But modern Celtic scholars doubt whether the language heard by Jerome was really Celtic (cf. G. Perrot, De la disparition de la langue gauloise en Galatie, in Revue Celtique, p. 180 sqq.). The passage cited from Luc. Pseudomantis i. § 11 to prove that the language existed in his time merely proves that an impostor received questions bearing on their fortunes from persons speaking Celtic, who may have been true Gauls. Again, it is uncertain whether the language heard by Jerome among the Treviri was really Celtic. Niebuhr (Lectures, ed. Schmitz, ii. p. 189) thinks that St. Jerome heard Gothic spoken in each country.

nudo talo: cf. i. 111 *pedibus albis.*

The impoverished state of some of the genuine Roman equites rendered these an object of patronage to the rich: but the note of contempt on the part of the former class towards the latter is constantly evident: thus Ovid, Trist. iv. 10. 7, speaks of himself as *Si quid id est usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres: Non modo fortunae munere factus eques.* This pride is manifested in inscriptions, cf. Henzen, 6409 *L. Aemil. Pertinaci . . . eq(ues) R(omanus) nat(us)*, &c.

The riches of the *libertini* under the Empire are constantly referred to. Seneca indeed, Ep. 27, 5, actually speaks of them as proverbial; *Calvisius Sabinus nostra memoria fuit dives et patrimonium habebat libertini et ingenium*; their riches were rivalled by their insolence, Sen. Rhet. Contr. ii. p. 97 *Nihil est insolentius novicio divite.* Martial has an epigram, ii. 29, on a *libertinus*, originally a branded slave, but now a senator. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 27 *Quippe late fusum id corpus (libertini) et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus, non aliunde originem trahi.*

17–19. 'But now no true poet who weds eloquent words to tuneful numbers will be forced to go a begging.'

19. laurumque momordit, as did the Delphic priestess. The laurel

is connected from the earliest times with the worship of Apollo; in Homer, Hymn to Apollo, 369, Apollo is represented as uttering his oracles from a laurel tree. The tripod from which the Pythia gave forth her utterances was twined with laurel. Lukian expressly speaks of the Delphic priestess as chewing the bay, bis acc. i. § 792 μασησαμένη τῆς δάφνης: cf. Tib. ii. 5, 63.

20. **hoc agite,** 'attention!' cf. v. 157 and note. Cf. Cic. Tusc. i. § 46 *quibus tamen sentire nihil queat mens, nisi id agat et adsit.* The opposite phrase was *alias res agere.*

21. Martial (i. 5.) has an epigram addressed to the Emperor Domitian requesting him, as censor, not to be too severe upon the epigrammatists' productions; cf. line 3 and 4 *Consuevere iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi* Materiam dicti *nec pudet esse ducem.* Cf. Sen. ad Polyb. Consolatio, xxvi (*Caesar*) *tibi optime formandi condendique res gestas et* materiam *dabit et exemplum. Materia* then answers to our expression 'a field.' **Dux** is used for the emperor frequently by Martial and Statius: see Friedländer's note to Mart. loc. citat.

23. 'And if with this view the pages of your saffron-coloured notebook are being filled by you.' **membrana** = *pugillares membranacei*, 'leaves of parchment bound up in wooden boards or binding.' The books were made of papyrus-stalk rolled flat. This formed a strip about three inches wide and was pasted into a roll about six feet long. The writing was in columns, and the whole book, when finished, was rolled upon a stick with a boss protruding at either end. The page was commonly written only upon one side; the other side was stained yellow with oil of juniper (*cedro*), see Owen, Tristia, Appendix to Book I. p. 103; this explains the meaning of *croceae.* Munro, in Mayor, reading *crocea tabella*, in either case takes the passage to mean 'the parchment is filled by its yellow page,' i. e. by one page getting filled after another, the quaternion of parchment is filled. **tabella** will mean a 'page' in our sense of the word. In this way it is used by Martial, i. 3. 3 *quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis.* Cf. Petronius, § 115 *invenimus Eumolpum sedentem membranaeque ingenti versus ingerentem.*

24. **lignorum aliquid.** For the construction cf. *quidquam humani*, Livy, v. 3.

25. **Veneris marito,** Vulcan, the god of fire. It is characteristic, as we have seen, of Juvenal, to denote persons or deities by a description. This would recall Horace, Sat. i. 5. 74 and Catull. xxxvi. 7 sq. There is an inscription, 5688 Henzen, which seems to be *Volcano et Vene.*

Telesinus, used also in Martial, vi. 50, of a poor man, who, however, became rich by foul means, as by becoming a *conscius* (cf. Juv. Sat. iii. 49), and appears as a stingy moneylender, iii. 40, and xii. 25.

26. **pertunde,** 'get them eaten to powder.' For **tinea** cf. Horace Ep. i. 20. 12 *tineas pasces taciturnus inertes.*

27. **calamos.** The Roman pens were made from Egyptian reeds and nibbed much as ours are. **vigilata proelia,** 'the battle pieces which have cost you your sleep.' *Vigilare* in the active is followed by a

quasi cognate accusative, like *olere* in the phrase *olere lanternam*. Cf. Verg. Georg. i. 313 and Ov. Fast. iv. 109 *vigilatum carmen*.

28. **cella,** 'the poor man's attic.' Mart. iii. 30 *unde tibi togula* est et fuscae *pensio cellae?* Cf. also Mart. vii. 20. 20, where the *cella* is described as *sublimis*, itself being up two hundred steps. These lines are copied by Ben Jonson, Poetaster, Apol. Dialogue.

29. **venias.** 'That you may come forward a worthy recipient of the ivy and of the meagre image,' i. e. that you may be worthy that your image should be set up in Augustus' Palatine library; but, if it is an exact copy, it will be emaciated. For the custom of crowning the busts of poets in the Palatine library with ivy cf. *doctarum hederae praemia frontium* Hor. C. i. 1. 29 and Martial, i. 76, who, in exhorting Valerius Flaccus to give up poetry and turn lawyer, says (line 7): *Quid possunt* hederae *Bacchi dare*. Cf. also Propert. iv. 1. 62. **macra** is used with a *double entente*, 'unremunerative,' and 'thin.'

32. **Iunonis avem,** 'the peacock.' Ov. Met. xv. 385 *Iunonis volucrem quae cauda sidera portat*.

sed defluit aetas. This may be a reminiscence of his own fortunes: 'the life that could endure the sea, the helmet, or the spade, is ebbing away.'

34. **tunc,** i. e. 'as one realizes this.' 'Then old age, at once poetical and penniless, loathes the Muse which inspired it.' **se odit:** so Plaut. Bacch. iii. 3. 13 *Iam aderit tempus cum sese etiam ipse oderit*.

35. **facundus** is not *regularly* applied to poets until the age of Silver Latinity: the fact of Martial's addressing Juvenal, vii. 91, as *facunde Iuvenalis* has been cited to prove that he only knew of Juvenal as an orator: but Martial speaks of *facundi versus* xii. 43. 1; and even Horace applies *facundia* to a poet A. P. 41.

For **Terpsichoren odit** cf. Propert. iv. 1. 133, who says that he gave up oratory for poetry at the dictation of Apollo; Martial, vi. 82, says he wore a bad *lacerna* because he was a bad poet.

36. **artes.** 'Now hear the rich man's tricks. To avoid subscribing to you, he poses as a fellow-poet and trusts to the maxim *Clericus clericum non decimat*, "dog does not eat dog."'

37. 'Whom you worship, deserting the temple of the Muses and of Apollo'; i. e. before whom you have chosen to give your recitations rather than in the place appointed for the purpose. Schol. Cruq. on Horace, Sat. i. 10. 38, expressly states that the poets were accustomed to assemble and to recite here before the critical Tarpa. The temple of Apollo was one of the magnificent group of buildings which adorned the Palatine. They were approached by a main entrance or *propylaea*, and comprised the portico surrounding the temple of Apollo, the temple itself, the Greek and Latin libraries, the shrine of Vesta, and the imperial residence. The top of the central arch of the state entrance was crowned by a group by Lysias, a chariot drawn by four horses. The peristyle contained fifty-two fluted columns of *giallo antico*. Between the columns stood statues of the Danaids, alternating with statues of the sons of Aegyptus,

Ovid, Trist. iii. 1. 62. On the west side of the portico was the library of Apollo, in two sections, the Greek and the Latin, with a reading-hall between them large enough to hold the whole senate. The temple of Apollo stood in the centre of the square portico: it was built entirely of Carrara marble (Ovid, Trist. iii. 1. 60). On the top of the pediment the chariot of Apollo, of gilt bronze, shone under the rays of the sun. The temple was begun by Augustus in B. C. 37, and dedicated B. C. 28 as a mark of the emperor's gratitude to Apollo, who had given him the victory at Actium. On the dedication of the temple, Horace wrote Car. i. 31 *Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem Vates*: cf. Prop. ii. 23 (ed. Bruckhusius). See Lanciani, p. 114 sqq., and Owen's notes to Ovid, Tristia iii. 1. 59 and 62.

38. 'He gives the palm to Homer over himself, only because Homer wrote 1000 years before him'; the very praise which Horace refused to acknowledge as reasonable, Ep. ii. 1. 20 sqq. Homer's Iliad is spoken of as the *sacrum carmen* Petron. Priap. 67. 17.

39. 'So entirely does he pose as your fellow-poet, that he lends you at a pinch a room wherein to recite.'

40. Maculonis. This is the reading of the MSS. and must mean 'he lends you Maculo's house,' which may have been the house of one of his own clients, whom he persuades to lend it for the purpose, not wishing to lend his own; or may have been a house called after the name of a former owner, like Pedo's, Mart. x. 19. 10. Cf. also such instances as *domus Pompeiana*, &c. Capitol. Gord. 2 (quoted by Lewis on Sat. iii. 212). Heinrich and others read *maculosas*, 'where the damp comes out in patches.'

41. longe ferrata, possibly 'yon house which has been for long barred up,' *longe* being used for *diu*, as in Hor. Car. ii. 20. 3 *Neque in terris morabor Longius*. But Martial's use of the word, iii. 58. 51, leads us to think that the meaning is 'at a distance,' *Rus hoc vocari debet, an domus* longe: cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 4. 73; i. e. a house in town away from the populous quarters. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 13 *Tiberinaque longe Ostia*, i. e. 'lying far away': cf. Draeger, Histor. Synt. i². 131 sqq.

42. 'The door of which looks like the gate of a beleaguered town; it has been so closely barred up.'

43. 'He is wide awake enough to make you a present of the use of his freedmen as claqueurs, for they cost him nothing, and he will make his courtiers too join the claque. They will be seated at the end of the rows so as to give the signal.'

44. disponere, i. e. to arrange and drill the claqueurs: cf. Suet. Nero § 20, who tells us that Nero, charmed with the regulated applause of the Alexandrines, summoned several from that city. In addition, he had several young men of equestrian rank and more than five thousand stout young men of the plebs, divided into *factiones* and taught the different methods of applauding, in order that they might devote special attention to applaud him. Xiphil. 61. 20 adds that the rest of the audience, whether they approved or not, were obliged to shout assent.

Cf. Tac. Ann. 16. 4 *Et plebs quidem ... personabat* certis modis plausuque composito.

45. 'Not one of your millionaires will give the rent of the ground-floor seats, or of the tiers of benches rising behind, supported on beams, all hired.' See Tac. Dial. 9 for the description of how Bassus, after labouring for an entire year at a great poem, had to pay for getting it known: *Nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit, et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.*

47. 'Or of the orchestra which is laid out with chairs—to be returned.' The orchestra, with the Greeks, was occupied by the chorus; with the Romans, who had no chorus, it was the seat of honour for magistrates and senators. In the orchestra the rich placed luxurious *cathedrae* instead of benches; cf. Mart. i. 76. 13–14

Illic aera sonant: at circum pulpita nostra
Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant.

'At the bar money jingles; but around our reciting-desks and fruitless armchairs kisses cluck, and that is all!'

48. **hoc agimus,** 'we persevere (v. 20) and score furrows in thin dusty soil and ply the sand with profitless plough.' To sow or plant sand was proverbial. Ovid, Heroid. v. 115 *quid harenae semina mandas?* So Propertius *sterili semina ponit humo* ii. 11. 2.

50. **nam si.** 'Our efforts are vain, for even should a man tear himself away from his degrading slavery, still custom holds us in his halter.' **si discedas ... tenet.** The present subjunctive in conditional sentences (in *protasis*) is followed very commonly by the future present; cf. *si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae* Hor. Car. iii. 3. 7–8 (cf. Sonnenschein's Latin Syntax, § 501). In this case the future might have been used in the *apodosis*: the bane of custom enthrals you still, i. e. will enthral you, or will be found to enthral you.

52. **cacoethes,** 'a malignant malady, which is now become chronic in your diseased heart.' A word used by Latin and Greek medical writers in a physical sense; here used metaphysically: cf. Cato ap. A. Gell. i. 15, § 9 *nunquam tacet quem* morbus *tenet loquendi.* So Horace, Sat. ii. 3. 28 sq., speaks of a disease passing from one organ of the body into another, the madness passing *in cor.*

53. 'Scribblers, then, exist as the result of an unhealthy impulse:—but a true bard (**vatem**) you cannot have without the freedom from care which a competence gives.'

publica, 'common place,' such as all may claim to share. Cf. Ov. Art. Am. iii. 480 *sermonis publica forma placet.*

vena: see Hor. A. P. 409. Cf. Hor. *ingeni benigna vena* Car. ii. 18. 10: it is a metaphor from veins of ore.

54. **expositum,** 'hackneyed,' 'long since on view.' So Quintilian, x. 5. 11, uses it of 'well-known,' 'trite.'

deducere, a metaphor from spinning, 'to draw out.' So Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 225, where *tenui deducta poemata filo* seem opposed to serious or elaborated verses. Similarly *ducere* is used of beating out metals by

Vergil, Aen. vii. 634: but the word, as applied to poetry, had passed into a commonplace for 'light,' 'flimsy'; and it is probable that the origin of the metaphor from spinning would be scarcely thought of. Cf. Hor. A. P. 59 *licuit semperque licebit Signatum praesente nota producere* (al. *procudere*) *nomen.* Diog. Laert. vii. 18, says that Zeno used to compare the refined language of perfect speakers to Alexandrian coinage, which was pleasing indeed to look at, but none the more intrinsically valuable on that account. He would liken, less artistically, perfect language to the Attic *tetradrachmi* which were rough and unfinished, but which weighed heavier than the more highly finished object.

55. **communi moneta.** *Moneta*, properly applied to the temple of Juno Moneta, whence our word 'mint,' German 'Münze.' Here it is used of the 'stamp' on the coin. **triviale,** lit. 'such as might be found in any cross-way,' hence 'commonplace': cf. Verg. Ec. iii. 26 *Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas . . . miserum disperdere carmen.*

56. Cf. Martial, viii. 56. 5 *Sint Maecenates non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.*

57. **acerbi.** Adjectives are in Silver Latinity used with increasing frequency as substantives, especially those expressing abstract ideas, such as *honestum, iustum, immensum.*

58. **cupidus silvarum.** Cf. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 9 and 12, where *nemora* and *luci* are spoken of as dear to poets Lewis). Quintil. x. 3. 22 denies that *nemora* and *silvae*, as some contend, are the best places for study. Vergil's wish was *Flumina amem silvasque inglorius!* G. ii. 486. Cf. Ovid's Tristia *passim*, but especially i. 1. sqq., and Hor. C. iv. 3. 10, Ep. ii. 2. 77.

59. The poet is commonly spoken of as the *sacerdos* of the Pierides, as in Ovid, Trist. iii. 2. 4: cf. Hor. C. iii. 1. 3.

60. 'Cheerless poverty,'—for, as Goethe says, 'Lust und Liebe sind die Fittige Zu grossen Thaten,' Iph. auf Taur. Act ii. Sc. 1.

61. Cf. the remarks assigned to Ovid Senior, in Ben Jonson's Poetaster, Act i. Sc. 1. **Nocte dieque:** cf. Ov. Trist. iii. 8. 27 *Ut tetigi Pontum vexant* insomnia. Horace himself tells us that poverty was the cause that drove him to verse writing, Ep. ii. 2. 50 sqq.; though he adds that he is so well off that it would be madness to make poetry when one might repose. So too Petr. § 83 *Sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis*, and ib. '*quare ergo*' *inquis* '*tam male vestitus es?*' *propter hoc ipsum. Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit*: cf. also ib. § 137 *Quisquis habet nummos secura navigat aura.*

62. **Euhoe.** The allusion is to Hor. Car. ii. 19. 5.

64. **dominis Cirrae.** 'Apollo and Bacchus.' Cirra (Mart. i. 76. 11) was the port of Delphi, Nysa a village near Helicon, where Bacchus was said to have been born.

feruntur, 'career free,' as in a Bacchanalian revel.

66. 'To write an epic in the grand style, a poet must possess grand thoughts such as are inconsistent with poverty. 'Tis the task of a great

soul, and not of one bewildered about the purchase of a blanket, to feed one's eyes on the chariot and horses and faces of the gods.'

68. Rutulum, Turnus. The **Erinys** is Alecto, whom Juno sent to goad Turnus to madness. See Verg. Aen. vii. 323 sq.

69. With these lines should be compared Mart. viii. 56, where the epigrammatist complains of the want of patrons of letters at Rome. Once *visit Tuscus eques* (l. 9) *paupertatemque malignam Reppulit. . . . Protinus Italiam concepit et arma virumque Qui modo vix culicem fleverat ore rudi* (19–20).

70. caderent. We should have expected *cecidissent*, but the mind is made to connect the present and the past. 'If Vergil were alive and starving, the hydras would fall.' Several similar instances are given by Madvig, § 347. Cf. also Cic. pro Cluent. § 80 *at tum si dicerem non audirer*, 'if I were had been speaking at the time I am referring to as I speak now, I should not have been listened to'; cf. also Hor. Car. iv. 6. 16, where *falleret* would naturally be *fefellisset*. See Sonnenschein's Lat. Syntax, § 355, obs. 2; cf. also Sat. iv. 85.

71. surda, the epithet applicable to the sense of the hearer, is transferred to the trumpet; cf. the French *un bruit sourd*. The *occasional* use of such words in a transferred sense comes to be *usual*: cf. the use of *dulcis* and *sweet* transferred from the sense of taste to that of hearing.

72. 'Can we ask that Rubrenus (some poetaster of the day) should be equal to the great tragedians of old, when his Atreus, by the cost of its production, put his very plates and cloak in pawn?'

74. Numitor; a Roman of family. 'He has nothing for his friend, but can buy a lion perfectly **iam**) tamed.' Mayor quotes, on the taming of lions, Pliny, H. N. viii. 21. Cf. too Seneca, de Ira, ii. 31, § 5.

76. One of the regular sights in the circus was the show of strange and tame animals of all descriptions (see Friedländer ii. p. 392 sqq.) Seneca, Ep xli. 6 mentions a lion with its mane gilded. Plutarch, Ant. 9, states that Mark Antony rode in a car drawn by tame lions. Martial i. 104 has an epigram upon the trained beasts in the amphitheatre, among which he mentions, line 13, *Venatus humiles leonum*, who are taught to catch hares before the spectators.

78. nimirum. '*No doubt* the poet costs more to keep than the lion.'

79. 'A Lucan, who was rich, may well be content with poetical fame; he had a marble villa and gardens.' This refers to M. Annaeus Lucanus, nephew of Seneca, who inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a 'procurator' or imperial agent for the collection of revenues. Martial has three consecutive epigrams, vii. 21, 22, 23 on Lucan's birth and death For his execution by order of Nero see Tac. Ann. xv. 49. Suetonius, in his life of Lucan, expressly tells us that he had heard his poems read. He is classed by Tacitus, Dial. c. 20, with Vergil and Horace.

iaceat, 'lounge' (on a *lectus*): cf. Horace, S. i. 4. 133 *neque enim quum porticus aut me Excepit lectus desum mihi.*

80. **marmoreis,** 'marble-decked,' referring to the marble villa and statues in the grounds. *Metellus Macedonicus primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore molitus vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit,* Vell. i. 2.

Serranus, mentioned by Mart. iv. 37. 3 as one of a list of persons heavily in debt, and as an epic poet by Quintil. x. 1. § 89. He died prematurely, but his works showed much promise and taste.

Saleio. Saleius Bassus, Tac. Dial. 5 *Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum, tum absolutissimum poetam.* **tenuis** must here mean 'poor'; though Mart. x. 103. 5 applies the epithet to Catullus in the sense of 'delicate.' Tac. Dial. 10 *Quotusquisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est: ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset.*

81. Montaigne, in his essay on Glory, quotes this passage, and works out the thought.

83. Papinius **Statius.** The court poet of Domitian, popular alike with those in power and with the people. Still, even he had to fly from Rome and retire to Naples, his native city. He used to recite his poems before publishing them, as was the custom of those days. Statius himself, Silv. iv. 7. 26, tells us that the Thebais occupied him twelve years in its composition. Cf. Silv. v. 3. 215–216, where he says, addressing his father, *qualis eras, Latios quotiens ego carmine patres Mulcerem!*

84. **promisit diem,** 'fixed a day for recitation so that his friends might be present to criticize the poem on its appearance.' References to this custom are common, especially in Pliny's letters: cf. especially Ep. i. 13, § 4 *nunc otiosissimus quisque multo ante rogatus et identidem, admonitus aut non venit, aut si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdidisse.*

86. **fregit subsellia.** Cf. i. 13. 'He has brought down the benches by the energy of his recitation.'

87. **Agave.** The text of the Agave, a play founded on the myth of the sister of Semele, belonging to the Bacchic mythology. **intactam,** 'virgin,' i. e. before it has been exhibited. **Paridi.** The tradition is constant that Juvenal was exiled for some verses which he had written against the pantomimus Paris, a favourite of Domitian during the commencement of his reign, but afterwards executed in the open street by the command of the Emperor. One life indeed, viz. that published by Mommsen from a Codex Vaticanus, ascribes the sentence of exile to Claudius Nero, and consequently implies that the *histrio* in question must have been the Paris of Nero's reign (Suet. Ner. 54, Tac. Ann. xiii. 19. 27, Dig. xii. 4. 3, § 5, D. Cass. lxiii. 18)[1]. But most of the lives agree that the Paris in question was the *histrio* mentioned by

[1] See Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 473.

Suet. Dom. §§ 3, 10, who in the early part of Domitian's reign intrigued with the Empress Augusta, whom Domitian consequently divorced, and, in consequence of the popular dissatisfaction, restored to her rights. Domitian afterwards put to death a pupil of Paris on account of a fancied resemblance to his master. Martial wrote his Epitaph, Ep. xi. 13, in which he calls him (l. 3) *urbis deliciae salesque Nili*. His real name was Latinus; he took the name Paris according to the usual custom among the Romans, viz. that later artists adopted the name of celebrated predecessors (see Fried. vol. ii. p. 623 sq., who enumerates five different actors who each bore the name of Paris; viz. the two mentioned, two others, and one who occurs in the biography of L. Verus, c. 8 *histriones eduxit e Syria, quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem* Paridis *nomine nuncupavit*). The murder of Domitian was connected with the guilty passion of the Empress for either this or some other *histrio*. The actor Paris was put to death by Domitian in 83 A. D.: so that the exile of the poet must be placed in or before that date. There is no reason to suppose that the exile was of long duration: the introduction to the Satire might well have been written either in a spirit of gratitude to an emperor who had shown clemency to the poet, or have been composed previous to the banishment.

There is a wonderful consensus in the lives of the scholiasts cited by Jahn, to the effect that these words were the cause of the poet's banishment, *erat tum in deliciis aulae histrio . . . statim per honorem militiolae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema Aegypti parte tendentis*. It seems probable that the lines of Sidonius Apollinaris, Carm. ix. 270–275, have reference to this fact—

Non qui tempore Caesaris secundi
Aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu,
Nec qui consimili deinde casu
Ad vulgi tenuem strepentis aurem
Irati fuit histrionis exsul.

Friedländer assumes the truth of the sixth Life of those published by Jahn, asserting that Juvenal was banished under Trajan, with whom the actor Pylades had great influence.

88. 'Your actor, too, can give commissions in the army.' The prefects of a cohort, or tribunes of a legion, were originally soldiers who had served for some years. But Augustus introduced the practice of giving direct commissions to young men of good family, who began their military service with the military tribuneship and were called *tribuni laticlavii*. The number of aspirants to these posts was very great, so that after six months' service, *tribunatus semestris*, they retired into private life with the rank of *equites*. **semenstri auro** then will mean 'the golden knight's ring gained by merely six months' service.'

91. 'Do you care to pay court to great men like Camerinus of the *gens Sulpicia* (viii. 38), or to Barea Soranus (iii. 116)?'

93. 'Still, you need bear no malice against a poet who writes for ballet dancers, for the great patrons of old are for ever gone.' **Haud** commonly negatives a single word, and is more commonly used with adjectives and adverbs than with verbs. It seems in early Latin to have formed an integral part of the word with which it was connected, like the Greek privative particle α. See Sigismund *Dissertatio de* haud *negationis apud priscos scriptores usu* (Jena, 1883).

94. **Maecenas,** Vergil's patron, has become proverbial for any rich patron of literary men; cf. Mart. viii. 56. 5 *Sint Maecenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.*

Proculeius, a Roman knight mentioned by Horace, Car. ii. 2. 5, as a model of generosity towards his brothers.

95. Paulus **Fabius** Maximus, Ovid's patron, to whom he addresses Ep. ex Ponto i. 2.

Cotta, another patron of Ovid's, Ep. ex Ponto ii. 8.

Lentulus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who procured Cicero's recall from exile, B.C. 57, or Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus; cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 44.

97. 'They found their profit in looking sallow like a poet, and posing as abstainers through the revels of December.' For **pallere** cf. Persius i. 26. Cf. Apul. Apolog. § 406 *cui praeter formae mediocritatem continuatio etiam liberati lateris omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, sucum exsorbet, colorem obliterat, vigorem debilitat.* Martial vii. 4 has an epigram on a man who grew pale from illness, and then wrote verses, hoping that his colour would be set down to hard study; cf. Hor. Ep i. 19. 18 *Quod si Pallerem casu biberent* exsangue *cuminum.* The Saturnalia began on the seventeenth of December.

98. 'Possibly the historian's profession is better paid, for he has a more practical aim than the poet—nay, his subject covers more ground and uses up more brain power.'

100. 'Historians, one and all, see their thousandth page topping the pile and scorning limits, and growing into expense from the reckless amount of papyrus used.' For **surgit** cf. Ovid, Amores i. 1. 17 *Cum bene surrexit versu nova pagina primo.* So Martial xiii. 1. 3, addressing his book of Xenia, says *Perdite Niliacas, Musae, mea damna papyros,* and in ii. 1 he says it is one great advantage of a *succinctus liber* that less paper is wasted in it. Owing to the expense of parchment and papyrus, books were copied in small characters, and epitomes, such as those of Florus, took the place of regular histories. See Mayor's note. Cf. Sen. de Ira ii. § 26 *librum minutioribus litteris scriptum saepe proiecimus.* For the passion for making epitomes which arose in the Romans in the first century of the empire (of which the Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius is a specimen), see Nettleship's Essays in Latin Literature, p. 248 sqq.

The word **pagina,** from the root *pag*, found in *com-pag o*—πήγνυμι, &c., denotes the narrow strips of the fine bark of the Egyptian papyrus, glued together, which were then termed *paginae* or *schedae.* The width

and length of these rolls varied. A roll of Egyptian papyrus found at Herculaneum, containing a fragment of the Iliad, is eight feet long and ten inches broad. See Becker's Gallus p. 326 English trans.

101. damnosa. So much care was expended on the preparation of the papyrus by pressing and bleaching that a thousand pages would have cost a considerable sum—we might construe 'grows into money.' As each *pagina* was affixed to the end of the roll it increased the bulk of the roll and swelled itself.

102. operum lex. 'The artistic law of their production.'

104. acta, the *acta diurna* ii. 136. 'Were you to read out the daily gazette, you would get more than if you were to compose a treatise on the great facts of history.' In Petronius 53 there is an *actuarius* who, at Trimalchio's supper, *tamquam urbis acta recitavit*: the *acta diurna* are constantly appealed to as authorities by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny the younger. **legenti** is to be resolved into *si quis legeret*; in Greek we should expect the participle with *ἄν*.

105. 'Ay,' says the enemy of the historians, 'but they are a useless lot, who like their sofa and a cloistered life,' Cicero's *vita umbratilis* Tusc. ii. § 27. 'Then,' says Juvenal, 'let us take the case of a most practical profession, that of the lawyers, and see if they are better paid.' The lawyers described by Juvenal here are the poorest and most worthless. The regular *causidici* were members of what was considered a very honourable profession, which opened the doors to the highest honours and wealth. Their friendship was much sought after; and their profession is repeatedly referred to as a lucrative one: cf. Martial i. 17, ii. 30, &c. Martial summed up for the bar against poetry—

> *Quid tibi cum Cirra? quid cum Permesside lympha?*
> *Romanum proprius divitiusque forum est.*
> *Illic aera sonant: at circum pulpita nostra*
> *Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant* (i. 76. 11–14.).

Eloquence was the one thing needful, not knowledge of law cf. Quintil. xii. 3, : the *pragmatici* had to instruct the advocates in this: the pay of the latter seems to have been but small; Martial xii. 72. 4. See Friedländer I. iii. 333.

106. praestent, 'stand them in.' Quintilian (xii. 7, §§ 8 12) expressly states that *causidici* may receive fees, but they must be moderate and looked on as an *honorarium* and not as ordinary pay. Even in Ammian's time the position of judges and lawyers is said to be superior in Persia to that which they occupy in Rome, Bk. xxiii. 6. 82 *ad iudicandum usu rerum spectati destinantur et integri, parum alienis consiliis indigentes, unde nostram consuetudinem rident, quae interdum facundos iurisque publici peritissimos post indoctorum conlocat terga.*

107. libelli. 'Their briefs, which always accompany them.' The **causidici** were the pleaders in civil cases before the *centumviri*; the criminal cases came before the senate.

108. ipsi. 'They are inclined enough of themselves to talk big (about their fees), but especially if any chance creditor of their own is

by to listen to them; or if one more really interested nudges them who comes to sue with a big ledger for a doubtful debt.' The first (creditor) might dun, and so it is worth while to talk big to him: the second (a possible client) may need his services, and so it is worth while to talk big about his fees, so that he may get a bigger fee out of the prospective litigant.

magna sonant. For this adverbial use of the accusative cf. Amm. xxiii. 6. 80 of the Persians, *insanumque loquentes et ferum.*

110. 'Who comes to sue on a disputed debt with a large ledger (possibly containing many names of other debtors).' Entry in the ledger before witnesses was the legal proof of debt: cf. Cicero, ad Fam. ix. 10. 1. Cf. also a note by Long on Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 38.

111. conspuitur. His breast is slobbered over, thanks to his impetuosity. Quintilian xi. 3, § 56 lays it down as a vice in oratory, *tussire et exspuere crebro, et ab imo pulmone pituitam trochleis adducere, et oris umore proximos spargere*, &c. This seems all that is meant. Others have taken it as 'Then they tell greater lies than ever, and spit to avert the punishment.' It was usual to spit three times to avoid this *fascinum*. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxviii. 7; Tib. i. 5. 54; Luc. Nav. 15 *ὑπερμαξᾷς γε καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον οὐ πτύεις*: Plaut. Asin. i. 1. 26; Theoc. ii. 62; Tylor, Primitive Man, vol. ii. pp. 397 and 400. Cf. Petron. § 74, Trimalchio reproaches Fortunata, who *inflat se tanquam rana, et in sinum suum conspuit*; merely in this case a sign of unhealthy pride.

113. causidicorum. For the evil renown of some *causidici* cf. Sen. Apocol. 7; Claudius is made to say to Hercules *Tu scis quantum illic (Tiburi ante templum tuum) miseriarum tulerim, cum causidicos audirem diem et noctem, in quos si incidisses . . . maluisses cloacas Augeae purgare*: Ov. Amor. i. 10. 39 *Turpe, reos empta miseros defendere lingua.*

114. **Lacerta,** the *auriga* of 'the red.' He refers to one of the 'factions' in the circus, of which there were four—the *albata*, *russata*, *veneta*, and *prasina*: the white, the red, the blue, and the green. The Roman people interested themselves for the success of one or other of these factions, much as an English crowd would do for a 'stable' in modern times. As each faction endeavoured to secure for itself the most competent *aurigae*, the latter succeeded in amassing sometimes enormous fortunes. Scorpus, the celebrated charioteer of Domitian, was presented with fifteen purses of gold in one hour. Mart. x. 74. And Martial again has an epigram, iv. 67, on a *praetor* who declines to make up the *census equestris* for his client on the ground that he has to give large sums of money to charioteers to pay for equestrian statues to be erected in their honour. Libanius (ed. Reiske ii. 190. 12, quoted by Friedländer ii. p. 327) cites *ἡνιόχων πλοῦτοι* as proverbial. Vopisc. Aur. 15, says 'that he had seen whole patrimonies lavished in presents to these *aurigae*': *cum darentur tunicae subsericae, lineae paragaudae darentur, etiam equi, ingemiscentibus frugi hominibus.* See Friedländer, ii. p. 328, note. The most popular factions during the early empire were the blue and the green, especially the latter. The reading

Lacertae, though that of inferior MSS., is adopted from the inscription on a lamp given by Henzen, Bull. d. Inst. Arch. 1861, 8 March. Probably the name Lacerta (as we have seen in the case of Paris), became commonly adopted, partly no doubt owing to the Roman feeling that Fortune favoured certain names.

115. This is a parody on Ovid, Met. xiii. 1–2, where Ajax rises to assert his claim as against Ulysses to the arms of Achilles: 'You differ, however, from Ovid's Ajax in that you turn pale.' For a similar parody of a classical author cf. Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 1 *Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti*, &c.

116. 'You have to act as advocate for one who is claimed as a slave: Bumpkin is judge': Quint. iv. 2, § 45. Cf. also the passage from Ammian, quoted on l. 106. Bumpkin is humorously personified: cf. Testamentum Porcelli l. 10 *Porcellus comprehenditur Clibanato et Piperato consulibus*, 'under consuls Baker and Pepper.' As commonly in civil suits this case were conducted before a single iudex and not a court or *iudicium*. For the collocation of the words cf. *mulio consul* viii. 148. The passage is made more pointed if it be remembered that Bubulcus was one of the standing characters in the Atellana, like Pappus. These appeared in different comical situations; thus Bubulcus appears as *Cerdo*; here as *iudex*, Nettleship, Ess. p. 65. After the changes introduced by Augustus Suet. Aug. 32) it appears that the post of *iudex* was thought rather a burden than an honour.

118. Hence we see that lawyers who had won a case used to deck their house doors with evergreens. This lawyer lives in lodgings and has only his staircase to deck. Mart. has an epigram, vii. 28, on sending his book to Fuscus, a successful lawyer, and expresses his hope *Sic fora mirentur, sic te palatia laudent, Excolat et geminas plurima palma fores*. Ammian, xxx. 4. 6, expressly tells us that *Scaevolae . . . civilibus stipendiorum officiis floruerunt, laureasque fori occupantes*, &c.

119. **petasunculus,** dim. of *petaso*, 'the pestle' of bacon: from Martial, xiii. 55, we see that it was one of the usual presents sent to strangers and guests. The *petaso* was eaten fresh: if rusty it was looked upon with disgust; cf. Mart. iii. 76. 6. This pestle is undersized (such is the force of the diminutive) and rusty (*siccus*) as well. Cf. also Pers. iii. 75, who says that the Marsian client paid in pepper and hams. Cf. too Martial iv. 46, where a second-rate lawyer is congratulated on the presents which he had received from his clients. They mostly consist of articles of food, such as sausages, onions, pepper, a few olives, cheese, &c.

120. **Maurorum epimenia.** 'The rations of negroes, Moorish slaves.' **bulbi,** probably some kind of 'onion,' but old and tough, such as was given to slaves.

121. 'Wine which came *down* the Tiber,' such as the *vile Sabinum* Hor. C. i. 20. 1—not imported from S. Italy, whence came the best wine —'he will give you full five flagons of that.'

122. The whole trial entails four *actiones*. The **aureus** = 100 sesterces.

123. 'From this the attorney's fees have to come off by the covenant.' The **pragmatici** were men whose business it was to be well versed in the law to explain it to the pleaders. They were not allowed to speak in court. Cf. Quint. iii. 6. 59. But the *locus classicus* as to the ignorance of law of the *causidici* and their reliance on the *pragmatici* for facts and arguments is Quintil. xii. 3. 1 sqq., which should be carefully read in connection with this passage.

124. 'An **Aemilius,** a man of family and wealth, will get the full fee.'

quantum licet is explained by Tac. Ann. xi. 5. The scandal of advocates selling their own client had reached such a pitch that the senate under Claudius demanded that the *lex Cincia* should be revived, which forbade any advocate taking fees on any consideration. Claudius allowed them to take ten sestertia or 100 aurei, but no more.

et, 'and yet.' So used in Silver Latinity. Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 38 *reduxit in castra turbidos* et *nihil ausos*: Petr. § 77 *ad summam Scaurus cum huc venit, nusquam maluit hospitari,* et *habet ad mare paternum hospitium.* And Petron. 34, Trimalchio says, *heri non tam bonum posui* et *multo honestiores cenabant*: 'yesterday I did not place such good wine on the table, *and yet* there were more honourable guests present.'

125. enim. 'Ay, for he has triumphal effigies of chariots in his court-yard, and a statue of himself practising fighting with one eye shut.' Cf. Mart. ix. 68. 5–6, who, in abusing a schoolmaster for the noise made by his boys, says—

Tam grave percussis incudibus aera resultant
Causidico medium cum faber aptat equum.

Martial would hardly have hit upon this illustration had not the practice been common. The chariots are those of his conquering ancestors: the statue is of himself. The **vestibulum** is explained in Becker's Gallus, p. 237–9, to be a vacant space towards the street and before the house, and enclosed on three sides by the middle main building where the *ianua* was, and by the two wings projecting into the street. Rich s. v. gives an illustration from an ancient Roman fresco painting. The word perhaps comes from *ve* (connected with the root *dva* seen in *duo* and *dubius,* and denoting *separation*) and *stabulum.*

129. 'And thus, by affectation of wealth and show, tho poorer lawyers go bankrupt.' **conturbare,** sc. *rationes.* **deficit,** 'fails.'

Pedo, an unknown pleader. **Matho,** i. 32.

130. Tongilii. Cf. Mart. ii. 40, who describes him as a glutton.

rhinocerote, an oil-flask of rhinoceros-horn, such as the *gutus corneus* described by Martial xiv. 52 *gestavit modo fronte me iuvencus Verum rhinocerota me putabas.*

131. et vexat, 'and mobs the baths with the crowd of his dirty retainers' (Mayor). For a description of the public baths see Lanciani, p. 92 sqq. Martial iii. 36. 5–6 complains that he as a client had to escort his patron Fabianus to *his* baths whilst he himself has to use others. For the use of *vexat* cf. Mart. ix. 59. 2 *Hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes*;

i. e. 'the crowd hustles the wares.' Cf. Petron. § 73 *Nihil melius esse dicebat quam sine turba lavari.*

132. The **Maedi** were Thracians from Maedica in N. Macedonia, employed as palanquin bearers. For the picture of the fussy haughtiness of the party cf. Horace Ep. i. 6. 59 *servos | differtum transire forum populumque iubebat.*

133. See Mart. ix. 60 for a description of a man who went about all day inspecting costly slaves and *murrina*: and ended by buying a couple of cups for an *as*, and taking them home himself.

murrina. Probably 'ornaments and bowls' made of *agate*, 'such as is still boiled at Baroach in Bengal, and then baked to bring out the colours' (Genthe, quoted by Mayor). Mayor concludes that *murra* was not an artificial substance, and produces authority in favour of his assertion. Others have maintained *murrina* to be Chinese porcelain. See Rich s. v., who quotes Plin. N. H. xxxvii. 6 as verging upon the truth. The word itself seems to be an oriental word, and to be connected with *μύρτος, μύρον, σμύρνα*: see Hehn, p. 485. Enormous sums were given for ware of this substance. Nero gave a million sesterces for a bowl, Pliny lib. citat. § 18 sqq.

134. **spondet,** 'is his guarantee,' gets him credit. **stlattaria,** from the root *√str*, 'to stretch,' found in *στόρ-νυ-μι* and *sterno*. Hence *stlata*, 'a wide ship,' such as were the Phoenician *γαῦλοι*; so that the meaning seems to be 'purple imported from Tyre.' Others take it to mean 'tricky,' 'enticing,' because the ship, a pirate, *variis ludificationibus utitur*. The former explanation seems preferable. See Vaníček s. v. In Latin the initial groups *spl* and *stl* are reduced to a simple *l*: cf. *stlis, stlocus = lis, locus*. Corssen (Krit. Beitr. z. lat. Formenlehre, p. 462 sq.) would explain **stlatarius** as = *stratarius*, so that Juvenal would in this case be speaking of embroidered coverings.

135. **vendit,** 'gets him custom.' Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 74, 75 *si versus paullo concinnior unus et alter, Iniuste totum ducit venditque poema.* So Propert. i. 2. 4; and Cic. Brut. 47, § 174, uses *vendibilis orator* for a popular speaker.

136. **amethystina** (cf. *amethystinae vestes* Mart. i. 96. 7). 'Violet-coloured cloaks,' forbidden by Nero, Suet. Nero 32. Mart. ii. 57, in describing a penniless fop, says that 'Amethystinatus *media secat septa*.'

138. Condemned by Heinrich and Ribbeck, as spoiling the connection of ideas.

139. 'Do we then trust in eloquence? Cicero would to-day be nothing unless he had a huge ring on.' Cf. Ammian xxx. 4. 7 *post quos excellentissimus omnium Cicero*, &c. The whole of what follows in Ammian should be carefully read. He divides the lawyers of his day into (1) pettifoggers who get up quarrels, (2) pedants who assume a learned mien and diction, (3) those who attain a cheap notoriety by posing as *amici curiae*, (4) those who persuade rich men that they have a good case at law, *e quibus ita sunt rudes nonnulli ut nunquam se codices habuisse meminerint. Et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris*

inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur.

140. See Sat. i. 28.

141. Weidner takes this to mean that 'the client looks at the number of your slaves; have you eight or ten as an escort? a couple makes a wonderful difference!' But this omission of *an* before **comites** seems awkward, and it is better to understand the word of 'clients,' even though the same idea is expressed by **togati.**

143. ideo, *and so.* Because parade of wealth brings custom, Paulus used to hire a sardonyx ring wherewith to plead, *and so* received a higher fee. **Paulus, Gallus,** and **Basilus** are poor lawyers. Martial has an epigram, x. 10, on a Paulus who, though a consul, competed for the dole to the detriment of poorer clients like himself.

145. 'Rare is eloquence in threadbare stuff.' For the sentiment cf. *sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis* Petr. Sat. 83.

146. 'Even if Basilus had a case in which he might appeal to the feelings of the jurors, he would be laughed out of court should he, poor as he is, make the endeavour.' Lewis remarks that in each of the three orations for Sulla, Flaccus, and Sestius, Cicero produces before the court his client's son. The custom of producing in court clients in mourning, which would appear absurd to us, was common and effective with the Romans, and indeed it is especially recommended by Quintilian, vi. 1. 30 producere *ipsos qui perielitentur* squalidos atque deformes, &c.

148. Gaul, Spain, and Africa were great patrons of oratory, and many of the great Roman rhetoricians founded their reputation there. Instances are the elder Seneca, Quintilian, and Apuleius. For Gaul as a patron of rhetoric see i. 44; cf. also Ausonius, Mosella 383 *Aemula te (Mosellam) Latiae decorat facundia linguae.*

150. 'Are you a professor of rhetoric? Your case is worse still!' For the position of the professors of rhetoric see Friedländer, i. 3. p. 322, and Marquardt, Handbuch der R. A. p. 115 sq. The keynote of the grievance is given in the words *petit hic plus temporis.* The power of speaking fluently was the chief qualification for success in all the higher posts in Rome. Public professorships of Latin and Greek oratory were founded and maintained at the expense of the State, and paid very highly. They seem to have been maintained not merely in Rome but in the provinces as well. Cf. Vit. Anton. P. c. 11 *Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit.* Cf. also an inscription in Henzen, 6931, which speaks of a *centenaria procuratio* in Hadrumetina, one of the three dioceses of the province of Africa, i.e. a post as public teacher with a yearly pay of 100,000 sesterces. We gather from Seneca, Controv. ii. prooem. p. 116, ed. Bursian, that under the early empire even *equites* thought it consistent with their dignity to become teachers of rhetoric. **Vettius Valens** *adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus pariterque eloquentiae assectator* Pliny H. N. xxix. 5. He was executed with Messalina.

151. 'When your overgrown class murders cruel tyrants.' **numerosa**

might possibly mean 'in rhythmical cadence,' referring to the sing-song implied in **cantabit,** infra v. 153. Tacitus, Dial. 32, mentions the killing of tyrants and the rewards given to tyrannicides as among the usual themes for declamation. Quintilian, i. § 2, 3, tells us that the boys were made to declaim in the order of their merit; *ducere vero classem multo pulcherrimum.*

152. **legerat,** 'had read and made an end of reading,' as the teacher might fondly imagine.

153. **perferet,** 'will go through with.'

154. A proverb, δὶς κράμβη θάνατος. Cf. the Scotch proverb for an old sermon, 'Cauld kail het again,' Dean Ramsay's Pulpit Table-talk, p. 146.

155. **quis color.** Cicero, de Orat. iii. 25 (*ornatur oratio genere primum et quasi colore quodam et suco suo*), in 'colour' seems to mean 'the characteristic' of the speech, its pervading tone. But in Quintilian it means the varnish, gloss or colour by which the accused endeavours to palliate, the accuser to aggravate, the allowed facts of the case. The instances quoted by Mayor confirm this interpretation; e.g. the passage from Quintilian iv. 2. § 88, whence it appears that *colorare* was a technical term among rhetoricians for giving an unreal or coloured meaning to pleas; hence we may construe it 'false plea.'

genus, whether *iudiciale, deliberativum,* or *demonstrativum.*

156. **quaestio,** 'the main question.' Cf. *controversia quam* quaestionem *dicimus, hoc modo; iurene fecerit?* Quintilian, iii. 11. 1. Cf. also Quintilian, v. 13. § 55 *videndum praecipue utrique parti, ubi sit rei summa.* **Sagittae,** arguments that come home, with reference to l. 173, where he calls the dispute between rhetoricians *pugna.*

158. **mercedem.** 'What, you dun for payment? why, what have I learnt? Of course the fault is set down to the teacher that this true son of Arcadia has no wits.' *Cor* with the Romans was thought the seat of intelligence, as with us 'the brains.' Thus *egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus* Ennius ap. Cic. Tusc. i. 9, cf. Cic. de Fin. ii. 8, § 24, Mart. iii. 26. 4, xiv. 219.

160. Arcadian simplicity was proverbial, cf. Pers. iii. 9 *Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas,* i.e. asses.

161. **dirus.** A constant epithet. Hannibal was the type of a barbarous and perfidious enemy, cf. Petr. 101 *quae hic insidiae sunt, inquit, aut quis nobiscum Hannibal navigat?* Cf. Horace, Car. iii. 6. 36.

162. An instance of a *suasoria*: Quint. vii. 4. § 2 gives as another, *ut si Caesar deliberet, an Britanniam impugnet.* If the sentence were regular, *an* would be preceded by *utrum*; but it is a case of asyndeton, 'whether—whether'; and the diction points to haste and trepidation on the part of the deliberator.

163. 'Is he to march on Rome after Cannae?' 'Le roi de Hongrie étant à Brisach, Annibal est ad portas,' Mémoire adressé par Richelieu à Louis XIII, 14 Octobre, 1636.

165. Mayor follows the reading of the MSS., changing, however, *quid* to **quod.** 'Ask for what you like, and receive at once what

I offer, that his father may hear him as often as I have to do.' Weidner alters the text to *Quantum vis stipulare? en protinus accipe! quin do, ut totiens illum pater audiat.* 'How much do you wish to bargain for? Take it on the spot; nay, I give it you, if only his father,' etc. **Quid do** is the reading of P.; **stipulare** and **protinus accipe** are to be taken in close combination. 'Ask for what you like and get it; what do I give that his father may hear him,' &c. The idiom of a present tense implying a future meaning, *what will I give?* is quite common in English as in Latin; cf. Pers. Sat. vi. 55 *accedo Bovillas,* &c.

166. 'This is the complaint of half a dozen rhetoricians who leave their fancy themes and conduct true cases.'

168. raptore relicto. Quintilian refers to this as a fancy theme in his Decl. 247. A rich young man runs away with a girl. He offers to marry her; she refuses. He stabs himself. Then the girl offers to accept him as a husband before he dies. Then the wife and the husband's relations put in claims to the inheritance.

169. Controversial themes as to whether poisoners were justified, or as to whether a husband's conduct was cruel and ungrateful. The substance of the second stock theme is given by Seneca, Contr. ii. 13.

170. veteres with **caecos,** 'those who have been long blind.' The substance of this *controversia* is not known.

171. 'He will give himself his discharge.' A metaphor drawn from the gladiatorial school. The gladiator, on receiving his discharge, received as a present the wooden sword with which he practised. Cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 113, Hor. Ep. i. 1. 2, Ovid, Trist. iv. 8. 24.

173. ab umbra, from the 'cloistered retirement' of the rhetorician, referring to the rhetorician's *vita umbratilis,* as distinguished from the real battle of life. Cf. Amm. xvi. 1. 5 *adulescens primaevus ut Erechtheus in secessu Minervae nutritus ex academiae quietis umbraculis non e militari tabernaculo in pulverem Martium tractus.*

174. The sense according to Mayor is, 'Who comes into court from his retirement to recover from his scholars the paltry pittance they owe, amounting to at most the price of a corn ticket.' Weidner interprets the passage, 'Whoever is wise will give up playing the rhetor, so that he may at least in his right of *civis* get his bread-ticket, which he sells for a paltry price. This is however better than nothing at all.' In the later times of the republic and under Augustus a quantity of cheap bread-tickets were issued to certain of the poorer class at Rome, by the *praefectus annonae.* These *tesserae* were guaranteed by the State and were transferable. The presenter of such *tessera* would receive a *modius* for $6\frac{1}{3}$ asses, the market price being 12 asses. If he were known to be a rhetor, and so capable of gaining his living, he would not receive the *tessera.* It seems that the simplest way to understand the words is, 'I would advise the rhetorician to enter on some different career; for see, the poor fellow has to turn amateur lawyer (and a very poor one he makes), if he would keep in his pocket the paltry fee which he has gained as rhetorician.' *Perire* is used in an inscription

quoted by Henzen 7301, in the sense of 'to be lost,' or 'missing': *urna vinaria periit de taberna*: a reward is offered for its recovery.

175. 'Examine the fees which music masters such as Chrysogonus and Polio get, and you will tear up your treatise on rhetoric.' The first two were professors of music: Polio is referred to as such in Martial iv. 61. 9, and for Chrysogonus cf. Sat. vi. 74. The sums received by fashionable singers and players under the empire were enormous; see Friedländer, iii. 2. p. 359 sqq. Vespasian, renowned for his stinginess, on the occasion of the restoration of the theatre of Marcellus, gave a musical festival, and paid one tragedian 400,000 sesterces, and the citharoedi Terpnus and Diodorus 200,000 each, Sueton. Vesp. c. 19. Martial iii. 4 says he has retired from Rome and will come back 'when he is a citharoedus.'

177. **artem,** a technical term for a 'rudimentary treatise,' cf. Sat. vi. 452. **Theodorus** of Gadara is referred to by Quintilian iii. 1. 17, and mentioned in Hieronymus.

178. 'Your rich man must have every luxury: baths, porticoes, artistes: he can afford only a trifle to the best rhetoricians.' Pliny's description of his villa (Ep. ii. 17) should be read in connection with this. **sescentis**; i. e. at 600,000 sesterces. Fronto, a senator, but not a wealthy man, had baths built at the expense of 350,000 sesterces, A. Gell. xix. 10. 1.

179. Pliny (loc. citat.) describes such a porticus attached to his villa: *Egregium adversus tempestates receptaculum.* Martial has an epigram (i. 12) on the escape of M. Regulus (a rich pleader) from a falling portico at his villa.

181. **mulae.** Mules were much prized at Rome; Mart. has an epigram (iii. 62) on a purseproud acquaintance who gave more for a mule than a house: and again in viii. 61. 7 he speaks of himself as driving mules of his own instead of having to hire them. Poppaea had her mules shod with gold, Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 11; and Nero himself drove *soleis mularum argenteis* Suet. Nero 30. Mules were classed under *res mancipi* from the earliest period.

182. **Numidarum** (*giallo antico*). Plin. H. N. v. 3 mentions this as one of the principal exports from Numidia and Libya. It is of a rich golden yellow: six large fluted columns of the Pantheon are constructed of it; v. Middleton, p. 13 (1).

183. **cenatio.** 'The dining-hall,' adorned with ornate pillars of Numidian marble, and turned to the north so as to catch the sun when not too strong. Cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 17 *modica cenatio quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet.* In Nero's golden palace there were *cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus* Suet. Nero 31. For the concrete meaning of the abstract word cf. *rationes* in the sense of 'accounts.'

184. 'However dear the house, there will be forthcoming a structor to arrange the courses, and a *pulmentarius* who made the preparation of dainty dishes his specialty'; he will find money to pay a fashionable cook, if not to educate his son.

185. **qui condit** = *pulmentariorum conditor*; such periphrases are characteristic of a rhetorical style. Lachmann conjectured *condiat* for *condit*, on the analogy of *ebulliat*, scanned as a disyllable by Persius ii. 10. It seems at first sight unlikely that the indicative should follow the subjunctive; but on the other hand, Mayor quotes Satire xi. 130–1, where *despicit* follows *comparet*. Cf. also iii. 102, where *si poscas* follows *si conspexit*, and vii. 50 *si discedas . . . tenet*.

187. 'If, then, the fees paid by parents are so small, how comes it that Quintilian is so rich? He is a lucky man: and your lucky man may expect anything.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 124; Friedländer, vol. i. p. 324 note. Quintilian, named by Martial ii. 90. 2 *gloria Romanae togae*, was nominated by Vespasian to the first public chair of rhetoric at Rome, which was very highly paid, Suet. Vesp. 18. Lewis points out that Pliny, Ep. vi. 32, speaks of Quintilian's moderate means: and rightly adds, that 'Pliny was rich and Juvenal poor'; indeed Pliny with the same letter sent a handsome present in money to aid in dowering the daughter of his old preceptor, so that what seemed a great sum to the one will have seemed but small to the other. Besides, it is probable that Quintilian did not become really wealthy until late in life, when he had secured a good *clientèle*. In any case Martial's epigram cited above seems to prove that Quintilian himself was so satisfied with his position that he rebuked the epigrammatist for wasting his time on verse-making. Friedländer, iii. 1. p. 18, shows that what were considered great fortunes by the Romans would not be considered enormous in modern times.

189. **saltus** was the name given specially to forest pastures with the buildings upon them.

190. 'Your **felix** has ever Fortune on his side.' It must be remembered that the goddess Fortuna was believed to stand by her favourites: and these were ever *fortunati* and *felices*. Cf. Ammian xiv. 6. 3 (to make Rome great) *Virtus convenit atque Fortuna plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset ad perfectam non venerat summitatem*. Juvenal represents the two as conspiring to endow the *felix*.

192. 'Yes, your lucky man gets even made senator,' lit. 'has been known to attach the crescent to his black leather boot.' The **aluta** was a half-boot, so called from being steeped in alum to soften it. A small crescent was attached to it in front, which appears to have been a survival from the ancient *calceus patricius*, dating from 300 B.C., before which time classes were distinguished by their dress. Horace speaks of the senator's shoes as coming higher up the leg than the ordinary *calceus*, Sat. i. 6. 27 nigris *medium impediit crus* | Pellibus. In Spain, says Martial, i. 49. 31, Lunata *nusquam* pellis *et nusquam toga*. Cf. also ii. 29. 8, where it is said of a *libertinus*, now a senator, *Coccina non laesum pingit aluta pedem*. A senator too, among other privileges at the end of the first century, was called *clarissimus*.

193. 'And if he has a cold he sings specially well.' Possibly Juvenal had in his mind the words of Horace, Ep. i. 1. 106–8 *sapiens uno minor*

est Iove, dives, Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum, Praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est, though the thought is different; your *Felix* really has what the Stoic *sapiens* claims to have.

194. 'For it makes all the difference under what constellations you come when you utter your first baby cries and bear yet the red hue of birth.' Cf. Hor. Car. ii. 17. 21 sqq. *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo Consentit astrum.*

197. Juvenal here refers to an occurrence which took place under Domitian. Cf. Plin. Ep. iv. 11: 'Valerius Licinianus has now fallen so low as to have become an exile instead of a senator, a teacher of rhetoric instead of an orator. Hence he himself in a prefatory address exclaimed in sorrowful tones, "What sport dost thou make for thyself, O Fortune! For thou makest professors out of senators, and senators out of professors!" A sentiment in which there is so much bile and bitterness that he seems to me to have turned professor for the express purpose of uttering it.' Cf. Ammian xiv. 11, § 30 'Fortune made Dionysius, the terror of the world, a schoolmaster.' Ausonius was made consul by his own pupil the emperor Gratian.

199. 'What about Ventidius and Tullius? They are simply instances of luck and mysterious destiny.' **Ventidius Bassus,** a captive who rose from a muleteer to be consul, B.C. 43. Ventidius was a stock instance of good luck. Gellius (xv. 4) tells us that he was *genere et loco humili*: that his mother was taken as a captive in the social war together with himself: and that he afterwards became a dealer in mules. In the year of his consulship a lampoon was posted in Rome of which two of the lines ran, *Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens* (al. *novum*) | *Nam mulos qui fricabat consul factus est.*

Tullius. Servius Tullius, the son of a slave woman. Cf. Sat. viii. 259, 260. So Horace calls the reign of Servius *ignobile regnum*, Sat. i. 6. 9.

200. **sidus.** The influence of the stars; **potentia** is also an astronomical term like 'influence'; cf. Schiller, Wallenstein's Tod, Act i. Sc. 1. 7 'Ja, sie (Venus) ist jetzt in ihrer Erdennäh', Und wirkt herab mit allen ihren Stärken.' Astrology was widely believed in under the empire. It permitted, and even supported the belief, common in educated circles, that the gods did not or could not interfere with the fixed decrees of destiny. Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 22, and especially Plin. N. H. ii. 23; cf. Friedl. iii. 4. p. 560. *Sidus*, the constellation, is put for the *effect* of the constellation.

202. Cf. Sat. vi. 165 *nigroque simillima cycno.* Cf. also Persius i. 46 *quando haec rara avis est.*

203. **cathedra,** the teacher's chair. Mart. i. 76. 14 speaks of *steriles cathedras*; though the word is there used for the seats occupied by the audience.

204. **Thrasymachus** of Chalcedon, a younger contemporary of Socrates, mentioned in Plato's Republic lib. 1 and 2. Cf. also Phaedr. 266, 267. Of his end we know nothing.

Secundus Carrinas, banished by Caligula: Dio Cass. lix. 20. He lived poor, and in exile from Rome: possibly he retired to Athens: certainly Tacitus, xv. 45, speaks of one of this name as well up in Greek literature; and then the meaning would be, 'And you, Athens, saw him in beggary there; you who never dared help a great man to anything but to a cup of poison, as you helped Socrates.' If he were in disgrace at Rome, it would be a venturesome thing to aid him at Athens. Cf. Sat. xiii. 186.

206. gelidas, a transferred epithet.

The *effect* of *cicuta* was to chill the extremities; then the cold spread to the whole body: Plato, Phaedo 118. Ovid, Amor. iii. 7. 13 has the same epithet.

207. *date,* or some such word, must be understood. The verb was commonly omitted in inscriptions; cf. *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma* (Aen. iii. 288). The prayer that the earth may rest lightly on the departed is very common in inscriptions; cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 3. 76 *Nasonis molliter ossa cubent: Ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret* Prop. i. 17. 24; also Martial, v. 34. 9–10, ix. 29. 11, 12, Eurip. Alc. 463. For a similar wish see Petron. 39, where Trimalchio says *patrono meo ossa bene quiescant qui me hominem inter homines voluit esse.* Flowers were laid on the grave annually at the Feralia, Feb. 21, with the *epulae*; cf. Henzen, Inscrip. 4763: Ovid, loc. citat. 83 *deque tuis lacrimis umida serta dato.*

209. For the sentiment, cf. Quintil. ii. 9, §1 *discipulos id unum moneo ut praeceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament, et parentes esse non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant.* Cf. also Ann. Flor. (in Jahn's Flor. p. xliii, quoted by Friedländer, i. p. 318 *quam regium est sedere a suggestu praecipientem bonos mores et sacrarum studia litterarum,* &c.

210. Cf. v. 154 *metuensque flagelli.* The genitive after present participles is frequent in Silver Latinity.

212. Homer also makes Achilles Chiron's pupil, but the Centaurs of Homer's time were not yet transformed into half-horses; cf. Ovid, A. A. i. 11; Horace, Epod. 13. 11 *Nobilis ut* grandi *cecinit Centaurus alumno.* The collocation *citharoedi magistri* reminds us of *mulio consul* Sat. viii. 148. **Eliceret:** see Zumpt, § 528 sub fin.

213. Rufus, a rhetorician of the day. Plaut. Bacch. is full of allusions to the want of discipline in the Roman youths of his day; cf. 440 *at nunc prius quam septuennis est, si attingas eum manu | Extemplo puer paedagogo tabula disrumpit caput.* The whole passage should be referred to; also Quintil. ii. 6. § 3.

214. 'Rufus, whom again and again they nicknamed the Cicero of Gaul.' Rufus was a Gaul and the boys named him after his fatherland, parodying Fabius' cognomen of *Allobrogicus,* Vel. ii. 10. § 2. The Allobroges occupied Dauphiné and Savoy.

215. Celadus. Mentioned by Suet. Aug. 67 as a freedman. The same author, de Gram. 23, describes Q. Remmius **Palaemon** as a skilled *grammaticus* of loose principles. Quintilian mentions him as

a contemporary i. 4. 20, and he and Persius are supposed to have both been Palaemon's pupils.

216. 'Teachers of grammar receive very small pay for their hard work: *but (tamen)* even of this small pay—and it is less than the fees of the rhetorician—the *paedagogus* and the cashier take a preliminary bite.'

218. **custos,** the *paedagogus*, the slave in charge of the pupil; it was his duty to take him to school and to bring him back: Martial xi. 39 has an epigram upon one who was a *libertinus*, formerly *paedagogus*, and showed himself unreasonably exacting in his new position. Tac. Dial. 29 bitterly complains that Roman children were entrusted to the most useless and immoral slaves, by whose vile talk their young minds were depraved. The evidence of Plutarch is to the same effect. **Acoenonoetus** will mean 'destitute of ordinary good feeling.' The scholiast interprets this word as *communi carens sensu*. A. Gell. xii. 12 gives an instance of its use by Cicero which exactly tallies with our expression 'lacking common sense,' but *communis sensus* is used in Hor. Sat. i. 3. 66 as a *sense of propriety*; that feeling which make it possible for society to hold together: and this seems the sense in which the word is used here. ἀκοινώνητος, another reading, means 'greedy,' unwilling to part with what he has.

219. **qui dispensat.** The dispensator or cashier of the wealthy house. Cf. Sat. i. 91. In Martial's Epigram xi. 39. 6 the *dispensator* is mentioned as afraid of the *paedagogus*. The sense is, 'Come down, Palaemon, from your high pretensions, and condescend to abate some of your charges, like a petty tradesman.'

221. **institor,** a huckster or pedlar: these were commonly slaves or freedmen, and regarded with contempt; cf. Ovid, A. A. i. 421; Mart. vii. 61; Ov. Rem. Am. 306. **cadurci.** 'Linen sheets' made among the Cadurci in Gallia Narbonensis, and thence called; cf. the French use of 'rouennerie.'

222. 'Only see that it does not go completely for nothing that you have got up so early and borne the smell of all those grimy lamps.' For this sense of **pereat,** 'go for nothing,' 'count as nothing,' cf. iii. 124; iv. 56: Mart. ii. 92. 4.

mediae noctis. Martial has an Epigram, ix. 29, upon a prating beldame, in which he says that even the noise of a school gathering in the early morning is not such a nuisance; line 7 *Nec* matutini *cirrata caterva magistri*: id. xii. 57. 4, 5 *negant vitam Ludimagistri mane.*

227. Friedländer, iii. 3. p. 378, understands by Flaccus and Maro *busts* of the two poets; the scholiast understands the copies of their poems; and this seems the more natural interpretation. During the first century A. D. Vergil was the first author put into the hands of boys. He was regarded as holding with respect to Latin poetry the same position as that held by Homer in respect to Greek poetry. During all this century it was the fashion to make scholars intimate with the works of modern authors such as Lucan, Statius, Persius, &c: already in Quintilian's time a reaction was setting in in favour of the more ancient

authors, such as Plautus and Terence, and even Ennius and Naevius: this movement was powerfully favoured by the personal influence of the emperor Hadrian (Vit. Hadriani, c. 16). Horace predicted his own fate, cf. Ep. i. 20. 17, 18 *Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.* Quintilian preferred Vergil as a text-book to Horace, i. 8. §§ 5, 6. Cf. Suet. de Illust. Gramm. 16.

228. The **tribunus plebis,** who was under the empire invested with the power of a police magistrate; Mommsen, Die röm. Tribus p. 50. See also Tac. Ann. xiii. 28, who implies that the *tribuni* had the power of summoning (*vocandi*) citizens to their tribunal: Quintil. Decl. 380 uses the expression 'tribuni cognoscunt *non utrum scriptum sed quare scriptum sit.*' 'Rare indeed is the fee which can be got in without a decision of the tribune.'

229. '*But*, instead of sympathising with all his troubles, you parents bring him under a pitiless code—he is to be faultless in his grammar, to peruse every history, have all literature at his finger-ends; nay, he must be able to pass his examination in such details as Anchises' nurse or Anchemolus' stepmother: he must be morally faultless and a stern disciplinarian—and all this for a nominal fee!'

230. **ut praeceptori.** 'That the rule for the words should be at the teacher's call.' For *regula verborum* cf. *regula emendate loquendi* Quintil. i. § 5. For **constare,** in the sense of 'to be ready to hand,' cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 166 *Quis ferat uxorem cui constant omnia?* In l. 231 *praeceptor* is the nom. to *legat,* and is supplied from the sense of the line.

233. **Phoebus** was a *libertus* of Vespasian; cf. Tac. Ann. xvi. 5. Here he is mentioned as a keeper of private baths (*balnea meritoria*). *Balnea* was the ordinary name for baths of any kind; the public bathing establishments were known by the plural word *balineae*. *Thermae* was the special name given under the empire to the luxurious establishments, constructed upon the plan of the Greek gymnasium, which contained, besides baths, rooms for conversation, porticoes, apparatus for gymnastic exercises, &c. The chief *thermae* were the *Agrippinae,* the *Neronianae* and the *Titianae.* See Becker's Gallus, scene vii. Excursus I.

234. Vergil tells us the name of Aeneas' nurse, Caieta, Aen. vii. 1: the teacher has to know actually the name of the nurse of his father.

For pedantic enquiry into such useless literary questions cf. Sueton. Tiberius 70, who used to affect the society of *grammatici* and catechize them as to the name of Hecuba's mother; the name borne by Achilles among the maidens; the tunes sung by the Sirens.

235. **Anchemoli.** Vergil again, Aen. x. 389, tells us of Anchemolus *thalamos ausum incestare novercae.*

Acestes. Verg. Aen. v. 73 *aevi maturus Acestes.*

236. Quot Siculi. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 195, 196 *Vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes Litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros.*

237. 'Yes, pray require him not merely to know these useless trifles, but to train morals as well': he is to be the 'professional parent' of the boys under him. **ducere** is to model in wax and clay. See Pers. v. 40, and Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 8; A. P. 163; cf. also Plato, Legg. p. 633 *θωπείας κολακικὰς αἳ τοὺς θυμοὺς μαλάττουσαι κηρίνους ποιοῦσιν*. Cf. Sen. ad Helv. 16 *altius praecepta descendunt quae teneris imprimuntur aetatibus*. Cf. too Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. § 25 *an imprimi, quasi ceram, animum putamus?*

238. **cera.** Cf. Ov. Rem. Am. 723 *et ceras remove; quid imagine muta Carperis?* of the portrait of a mistress.

242. **Inquit,** 'is the word,' iii. 153. For such points of contact between active and passive constructions see Paul's Principles of Language (Translation), p. 307. 'This is your charge, and when the time comes for payment, get as much pay as the victor in the games of the circus got.' For the enormous sums lavished upon such champions see Friedländer, ii. 3. p. 328 sqq., and see the inscriptions on famous *agitatores*, p. 515 sqq.

SATIRE VIII.

ON THE DEGENERACY OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

THIS is a Satire on the degeneracy of the aristocracy of Juvenal's time. It appears in the form of a letter to Ponticus. Some of Horace's Epistles (as ii. 1. 251, &c.) contain satirical passages; but on the whole their tone is more gentle and breathes a spirit of more *bonhomie* than the satires written by Juvenal. Of Valerius Ponticus, to whom this letter is addressed, we know nothing. Martial has several epigrams on a Ponticus whom, in vii. 100, he describes as an impostor and *nullus homo*; in iv. 86 he describes him as a niggard like Virro; in ii. 82 he describes him as having cut out his slave's tongue; in iii. 60 he describes him as having invited the poet to dinner, and having set before him worse food than was set before himself; in ii. 32 Martial describes him as a time-serving friend; in ix. 20 he is spoken of as a man who *cenat bene*. He may have been an offensive aristocrat; and, if he was the victim of Martial's lampoons, it will appear that he must have possessed the very vices which Juvenal satirizes.

The eighth Satire seems to have been written in the reign of Trajan. The allusion to Marius shows that it was composed after 100, when he was convicted of misgovernment in Africa; and the allusions to the necessity of guarding the frontier on the side of Armenia and Syria seem to belong to the latter part of the reign, A.D. 115–117, when Trajan received the submission of the king of Armenia, unless we refer it to 105, when A. Cornelius Palma conquered the territory from Damascus to the Red Sea. The earlier date would agree better with the mention of war on the Danube, as the Dacian war was concluded in 106.

SATIRE VIII.

ARGUMENT.

What is the good of a pedigree, of ancestral pictures, and mutilated busts, if you are a gambler, or greedy of gain, or effeminate? ll. 1–18. An honourable life is the only title of honour; and if you are a man of blameless life and stubborn virtue, the people may greet your appearance with as many plaudits as welcome the discovery of Osiris in Egypt, ll. 19–30; but be unworthy of your name, and it will seem to have been given you in mockery, ll. 30–38.

I am speaking to you, Rubellius Blandus[1], who think that the mere fact of being born into your family raises you above the crowd, ll. 39–46. Noble as you are, you may need a plebeian orator to defend you; and a plebeian soldier may be saving the empire, while you are only an animated bust, ll. 47–55. You know how it is with horses: we value them for their performance, not for their pedigree, ll. 56–67. Give us something special of your own to admire, ll. 68–70.

Enough of this extreme instance. What I want you, Ponticus, to understand is, that you must be the maker of your own honour, ll. 71–78. Consider that it is not life to fare sumptuously or to live, but to be a brave soldier or an upright citizen, ll. 79–86. If you gain the highest prize and become governor of a province, think what the laws intend and what judgment may overtake the spoiler, ll. 87–94; think ever how little is now to be gained, and how dangerous it is to provoke fierce men with arms in their hands, ll. 95–124. Keep the harpies of your household from flagrant wrong, and you may boast the noblest of your race your ancestor. Sell justice or oppress the innocent, and your crimes will stand out revealed by the light of your forefathers' great names, ll. 124–139; the statues and temples of the dead will but blazon out your perjuries and adulteries, ll. 140–145.

Lateranus drives his own chariot by night while he is consul, and in broad day when he is out of office, and mixes with grooms and tavern-keepers, ll. 146–162. Do you speak of these as youthful follies? He is a veteran; but if he is wanted for service, he must be looked for in a cook-shop among the lowest ruffians, ll. 163–178. You would send a slave with such habits to the plantations. Are they seemly in a patrician? ll. 179–182.

Look again at the deeper infamy of Damasippus and Lentulus, who act on the stage, ll. 183–199; of Gracchus, who fought, and fought badly, in the arena, ll. 199–210. Would not the people, if they had been free, have chosen Seneca before Nero the parricide? ll. 211–214. And Nero's parricide was not like that of Orestes, urged on by the gods; he was a poisoner and a man incapable of shame, who wrote bad poems and fiddled for a prize in Greece, ll. 215–230.

[1] This is the reading of most of the MSS., which has been changed to Rubellius Plautus, apparently because we know something about him. But what we know of him is good, and it is very unlike Juvenal to attack the memory of a blameless man whom Nero had put to death.

Never were men better born than Catiline and his confederates, who had ruined Rome but for the plebeian, Cicero, whom Rome unconstrained saluted as the father of his country, ll. 231–244. Another plebeian, Marius, saved Rome from the Cimbri, ll. 245–253. The Decii, who dedicated themselves for fatherland, were plebeians, ll. 254–258. The last good king of Rome was the son of a slave, and the Tarquins were of royal blood, ll. 259–265. Vindicius, who discovered the plot for bringing back the Tarquins, was a slave; and the men who plotted and who died justly were nobles, ll. 265–268.

Better the good son of a low-born father than to be Thersites with Achilles for your sire; but really, wherever your pedigree goes back to, it can only end in a shepherd or a felon, ll. 269–275.

1–18. 'Of what use are pedigrees and ancestry to one who disgraces them by his gambling and luxury?'

1. **stemmata.** The *imagines* were the most striking ornaments of the *atrium* of a Roman nobleman. They consisted of coloured masks of wax fitted to busts. These were placed in small cases (*armaria*), under which were inscriptions commemorating the titles and exploits of each man's ancestors: and were connected by painted lines, so as to represent the genealogical tree of the family. The custom of keeping ancestral *imagines* originated in the primitive belief that the deceased lived, after being buried, in his grave; and his relatives thought it desirable to remind themselves of the departed one by masks resembling him: cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 76, of the funeral of Junia, *clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt*. See Marq. vol. vi. p. 234. *Stemma* was the name given to the *imagines* and *lineae* together. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 2. 6 *stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas*. So Mart. iv. 40. 1 *Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto*: Sen. de Ben. iii. 28, Val. Max. v. c. 7. § 3. In viii. 6. 3 Mart. uses the word for the pedigree of plate and antiquities, *argenti* fumosa *sui cum stemmata narrat*: cf. l. 8. For *facio* in the sense of 'to profit' cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 23.

longo sanguine. 'To be valued for antiquity of blood.' Cf. Sen. Ep. lxxvi. 9 *Id in homine primum solumque est quo et probatur et improbatur*. The more that the Senate was degraded by the admission into its ranks of provincials and men of inferior rank, the more pride was displayed by the genuine old families who could point proudly to their family trees. It is clear from the language of Juvenal and Seneca that the feeling was general that birth, as such, entitles its owner to respect and reverence. Pliny, Paneg. § 69, counts it a special merit in Trajan to have preferred men of birth to fill high offices of state—a policy which Domitian's timidity and suspicious nature refused to adopt. See Friedl. i. 3. p. 242. The ablative *sanguine* (v. 74 *laude*) is simply a variety of the ablative of price; cf. the sentence *multo sanguine Poenis victoria stetit* with *Eratosthenes varia doctrina censebatur*, Suet. Gramm. 10.

2. The *picti vultus* are the masks referred to above.

3. Those ancestors who had enjoyed a triumph were naturally looked on with the greatest pride: sometimes they were honoured with a statue in the front court, as in Sat. vii. 125. **stantes.** Standing as triumphal statues in their triumphal cars.

Aemilianos. The younger Scipio, the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, when adopted by Scipio the elder, became P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus.

4. **M'. Curius Dentatus,** the conqueror of Pyrrhus. **dimidios,** 'mutilated': cf. Mart. x. 2. 10, 'triumphal statues will be mutilated'; dimidios *Crispi mulio ridet equos*, i. e. the muleteer jokes over Crispus' broken horses; but literature will live: cf. also Sat. xv. 57, where the word is used of mutilated *living* bodies.

umeros, a Greek construction, as in Sil. It. Punic. iii. 42 *frontemque minor truncam amnis Acarnan.* Quintilian notices the use of the acc. after adjectives as a Grecism, ix. 3. 17.

5. **M. Valerius Corvinus.** See Sat. i. 108: though poor, he was of the highest nobility: see Tac. Ann. xiii. 34 and Lucan, Phars. vii. 584.

Galba, some ancestor of the Emperor, who, as Suetonius tells us in his Life, § 2, was fond of referring to Jove as his ancestor: *Galba imperator ut qui* stemma in atrio *proposuerit quo paternam originem ad Iovem referret.* One of his ancestors (Suet. § 3) was Servius Galba consularis (A. U. C. 610). The family of Galba seems quoted, like the others, as typical of high nobility. 'His extraction,' says Plutarch, 'was of the noblest from the family of the Servii.'

6–8. Some editors omit these verses as an interpolation. The repetition of Corvinus's name seems harsh: the expression **multa virga,** whether it means 'a long wand' or 'broom,' or, as more probable, 'through many a branch,' is very obscure; and there is a meaningless bathos in the descent from the *triumphales* to the mere **tabula generis.** 'What boots it to show proudly a Corvinus on a wide picture of your lineage; and then to claim connexion by many branches with smoke-begrimed Masters of the Horse and Dictators!' **contingere** is the regular word for 'to trace one's family up to': cf. Sat. xi. 62; Amm. xxi. 16. 8 *Constantius cunctos sanguine et genere se contingentes stirpitus interemit*; and the *virgae* seem to be the *lineae* referred to above on v. 1, called also *rami* by Persius, iii. 28; Sen. de Benef. iii. 28. 2; Ep. xliv. 5 *non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus, nemo in nostram gloriam vixit nec quod ante nos fuit, nostrum est.* Plin. Paneg. c. 39 tells us that Trajan especially favoured the scions of old families in the conferring of posts; Domitian had adopted a different course from fear and jealousy. At the end of the Republic there remained about fifty families claiming to be of Trojan descent (Dion. Halic. i. 85), the principal of which was the Julian family. The Antonii claimed Hercules as their ancestor. The Pisones (Calpurnii) derived their origin from Numa: Gnaeus Piso, the head of the house of Calpurnii, under Tiberius, looked upon the Emperor's sons with disdain: see Tac. Ann. iv. 9; Friedländer, i. p. 238.

8. **fumosos,** as blackened by the smoke of the *atrium*; which Servius (ad Aen. i. 726) tells us was so called, atrium *enim erat ex fumo*. Cf. Sen. Ep. xliv. 5, quoted above.

9. **quo.** 'To what purpose?' So Cic. pro Caelio § 53 *dixit profecto quo vellet aurum*. **effigies** is the accus. case, cf. xiv. 56, 135. For the construction cf. Cic. ad Fam. vii. 23 *Martis vero signum quo mihi, pacis auctori?* So Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12 *quo mihi* fortunam? It is customary to explain these passages as elliptical, and to assume that some verb is to be *understood* before the accusative; but in reality such sentences must have been formed without verbs from the very earliest times, just as we can say in English *This* to me! *That* for you! The collocation of the nouns was in fact sufficient to express the meaning: cf. *ex pede Herculem: sus Minervae*. The sense is 'what is the good of all these ancestors if you insult them by low gambling before their very busts?' The **Lepidi** were of the illustrious *gens Aemilia*, and are cited as types of noble families, vi. 265.

10. **pernox.** The moralists of the empire often refer to the late hours kept by the wealthier classes of Rome: cf. Sen. Thyest. 466, Anthol. Meyer, 1138. 1 (quoted by Mayor) *fit de nocte dies, tenebrae de luce serena*. Cf. also Hor. Car. iii. 21. 23.

11. **Numantinos.** Scipio Africanus the younger, the conqueror of Numantia, B. C. 133: cf. Prop. iv. 11. 30 *Afra Numantinos regna loquuntur avos*.

12. 'They retire to bed at the hour when their fighting ancestors, whose busts adorn their houses, started to fight.' Cf. Persius iii. 1, 2.

13. 'Why should a Fabius feel any pride in the descent he claims from his ancestor, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (who defeated the Allobroges, B. C. 121, and thence received the agnomen of Allobrogicus), or feel pride in the Ara Maxima, dedicated by Evander to Hercules (Verg. Aen. viii. 271), or in Hercules his legendary ancestor, if he has degenerated into a vain and greedy weakling?'

14. Hercules was the model of bravery, perseverance and virtue; cf. Ovid (addressing Fabius), Pont. iii. 3. 99, 100 *Conveniens animo genus est tibi, nobile namque Pectus et Herculeae simplicitatis habes*. In Petron. 83 we have him aiding the cause of *chastity*: in Amm. xv. 9. 6 he is mentioned as the brave champion who crushes tyrants; in Hor. Car. iii. 3. 10 he is the type of lofty and unswerving purpose. Cf. also Sen. de Benef. i. 13. Hercules was first held up as a model by the Stoics: he was then taken by the Rhetoricians as the type of justice and prudence: cf. Sen. Lib. de Constant. ii. 31 *si tamen ut historicum decet, in rem inquiras, nihil nisi fictiones et pergulas pictorum esse facile est reperire, quum Herculis vitam in tempora nullo fere cultu expolita . . . constet*.

15. **Euganea.** The Euganean or Venetian wool was highly prized for whiteness and delicacy. Cf. Mart. xiv. 155, who, however, reckons it (the Altina) inferior to that of Apulia and Parma.

17. 'He disgraces his shockhaired ancestors.' Cf. Sat. xvi. 31, and iv.

103 for the long hair and beards of the simple men of the good old times ; for the sentiment cf. Cowper's Garden, 'Our forefathers, a grave whiskered race, but tasteless.' **traducere** is properly to 'show off' to the people a disgraced malefactor. The word is used in its original sense in Suet. Tit. 8 ad fin. *novissime traductos per Amphitheatrum in arenam.* Cf. Mart. vi. 77, Petron. § 126 *histrio scaenae ostentatione* traductus ; and ib. § 45 *Glyco autem, sestertiarius homo, dispensatorem ad bestias dedit. Hoc est se ipsum traducere.*

emptor. Cf. Sat. i. 70–72. Pliny, N. H. xxix. 20, tells us that the medical men (most of whom were Greeks actively aided in the sale of poisons. Cf. also Galen de Facult. Simpl. x. 131 K, xii. 251 sqq., quoted by Friedländer, i. 3. p. 354, 355.

18. **frangenda.** On the death of Domitian the Senate ordered *imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi* Suet. Dom. 23. **gentem.** The busts of criminals were excluded from the right of standing amongst the *imagines.* Nero, Tac. Ann. xvi. 7, *obiectavit Cassio quod inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam 'duci partium.'* 'On represente que le supplice de la roue était si infamant, que nulle fille de la maison de Horn ne pourrait, jusqu'à la troisième génération, entrer dans aucune chapitre.'—Mémoires de Duclos, p. 274.

19–38. 'Virtue is the only true nobility. We judge of your character by your achievements.'

19. For the sentiment cf. Boileau, Sat. v. 41

> 'On ne m'éblouit point d'une apparence vaine ;
> La vertu d'un cœur noble est la marque certaine.'

Friedländer, i. p. 241, shows how opposed were Juvenal's sentiments to ordinary Roman popular ideas. Aemilia Lepida, a woman notorious for her crimes, when brought to trial, A. D. 20, was the object of universal sympathy because she was a member of the *gens Aemilia.* Cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 23. She was the great-granddaughter of Augustus, *cui super Aemiliorum decus L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant,* and her grandmother and mother had been punished before her.

20. Cf. Sen. ad Polyb. Consolatio xxxiii *Vides omnes has* imagines *quod implevere Caesarum* atrium : *erigite audacter animos, et quidquid in medio sordidi iacet transilite : exspectat vos in summo magna nobilitas* Sen. de Ben. iii. 29.

21. 'Be a nobleman in *character* ; and let the character be the first thing, consideration of the busts the second thing ; let high character precede the fasces, should you be consul.' **Paulus**, such as the consul who perished at Cannae (*animaeque magnae Prodigum Paulum superante Poeno* Hor. Car. i. 12) ; *Aemilium Paulum virum tantum laudandum in quantum intellegi virtus potest* Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. i. 9 ; or such as the conqueror of Perseus, Sen. Marc. xiii : **Cossus** iii. 184, Ser. Cornelius Cossus, who won the *spolia opima* from Lar Tolumnius, king of Veii, B.C. 437 : **Drusus**, brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus,

magnum futurum principem, iam magnum ducem Sen. ad Marc. iii. Paulus Aemilius, Cornelius Cossus, and Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, were all soldiers.

22. **hos,** i. e. *mores.*

24. 'The first thing which you are bound to show me is the fruit of your disposition, your integrity and the purity of your morals.'

25. This concessive use of the indicative mood has been noticed on Sat. iii. 100 *rides, maiore cachinno Concutitur.* One of Juvenal's stylistic pecularities is the frequent employment of interrogations : such would be telling in recitations. A full list is given in Smit, Annotatio in Sat. Juv. (Dotecomiae, 1886), p. 32. He sometimes employs such as convey their own answer, as vii. 103, 104, sometimes answers the question as here : cf. also vii. 106, 119 and 139 *fidimus eloquio?*

26. **agnosco.** Not merely 'I know you' : but 'I recognise you' as the ideal nobleman whose character I knew before. **tu** is often used in the second clause of a sentence, like the Homeric ὅ γε, σύ γε, to repeat emphatically the subject of the first clause. Cf. Hor. Car. i. 9. 15, 16 *Nec dulces amores Sperne puer neque tu choreas.*

Cornelius Lentulus Cossus gained the title of **Gaetulicus** from his victory over the Gaetuli A. D. 6. Cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 44 *Lentulo gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas.*

27. **Silanus,** a cognomen of the *gens Iunia,* Tac. Ann. iii. 24. After *Silanus* we must supply *es.*

28. 'If you are a good citizen we are tempted to cry out, as the Egyptians do on finding Apis, *εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν,*' Sen. Apoc. 13. The whole myth of Osiris is discussed in detail by M. Renouf in his Hibbert Lectures, 1879, p. 110. He thinks that the death of Osiris (the son of Seb, the earth and not the heaven) represents the disappearance of either the daily or the annual light ; most probably, however, 'the victory of Set over Osiris is that of night over day, and the resurrection of Osiris is the rising of the sun.' For the worship of Apis see M. Renouf ut supra, p. 236, and Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 53. At Memphis Osiris became united in worship to the bull Apis, and then became Serapis, eventually the chief god of Egypt. Osiris, with his queen and sister Isis, was the favourite Egyptian divinity. What Herodotus describes, iii. 27, as true of Apis, is here transferred to Osiris. An Apis was found and brought to Memphis amid general rejoicing. Cambyses wounded it and told the priests that it was no god. Cf. Amm. xxii. 14. 6 *Exin sacrorum perfecto ritu digresso offeruntur rectoris Aegypti scripta, Apim bovem operosa quaesitum industria tamen post tempus inveniri potuisse firmantis,* &c.

29. **exclamare libet.** Cf. Sen. de Ben. ii. 11 ad init.

30. 'How can we speak of the nobility of one who has utterly degenerated and owes his distinction to his name alone?'

32. Dwarfs and deformed slaves were kept for amusement by some of the wealthy Romans : indeed there was at Rome a market for the sale of such unnatural pets : the stature of the slaves was sometimes

artificially dwarfed: see Friedländer, vol. iii. 1. p. 141. Mart. has an epigram, vi. 77, in which he says that a man who could walk carried on a litter was stared at like a dwarf on a mule to match *non aliter monstratur Atlas cum compare ginno*; again in viii. 13, he speaks of a morio or cretin purchased for 20,000 sesterces. Cf. Quintil. ii. 5. § 11; and especially A. Gell. xix. 13. 'Augustus had a court dwarf, Canopas, the pet of his niece Julia,' Plin. N. H. vii. 16. See Gallus p. 211. Juvenal says, 'We nickname dwarfs and deformities by the name of giants and beauties: even so beware lest your high-sounding title be taken to imply that you are one of low qualities.' For the custom of calling things and places euphemistically by their opposites cf. Amm. xxii. 8. § 33 *indidere mari nomen inhospitali, et a contrario per cavillationem Pontus Euxinus appellatur, ut εὐξῆθη Graeci dicimus stultum et noctem εὐφρόνην et Furias* **Εὐμενίδας**.

34. 'We call a crooked and deformed girl **Europe,** whose beauty attracted Jove,' Hor. Car. iii. 27. 25.

36. **Tigris** is the name of one of Actaeon's hounds, Ov. Met. iii. 217, and of a race-horse in Martial vii. 7. 10.

38. **Creticus,** cf. ii. 67. Caecilius Metellus, consul B.C. 69. received the agnomen of Creticus for the conquest of Crete; for an eulogy upon the fortune of the Metelli see Vell. ii. 40. § 5. **Camerinus,** see Sat. vii. 90. Several members of this family filled high offices during the republic.

39–55. 'Look at men like Rubellius Blandus. He vaunts his imperial connections, while plebeians are serving the state.'

39. **Rubelli Blande.** Livia, the wife of Augustus, had by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Drusus had a daughter Livilla, who married Tiberius' son Drusus. Her daughter Julia, the divorced wife of Nero, married Rubellius Blandus (Tac. Ann. vi. 27). Their son was Rubellius Plautus, who was murdered by Nero's orders in Asia: see Tac. Hist. i. 14 and Spooner's note. Some editors, against the MS. authority, read *Plaute* here; and as Plautus was dead long before this Satire was written, assume that he is spoken of as the type of a class, and that he is thus addressed and spoken of as if living. But it seems more natural to suppose that the Blandus here spoken of was a grandson of Rubellius Blandus and bore his name. That Plautus had children is expressly stated by Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 59. This will place the date of his life under the Flavian dynasty, and make him a contemporary of Juvenal's. Who Blandus' mother, the wife of Plautus, was, is a difficult question. Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 19) tells us that Agrippina, Nero's mother, was suspected of intending to marry Plautus, and by his aid to usurp the reins of government. Hence it is possible that the young Blandus sprang from the illicit connection between his father and Agrippina.

40. **tumes.** *Tumere* and *turgere* are the regular words to describe one who is 'puffed up' at the recent acquisition of power: cf. Amm. xiv. 7, § 14 *Montius tumore inusitato,* and ib. xxi. 9. 3 *Iulianum succes-*

sibus tumidum; so Tac. Hist. i. 16 *Nero quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem sua immanitas depulit*: cf. id. iii. 31. 4.

41. 'As if you had done anything to warrant your being a noble, (or done anything) to make you worthy of having been conceived by a royal princess rather than by a common woman, such as plies her loom for pay under the draughty rampart.' The word **nobilis** contains the idea of *dignus*, and the construction runs as if Juv. had written *propter quod dignus esses qui*, &c.

42. **Iuli,** referring to the claim of the Caesars to descent from *Ascanius cui nunc cognomen Iulo* Aen. i. 267.

43. **agger,** '*the* rampart' *par excellence*; the raised mound on the east of Rome, from the Porta Esquilina to the Porta Collina. It is commonly called the *Agger* of Servius Tullius. The fortification is described minutely by Dionysius, ix. 68, who gives its length as seven stadia. A moat one hundred feet wide and thirty deep ran along the embankment, with ramparts one hundred feet wide and thirty high. See Middleton, p. 66; Lanciani, p. 65.

44. **pars,** contemptuously, cf. Sat. i. 26 *pars Niliacae plebis*.

45. Cf. Sen. ad Helv. vi. 'Mark this crowd: the buildings of the huge capital can scarce contain it: the greater part of that crowd *has no country*.'

46. **Cecropides,** 'a true son of Cecrops': autochthonous. This became a proverbial expression. Cf. Luc. Tim. 23 εὐγενέστερος τοῦ Κέκροπος: it has the opposite meaning to *terrae filius*. Cecrops was said to have reigned in Athens before Deucalion's time.

47. 'Still, in spite of your blue blood, you are a useless stay-at-home, and "home-keeping youths have ever homely wits." Your ordinary Roman citizen can do everything as well as you and much besides.'

48. The bar was the path by which talented members of low birth advanced to fame: cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 7 *cogitaret plebem quae* toga (the dress of advocates and of peace) *enitesceret*. Cf. also Petron. Sat. 46, where a freedman advises his son to become an auctioneer if he can, but, failing that, an advocate.

49. **veniet,** 'will present himself.' Cf. vii. 184, 185.

de plebe togata, i. e. 'from the commonalty of clients.'

50. Cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 28 *apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere*.

51. **petit Euphraten:** to serve against the Parthians: the **Batavi** rebelled under Claudius Civilis, A. D. 69, Tac. Germ. 29, Hist. iv. 12 sqq. &c., and were conquered by Domitian.

53. **Hermae.** 'You are a genuine native of Athens, and especially like an Athenian Hermes-stump.' The first idea seems to have suggested the second.

truncus may refer to the well-known mutilation of the Hermes statues by Alcibiades. But it may well allude merely to the typical Hermes of the streets, a head and neck surmounting a square block:

not a representation, but a mere suggestion of the deity. For the thought cf. Cicero, in Pis. § 19 *qui tamquam truncus atque stipes si stetisset modo, posset sustinere tamen titulum consulatus.*

55. **tua vivit imago.** 'You are a living bust,' with reference to the *imagines* of the dead ancestors. Cf. Sen. ad Marc. 24 *Imago duntaxat tui fili periit et effigies; ipse quidem aeternus.*

56–70. 'In the case of animals such as horses we value them for the prizes they have won and not for their pedigree. Let then men who claim our admiration first show us what they have done.'

56. 'My true son of the Teucrians, tell me who would talk of the pedigree of animals unless they showed it?' For **Teucrorum proles** cf. i. 100 *Ipsos Troiugenas* and note.

57. **nempe,** 'of course.' Cf. Sat. x. 110; iii. 95, &c.

58. 'For whose speed many a prize glows amain, and Victory shouts in ecstasy throughout the hoarse circus': *eodem anno* 461 A.U.C. *palmae primum, translato e Graecia more, victoribus datae* Liv. x. 47. Cf. *quos Elea domum reducit Palma caelestes* Hor. Car. iv. 2. 17. Here Victory is said to do (*fervere*) what the horse or the *auriga* actually does in consequence of the victory: unless indeed **palma** be understood of the recipient of the prize as in Verg. Aen. v. 339 *nunc tertia palma Diores.* Others understand by *palma* the palm of the hand: cf. *concurrit dextera laevae* Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 215; but surely the palm of victory is meant. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. c. 3 *Crassus dives primus argento auroque folia imitatus ludis suis coronas dedit. Vincere palmam* or *praemium* was the regular expression. Henzen, Inscriptiones Lat. Sel. 2593 *P. Aelius Mari Rogati Filius Gutta Calpurnianus mille palmas complevi in factione prasina equis his Dando B. AF* XIX: *Oceano N* CCIX, *Viatore R* CCCCXXI X, *Vindice B* CLVII *et vici praemia maiora* XL *postea* III XXXIII. Dandus, Oceanus, Victor, Vindex are the names of horses. *B* is Badius, *AF* Afer, *N* Niger, *R* Rufus.

60. For **nobilis,** as applied to breed in animals, cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 5. 35–6

At lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursi
Et quaecunque minor nobilitate *fera.*

61. **fuga,** 'speed.' **pulvis,** cf. Mart. x. 6. 5 *longusque a Caesare pulvis,* 'the long track of dust proceeding from Caesar's train.' Cf. also Mart. x. 13. 2.

62. **venale,** 'will be sold'; and probably go cheap. Enormous sums were given for horses of good pedigree; and the pedigrees were a subject of eager interest and speculation: cf. Veget. R. Vet. praef. 10 *quum mancipia saepe vilioribus pretiis quam equi vendantur aut muli.* Cf. too Colum. iii. 9. 5 *certaminum curiosi pernicissimarum quadrigarum semina diligenti observatione custodiunt et spem futuram victoriarum concipiunt propagata subole generosi armenti*; cf. Friedländer ii. 2, p. 333. Lanciani, p. 215, gives much information about the horses in the circus, and an inscription with the names of the horses with which a famous jockey, Crescens, won his first race: names of the win-

ners were even engraved on children's toys. Martial gives a description of a *bellus homo* iii. 63, from which it appears that one of the objects of his gossip was the knowledge of horses' pedigrees: ibid. 12 he mentions a horse Hirpinus.

64. **ibi,** in the circus.

gratia. 'No thanks are due to ghosts; no one cares for a horse's departed ancestors, if itself win no prizes.'

66. **epiraedia,** taken by some to mean the packwaggon which follows the *raeda*; others interpret it as the thong which joins the collar to the chariot. It must rather be taken as the trace and collar combined; the trace of itself would not rub or gall the neck. Quintilian remarks on the word as a hybrid between Greek and Celtic, i. 5. 68.

67. **digni,** i. e. 'they are no better than asses,' which were usually employed to turn mills. Cf. Lukian, Asin. 42. The asses were blindfolded to work in the mills, Apul. ix. 11, among broken-down geldings; some editors read **Nepotis,** and assume that he was a miller of the day.

68. **privum,** 'of your own.' *Privus* is an archaic word used by Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 11; but to express 'one's own' we commonly find in classical Latin *meus, tuus, suus, ipsius*, or *proprius*. **da**: cf. iii. 137 da *testem*, and x. 43 da *nunc et volucrem*: in the first passage *da* seems to be used in the sense of 'produce to our eyes'; in the second in that of 'produce to the mental vision,' 'think of': here as in iii. 137.

69. **titulis.** The inscriptions on tombs: the inscription after the name recited the titles of the deceased; sometimes the reasons for erecting a memorial are recited—as *Macellum terrae motibus lapsum Castricius vir primarius sumptu proprio fieri curavit* Henzen, 7013. Frequently we find the legend *ob merita eius*.

70. The thought is common; 'we gave your ancestors honours for their virtue; they cannot bequeath their virtues: those you must create for yourself.' Cf. Senec. de Ben. iv. 30. § 4 *hic egregiis maioribus ortus est: qualiscunque est, sub umbra suorum lateat*. The whole chapter contains similar thoughts.

71–146. 'Depend on yourself, and not on your ancestors, Ponticus. Let duty be your watch-word; die before you lose your self-respect or abuse a charge entrusted to your care.'

73. 'Generally speaking (**ferme**), common good feeling is rarely found in that high rank.' **sensus communis,** 'the true feeling of equality as between citizen and citizen,' 'social feeling.' Horace uses the expression, Sat. i. 3. 66, to signify the delicate intuitive feeling for the behaviour due from man to man in order to pass through life pleasantly—'tact.' So Sen. Ep. v. 73, and id. de Ben. i. 12. 3 *sit in beneficio sensus communis: tempus, locum observet, personas, quibus momentis, quae grata et ingrata sunt*.

75. **futurae laudis.** 'While yourself are doing no deed of future praise.' This is a somewhat curious use of the genitive of quality, which in the Silver Age of Latinity had a wider use than in classical Latin.

noluerim. The perfect subjunctive used independently usually has the meaning of a softened future, and so far is equivalent to the present without regard to the completion of the action. Just so the English idiom 'I should not like' is more polite than 'I do not like.' Cf. Zumpt, § 527.

76. ''Tis a sorry thing to have only the reputation of others to lean on: the columns may give way and the roof will fall in: the vine, reft of its supporting tree, falls to earth.'

78. The **ulmi** are said to be **viduae,** as torn from or divorced from their natural partners, the vines. The union between the vine and its supporter the elm is a common-place of the poets. In Campania especially, in ancient as in modern times, it was common to train vines to grow up supported by trees; the vines were called *vites arbustivae*; cf. Ovid Am. ii. 16. 41 *Ulmus amat vitem, vitis non desrit ulmum*: so *ulmisque adiungere vites* Verg. Georg. i. 2. This union was often thought of as marriage; hence Horace, Car. ii 15. 4 *platanusque* caelebs *Evincet ulmos*, and Martial iii. 58 speaks of the *vidua platanus*, because the plant, not being used to train vines on, was thought of as having no partner. Catullus (lxii. 49) speaks of the wild vine as *vidua*, 'lonely.'

79. **arbiter.** The *arbiter* nearly answers to our 'arbitrator.' See Gaius, iv. 163 (Poste) 'a defendant may prefer arbitration without mistrusting the justice of his cause.' Regnaud, Essais de linguistique évolutionniste, combats the ordinary derivation of this word from *ad* and *betere*, 'to approach.' He observes that the primitive sense of the word is not 'he who approaches': but he who 'disposes of,' 'has control over,' as seen in Hor. Car. i. 3. 4 sqq. note—*Quo non arbiter Hadriae | maior*. The juristic acceptation of the word will accordingly have been originally 'master'; he who decided according to equity, *arbitrarily*. He would connect it with the Skt. root *grabh*. 'to take, draw to oneself,' connected with *carpo, greifen, griff*. See Wickham's note on Hor. Ep. i. 11. 26.

81. **Phalaris.** The cruelty of this Sicilian tyrant had passed into a proverb; so that Cic. ad Att. vii. 12 speaks of *φαλαρισμός* for tyranny. The story was that he engaged one Perillus to fashion for him a brazen bull, into which he thrust his victims and then applied fire to the bull, so that it seemed to be bellowing. See Pindar, Pyth. i. 185. Cf. Ov. A. A. i. 653 *Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli Torruit: infelix imbuit auctor opus.*

83. **pudor,** 'honour,' 'self-respect'; *αἰδώς*, whence springs *σωφροσύνη*. Cf. Pliny, Ep. v. 1. 6 *neque aderat alius qui defunctae* pudorem *tueretur*.

84. **vivendi causas,** 'motives for living.'

> 'Methinks day
> Should lose his light when men do lose their shames,
> And for the empty circumstance of life
> Betray their cause of living' (Ben Jonson, Sej. i. 1).

Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 12. 3, 'reason drove Corellius to the resolution of ending his life, *quamquam plurimas vivendi causas haberetem*.'

85. 'The wicked man is as good as dead, though he have every luxury.' Cf. Seneca, Ep. lx. § 4 'the man lives who employs himself; but those who skulk in inaction anticipate their death.' So Horace Car. iv. 9. 29 *Paullum sepultae distat inertiae Celata virtus*, 'Virtue, if not shown, differs little from the inaction of the grave.'

perit is the perfect tense, cf. Sat. vi. 295, and ibid. 559 *magnus civis* obit.

86. **Gaurana** = 'Lucrine': for Mount Gaurus rises above the Lucrine lake. Cf. iv. 141. The artificial breeding of oysters was successfully introduced by Sergius Orata; cf. Plin. N. H. i. 108. Cf. iv. 141.

Cosmus, a perfumer of the day, mentioned by Mart. i. 88, iii. 82. 26, &c. Gabinius, the degenerate consul, is mentioned by Cicero, Sext. c. 8 as *unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma*; and Pliny, N. H. xiii. 3 says *Iam non lini tantum sed perfundi unguentis gaudent* (*Romani*). So Petron. Frag. xviii. ed. Bücheler *alabastrum* Cosmiani. Cf. too Pliny, N. H. xiii. 20, who says that the enormous sums spent on essences were wasted, as the scent went mostly to the companions of the scented one. Vespasian reproved a young man for being scented, Suet. Vesp. 8.

87. See the letter of advice written by Cicero, ad Quint. Fratr. i. 1, and compare with it Pliny the Younger's imitation of it, Ep. viii. 24: 'Respect the gods, their founders, and the names of their gods. Respect their ancient glory and their very age. . . . Far from you be all arrogance and asperity.' Cf. also Seneca, de Ben. lib. i. 10.

90. 'You see (in the provinces) the mere skeletons of states sucked till their very marrow is dry.' Another reading is *regum*, which would refer to the native kings or princes who were squeezed dry by the Roman governors. So in German, *Einen bis aufs Mark aussaugen*: and in French *sucer quelqu'un jusqu'aux os* (Lemaire). Ammian, xxx. 4. 13, says there are certain lawyers who are *foveae fallaces et caecae in quas si ceciderit quisquam non nisi per multa exiliet lustra* ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus.

91. The special laws of each province which it was the Roman policy to maintain, cf. Plin. Ep. x. **curia.** 'The senate,' which in assigning the provinces expects them to be properly administered.

92. **fulmine.** Commonly used of condemnations from the Emperor or Senate, cf. Plin. Ep. iii. 11. 3. Cf. also Stat. Silv. iii. 3. 158 *venturi fulminis ictus*. So Ovid of his sentence, Trist. i. 1. 72 *Venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput*.

94. **Cilicum.** Juv. chooses as types of pirates the *Cilices*, as Cilicia was notorious as a haunt of pillaging hill tribes and smugglers. They gave much trouble to the Romans. Roman governors such as Capito are so bad that they pillage even pirates. Ammian, xiv. 2, ad init. gives a long account of the Isaurian robbers, and of the way in which they surprised a party of Roman sailors sent to catch them. Cossutianus

Capito was accused *repetundarum*, A. D. 57, by the Cilicians, Tac. Ann. xiii. 33. **Numitor** is unknown.

sed quid. 'But, if the province gets a verdict against its governor, what good does it get thereby?'

95. **Pansa** and **Natta** are the names of two imaginary provincial governors; Natta may be a reminiscence from the stingy Natta referred to as a well-known character in Horace, Sat. i. 6. 124. The *Nattae* were originally a noble family, Cic. Div. ii. 21. Cf. Ben Jonson, Sejanus, Act i. Sc. 1 ad init.

96. **Chaerippe.** Probably some Cilician who had been active in working up the case against the governor: 'Look out for a good auctioneer to turn your tattered clothes into money, since what one governor leaves is plundered by another; and learn to suffer and be mute. 'Tis no good to waste your passage-money to Rome; you will get no redress there.' The termination *-ippus* (see Aristoph. Nub. 63) marked a noble family, so the reference will be to a provincial man of rank reduced to beggary. **praeconem**. Petron. § 44, Ganymedes, complaining of neglect, says *iam pannos meos comedi et si perseverat haec annona casulas meas vendam*.

circumspice, 'look round *for*': an occasional use of the word; it is thus used in Livy v. 6, Tac. Ann. xiv. 35, &c. The transition is seen in such cases as *saxum circumspicit ingens* Verg. Aen. xii. 896, 'he *descries*.' *Videre* is used in the same sense. For the sentiment cf. Sen. de Ben. i. § 9. *Provincias spoliari, et nummarium tribunal, audita utrinque licitatione . . . non mirum: quando quae emeris vendere gentium ius est.*

97. 'In the old times, when the provinces had been but recently conquered, they were richer and could bear their injuries without so many groans.'

98. **gemitus damnorum** are the groans caused by these losses; **vulnus,** the feeling of mortification engendered thereby.

100. 'Then every house was well furnished, and high rose the heap of coin.' For the riches of the provinces, when conquered, see Cic. Verr. iv. § 46 *credo tum, cum Sicilia florebat opibus et copiis, magna artificia fuisse in ea insula*: he goes on to describe the enormous amount of plate for public, private, and sacrificial use. Cic. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. § 40 accounts for Pompey's speedy movements by the fact that he did not, like others, plunder the statues and pictures of Greece; cf. too Sallust, Bell. Catil. 12.

101. **chlamys,** 'a light cloak' fashionable under the Emperors. Pliny, N. H. ix. 60 (36), notices that the coast of Laconia produced excellent purple.

conchylia, properly the shell-fish from which the purple was extracted; here used for the fine purple transparent gauze vestments for which **Cos** was famous. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. § 45 classes the Tyrian, Gaetulian, and Laconian together as the most precious purples, and in ix. 130 he tells us that the *purpura* was diluted to make the special dye called *conchylium*.

Coa, silk made in *Cos* in the Aegean. The *Coae vestes* were so thin as to be almost transparent, and to wear them was a sign of effeminacy: cf. Sen. ad Helv. 16. 4 'You never wore dresses which seem made but to display the nude.' They were the regular attire of the Roman *demimonde*, Hor. S. i. 2. 101; Prop. iv. 2. 23, &c. Cf. too *Coa puellis Vestis, et a rubro lucida concha mari* Tibull. ii. 4. 29, 30. For the value of purple dyed garments see Fried. iii. 1. p. 72.

102. **Parrhasius,** a Greek painter who seems to have been the first to use perspective in painting. He lived about 400 B. C. He was a contemporary of Zeuxis, and lived at Ephesus, Pliny, N. H. xxxv. § 67. Pliny describes him as being the first who combined exactness of outline with natural grace, beauty and colour.

Myron of Eleutherae, circ. B. C. 480. Masterpieces of his were the colossal group of Zeus, Athene, and Heracles, in the temple of Here at Samos; the Cow; and the Discobolus. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 57, remarks that he paid great attention to the representation of the forms of the body, but adds *videtur tamen animi sensus non expressisse*. Phaedrus v. praef. 7 says that there were many *counterfeits* of his works in polished silver extant at Rome. Four oxen by the hand of Myron stood before the Palatine temple of Apollo, Prop. ii. 31. 7, 8, in the middle of the open area, in front of the steps of the temple. Cf. Petron. 88 *Myron qui pene animas hominum ferarumque aere comprehenderat, non invenit heredem.*

103. **Phidias,** the greatest Athenian sculptor in the best epoch of Greek art; the friend of Pericles. His masterpieces were the Throne of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. v. 10. 2), the gigantic Athene Promachos of bronze which stood on the Acropolis, and the chryselephantine Athena. For **vivebat** cf. Mart. iii. 41 where a lizard on a cup by Mentor's hand *vivit et timetur argentum.*

Polycliti. There were two sculptors of this name; one of Sicyon (born c B.C.482), a rival of Pheidias, from whom he is said to have learned engraving. His masterpiece was the statue of Here, the temple image of the new temple of Here on Mount Euboea between Argos and Mycenae, Paus. ii. 17. 4. The other flourished about B.C. 405. His masterpiece was the statue of Zeus Philios, Paus. viii. 31. 4.

104. **Mentor,** the most celebrated silver-chaser of antiquity, the Benvenuto Cellini of Greece. Pliny, xxxiii. 11. § 53, says that connoisseurs recognised only four pairs of cups from his hand as genuine. Cf. Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 12. 55 (§ 124); Mart. iv. 39. 5, etc. The name of the artificer stands for a work of art, as we may say, a 'Raphael,' &c.

105. **Dolabella.** Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, consul B.C. 81, afterwards pro-consul in Macedonia, charged by Caesar B.C. 77 with plundering his province of Macedonia; see Suet. Jul. 4. Another Dolabella, also an extortioner, was Cn. Dolabella, praetor B.C. 81, and afterwards governor of Cilicia, where Verres was his legatus: Verr. Act. i. § 11, &c.

Antonius. C. Antonius Hybrida, younger son of Antonius the orator, uncle and father-in-law of the triumvir, and Cicero's colleague in

the consulship B.C. 63, received Macedonia as his province and grievously oppressed it. He was condemned and banished, Cic. in Vatin. § 28. His brother, surnamed Creticus, father of the triumvir, plundered Sicily.

Note the hiatus: cf. iii. 70, vi. 274, 468, x. 281, xii. 110, xiv. 491, xv. 126.

106. **Verres,** the type of extortionate governors, who is particularly noted as **sacrilegus,** because he stole the statues of the gods from their shrines;—(*Deorum*) *simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris sustulit* Cicero in Verrem, i. § 53. Cf. ib. i. § 14. Lactantius, ii. 4. § 34, tells us that a pleader who had been appointed to represent the cause of the provincials said that they had no gods in their cities to whom they might betake themselves for refuge, for Verres had taken the most holy images from their shrines.

107. **occulta spolia,** his smuggled war-spoils: *spolia* is properly applied to spoils taken from enemies of the state (*hostibus*), Servius ad Aen. viii. 202: Verres seized them from his fellow-subjects, whom he was bound to protect. Note the lengthening of the *a* before *spolia*; it is the only instance in Juvenal. **plures,** the several triumphs gained by peace, not war. Reference to Verres' gigantic peculation may be found throughout the Verrine orations, especially the fourth: cf. especially § 1, also § 18 *tibi habe canephoros: deorum simulacra restitue.*

111, 112. These two verses are condemned by Weidner and Heinrich as spurious; they seem to be poor amplifications of the preceding thought. But it is a characteristic of Juvenal as a rhetorical poet to dwell upon thoughts and to expand descriptions longer than seems necessary; cf. Sat. xiv. 240, where the mention of the word *Thebes* suggests to him the mention of a legend told in connection with that town; cf. also Sat. xii. 101, where the mention of elephants suggests the insertion of some verses descriptive of their habitat and history. Cf. Guérin, Étude sur Juvenal, p. 93.

113. 'You may be right in thinking scornfully of men debased and enfeebled by luxury, such as Rhodians and Corinthians.' Rhodes was remarked upon as containing one of the most numerous collections of statuary of all antiquity. Dio, Or. 31. p. 355 sq., remarks that the Rhodians were fortunate enough to escape the last general robbery of the provinces by Nero's commissioner, the *libertinus* Akratus, who passed over no village in the civilised world without plundering it. For the epithet *imbelles* cf. vi. 296, where Rhodes is classed with Sybaris, Miletus and Tarentum, the types of effeminacy. Cf. too Mart. x. 68. 1, where Ephesus, Rhodes, and Mytilene are classed with Corinth. **unctam,** i.e. 'essenced.' Martial, x. 65, calls an effeminate fop *municipem Corinthiorum,* and expressly reproaches him with using depilatories while he, the poet, like a true Spaniard, is *Hirsutis cruribus genisque.*

114. **resinata.** *Resina* was a depilatory: Pliny, N. H. xiv. 25 (§ 123), deplores the use of it by men. Cf. also Martial xii. 32. 21. The process was called in Greek *παρατιλμός* and *πίττωσις.*

116–120. 'But the grim Spaniards, and the children of the Gallic sky and the Illyrian coast-line, are different enemies from the Corinthians; ay, and keep your hands off those hardy reapers that throng the capital and give its citizens food, that they may enjoy their circus and their theatre. Though even if you wanted to plunder them, what is there left to plunder? Why, Marius has robbed the poor Africans of their only covering—their girdle!' The Romans looked to Africa and Sardinia for their chief corn supplies; a special fleet was charged with the duty of importing corn from Egypt; Fried. i. p. 35. **axis,** used generally for 'region'; but with special reference to *climate*; cf. Ov. Trist. iv. 8. 41 *axis Boreus*': that of Gaul was looked upon by the Romans as particularly severe: Petr. 19 *ego frigidior hieme Gallica factus.* For the ferocity of the natives of the *Gallicus axis* cf. Ammian xv. 12. 1 sqq. § 3 *ad militandum omnis aetas aptissima et pari pectoris robore senex ad procinctum ducitur et adultus* gelu duratis artubus *et labore adsiduo multa contempturus*; 'no one of these ever mutilates himself to escape military service as do the Roman soldiers.' Vindex, a Gaul, incited the Gauls A.D. 68 to rise against Nero because he had plundered the whole civilized world.

117. For the ferocity of the Illyrians see Ammian xvii. 13. 27: also ib. xxi. 12. 22, *Illyricum exercitum,* pulvere conlitum Martio. Seneca holds up the barbarian nations as stronger and as more passionate than the Romans. Cf. de Ira, ii. xi. *barbaros tanto robustiores corporibus ira comminuit*; the Asiatics are excepted, *Asiae Syriaeque molles bello viri*, ib. For **latus,** cf. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. vi. § 9 *totum Italiae* latus . . . *maior Graecia fuit.* **messoribus.** The idea is from Varro, R. R. ii. pr. § 3 (Mayor's translation), 'most farmers have now abandoned plough and pruning-hook, choosing rather to employ their hands in the theatre and circus than on cornfields and vineyards: we have corn imported *qua saturi fiamus* from Africa and Sardinia.' Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xii. 43.

118. Cf. Fronto, Princip. Hist. 5. 11 *populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus* annona (cf. *messoribus illis*) *et spectaculis teneri.* It must be remembered that the populace of Rome was particularly dangerous, recruited as it was by adventurers from every part of the world where the Roman eagles had made their way. The government, as a direct consequence of the donations of corn which it distributed, had to provide for the amusement of those whom it had taught to be idle; and consequently the maintenance of the games on a scale of great magnificence was a portion of the imperial policy. Cf. Tac. Hist. i. 4. *plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta.* See Spooner's note *ad loc.*

120. Martial, xii. 29. 13, says that a clever thief Hermogenes used *medios* discingere *lectos*, i. e. to strip the *torale* or valance from the *medius lectus.* **tenuis,** 'poor.' Cf. iii. 163. For **Marius** see i. 49.

122. 'To those who are at once brave and desperate.'

123, 124. It is possible that these lines may have been set down as alternatives, and Juvenal may have intended to strike out one in a later recension. In any case the latter of the two lines seems the stronger,

and the aphorism *spoliatis*, &c., is quite in Juvenal's style, and it is not uncommon with Juvenal to produce some of his paragraphs beyond what seems strictly needed by the sense. Cf. note on line 112, and vii. 201.

125. **sententia,** 'no mere aphorism.' Quintilian devotes a large part of a chapter, Inst. Or. viii. 5, to *sententiae*.

126. For the description of the Sibyl's oracles, see Verg. Aen. vi. 44 sqq. The sentiment is similar to that in Ovid, A. A. ii. 541 *Haec tibi non hominem sed quercus crede Pelasgas Dicere.* So Amm. xxi. 1, 11 *Sol . . . mentes futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllae crebro se dicunt ardere torrente vi magna flammarum.*

127. **cohors comitum** is the regular name for the young men who accompanied a provincial governor into his province and formed, as we should say, his staff. Cf. Catull. x. 10; Hor. Ep. i. 82; and Cic. Verr. act. ii. § 27.

128. **Acersecomes,** an epithet of Phoebus, Homer, Il. xx. 39. 'No young Lovelocks.' Juvenal's own slave was close cropped (Sat. xi. 149). Pausanias says that the portraits of Antinous, the best known of these *deliciae*, were numerous in the temple at Mantinea, where he was commonly represented as Dionysus, Paus. viii. 9. 4. Martial speaks of *comati* as favourites, xii. 70. 9. Lucius Flamininus beheaded a convict for the gratification of a favourite boy, Plut. Vit. Titi Quint. Flaminini, xviii. §§ 4, 5.

in coniuge. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 20, tells us that the behaviour of the wives of provincial governors was so bad, and their avarice so excessive, that the governors were by law rendered responsible for the behaviour of their wives. Cf. also Ann. iii. 33. Cornelia, the wife of the governor of Pannonia, Calvisius Sabinus, was guilty of unduly influencing the army there, Dio, lix. 18.

129. **conventus,** as we should say, 'assize towns,' places appointed by the governor to hold courts in. Each province was divided into a certain number of these *conventus* or *iurisdictiones*. Thus Pliny N. H. iii. 1 says of Hispania, *Iuridici conventus ei quattuor, Tarraconensis, Gaditanus, Cordubensis, Astigitanus Hispalensis.*

130. **Celaeno,** the eldest of the harpies. Cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 211.

131. 'If you are pure and just you may claim **Picus** the son of Saturn as your ancestor.' For Picus, the first king of Latium, cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 48. Domitian, however, put Metius Pomposianus to death *quod habere imperatoriam genesin vulgo ferebatur; contionesque regum ac ducum ex Tito Livio circumferret* Suet. Dom. 10. The sentiment is similar to that in Pope's Essay on Man, Ep. iv. 215, 216

> 'What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?
> Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.'

132. **Titanida,** with reference to the scorn with which the Titans looked upon the new dynasty. Cf. Aesch. Prom. Vinct. 153, &c.

134. **de quocumque.** Juv. seems to be thinking of Hor. Sat. i. 2. 126 *Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi.*

137. lasso lictore is an ablative absolute: the adjective alone has to supply the place of a participle of *esse*; cf. *invita Minerva, sereno caelo*, &c. Zumpt § 645.

139. The same sentiment is in Sallust, Jug. lxxxv. 22.

140. Lewis quotes Sen. Oct. 575 *Maiora populus semper a summo exigit.* Julius Caesar's maxim was, *in maxima fortuna minuma licentia est.* Cf. also Pope, Essay on Man, Ep. iv. 267

> 'Painful preëminence! yourself to view
> Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.'

142. When **quo** is used like *quorsum*, an ellipse of some word commonly follows. Here it would be something like *prodest*. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12, *Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?* For many similar instances see Zumpt § 770. But in this, as in many other cases in which we commonly assume ellipses, it must not be supposed that the speaker or hearer consciously supplies a given word. Rather the elliptical sentence has become a phrase which may be amplified by the word which we talk of as *understood*; but it is not correct to say that such word must be understood or consciously supplied by the speaker or hearer, any more than to assume that we must understand something in such sentences as 'Fire!' or 'I to herd with narrow foreheads!'

143. in templis. Wills were commonly kept for safety in temples; the forger is here represented as committing sacrilege as well as forgery.

144. Montaigne, in his Essay on Prayers, quotes this passage and develops the thought. Montaigne, however, changes the sense of the passage: Juvenal says, 'What good is your high birth if you are a sinner?' Montaigne says, 'What good is your religion, if you wear the cowl when you are meditating sin?'

145. Santonico, 'a cowl' made at Saintonge in Aquitaine. The *cucullus Santonicus* was the same as the *bardocucullus* (cf. Mart. i. 53. 5 and xiv. 128. 1), a rough cloak, with a hood, covering the whole body.

146–182. 'Some who should be the true leaders of the people turn coachmen, and behave so, that, if they were slaves, they would be put into the slaves' prison.'

146. The poet now proceeds to depict the degeneracy of the Roman aristocracy, their propensity to racing and low company. The fact that driving oneself was considered a vice is characteristic of an age when slaves were employed for everything.

praeter maiorum. Cf. i. 171: **i. e.** along the public roads. Driving excepting in certain specified cases, as the conveyance of materials for public buildings, was forbidden in the day-time; so he drives by night. It would seem from this passage that the rule was carried out very strictly, as he did not even venture to drive through the city by day to get to the commencement of the public ways where he might legally have driven. For the tombs on the public roads see Middleton,

chap. xiii: for the ordinances about public driving in Rome see Friedländer i. 1. p. 71–74.

147. Probably an example taken from the life. Mayor assumes that the Lateranus mentioned here is the consul elect of A.D. 65, who engaged in Piso's conspiracy, Tacitus, Ann. xv. 49. Others have thought of a T. Sextius Magius Lateranus, consul 94 A.D. under Domitian. The *carpentum* was often, as here, used of a light travelling carriage with two wheels and a light tilt or frame for protection from the weather. This idea of frame-work seems to have survived in the French *charpente*.

carpentum is a loan-word from a Gaulish stem *carbento-*, or *carbanto-*, which appears in the names *Carbantoracte*, Καρβαντόριγον: see Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 9.

148. The reading of P is *multo sufflamine*, but Bücheler has admitted the present reading into his text from other MSS. The collocation and the satirical touch are quite in Juvenal's style; cf. *citharoedi magistri* Sat. vii. 212. Cf. Suet. *dicitur Vespasianus per convicium aliquando vocatus* mulio *quia ob egestatem coactus fuerat ad mangonicos questus descendere* Vesp. 4; *Mulionum autem professio servilis aut institoria fuit. Unde muliones proprie institores appellari possunt inquit* Ulpian, Digest lib. 14, tit. 3, leg. 3 (Forcellini). Petronius classes *muliones* with *servistatores* and *histriones*. They were proverbial for their incontinency. Mart. x. 76 complains that poets are allowed to starve, while car-drivers in the circus can afford purple—*Cocco mulio fulget Incitatus*. **sufflamine,** 'with the drag'; the word is used metaphorically xvi. 50. See Rich s. v.

149. 'The moon and stars are so ashamed that they strain their eyes with astonishment as they behold it.' The phrase seems formed on the analogy of *intendere aures*. Thus **luna teste,** vi. 311. In Horace the moon blushes as she sees Canidia's foul incantations Sat. i. 8. 35, as the sun veils himself in black in Verg. Georg. i. 466-468 at Caesar's murder. Commodus never drove chariots in public except in the dark: οἶκοι δὲ συνεχῶς τοῦτ' ἔπραττε, τῇ πρασίνῳ σκευῇ χρώμενος Dion. lxxii. c. 17. Cf. too Dio lxxix. relating to the pranks of Elagabalus; he drove in the colours of the green both publicly and privately.

150. 'When the time of his office has expired he will even condescend to feed his horses like a regular groom.' Suetonius quotes it against Vitellius, chap. iv. that before he became emperor he was *omnibus probris contaminatus . . . Caio per aurigandi . . . studium familiaris*. So Xiphil. lxv. 2; his character was περὶ τοὺς ἁρματηλάτας ἐσπουδακέναι.

152. trepidabit. A word commonly used intransitively, but here used transitively, like Shakspeare's 'to bay the moon.' The usage is post-classical. Cf. the use of *stupere*, 'to admire'; *ardere*, 'to love,' &c.

153. iam senis; and therefore worthy of the more respect. Cf. xiii. 155, where it is recorded as a mark of the good old times to rise before an old man.

virga, salutes with the whip. Apuleius in his Florida 21 gives a description of another kind of charioteer's salute: *virgam in laevam manum transferunt itaque expedita dextra adeunt ac salutant.*

154. hordea is used by Verg. E. v. 36; G. i. 317.

155. interea. 'Meanwhile, during his actual consulship, while he is actually performing the solemn sacrifice at the *feriae Latinae*, when the consuls yearly sacrificed a steer to Jupiter Latiaris, he thinks of nothing but horseflesh.' **robus** was used of red cattle, which were considered the best, and the Scholiast says that *robus* was used for *robustus*.

157. Epona. The goddess of horses: as Bubona was the goddess or oxen. Henzen 5804 gives an inscription found in Germany, *Deae Eponae*. She seems to have been a Celtic goddess, Preller-Jordan, R. M. ii. 3. 22. The word seems to be Gaulish, and connected with other Gaulish names like Eporedia, Eporedorix, Epomanduodurum. *Ep* = Ir. *ech*, horse. Cf. Welsh *ebol* colt, foal. The letter *p* is then here found in Gaulish as in the Italian dialects, representing Latin *qu* or *k*. It must not, however, be assumed with Corssen, i. 115, that Indo-European *k* can ever be held to represent the Latin *p*. Thus, besides *Epona* and *popina*, we find *palumbes* not of Latin but of Oscan origin; while *poena* is of course of Greek origin—see Handbuch d. k. A. Wissenschaft p. 172: thus Oscan *po*, Gk. *πο-* in *πῶς* = *quo*, cf. *sequ-* with *ἕπομαι*, and *pis* in Sabine = *quis*: just as *ἵππος* = *equus*, the older form being *ἵκκος*, and *popina* in v. 158 answering to *coquina*. In Apuleius, Met. iii. 27, we learn that the hero of his romance found in his stable *Eponae deae simulacrum residens aedicula.*

The **facies pictae** are the portraits of the goddess rudely painted in the stable.

158. 'When it takes his fancy to visit the low cookshops, he receives the gross flattery of the cringing oriental host and of the girl who sells the wine.'

pervigiles, like *vigiles fenestrae*, 'open till late in the night.' The *popinae*, and Roman inns generally, enjoyed a very poor reputation for cleanliness, comfort, and morality. The host or hostess stood outside the door, greeted passers by, and begged them to come in, like the *Copa* in Vergil's poem in the Catalecta. They were full of all kinds of low company: cf. Suet. Vitell. c. 7 *per stabula ac deversoria mulionibus et viatoribus praeter modum comis.* Cf. too Plutarch de Sanitate Praec. c. 16, p. 130. Martial v. 70 speaks of *popinae sellariolae*, where meals were served to persons sitting: and speaks of the *popinae* as attached to the *balnea*. Cicero quotes it as a reproach to Piso, *tu ex* tenebricosa popina *consul extractus* (in Cn. Pisonem vi). App. Met. viii. 153 speaks of *luxuria popinalis.*

159. obvius, 'hurrying to meet him,' and so officious.

Syrophoenix, a native of Phoenice, *adclinis Libano monti* Ammian, (xiv. 8. 9), who names Tyre as its most flourishing city, and adds Sidon, Berytus, Emissa, and Damascus. Phoenice, a part of the province of

Syria, was called by the Romans Syrophoenicia to distinguish it from Libyphoenicia.

160. Rejected by some editors on the ground of the difficulty involved in **Idumeae portae**. Some editors have understood the arch of Titus, erected by Domitian. The pass between Cilicia and Syria (*Pylae Syriae*) could hardly be meant. Juvenal seems to think of the Orient generally; and to speak of Idumea, the ancient Edom, as the *porta* to Arabia. Cf. *porta Syenes* xi. 124.

161. The Oriental welcomes him with all the airs and graces of a well-bred host, and the dancing girl offers him refreshments.

affectu: cf. the expression in Apul. Apol. 87 *tabernariis blanditiis*.

The Syrophoenician is like the Orientals mentioned by Ammian xxiii. 6. 80 *inanibus verbis abundans*.

dominum regemque. The complimentary address of a client to his patron: cf. Martial x. 10. 5 *Qui me respiciet dominum regemque vocabo?* 'What am I to do at Rome? pocket my dignity and become a client?' cf. also id. xii. 60. 14 where *rex dominusque* is used of a patron. For the use of *dominus* as a title of respect in ordinary life, cf. Fried. i. p. 444–450.

162. **succincta,** 'girt up,' and so 'bustling.'

164. **nempe,** 'of course,' cf. x. 110.

165. The words from **breve sit . . . pueris** are another illustration of Juvenal's characteristic insertion of parentheses which work out a thought in his mind, but break the connection.

166. So Martial iv. 78. 9, 10 'Young persons may, if you like, do thus: I know nothing more repulsive than an aged busybody.'

168. The exact meaning of **thermarum calices** is matter of doubt. It probably refers to the warm drinks sold in the public taprooms attached to the *thermae*; cf. xi. 4. Here the riff-raff of Rome used to gather and carry on their orgies; cf. Plautus, Curc. ii. 1310, &c. For the potations in the *thermae* cf. Martial xii. 70, who has an epigram on a poor man who used to protest against the drinking that went on in the *thermae* till he got rich, when he drank too much himself: 5 *Frangendos calices effundendumque Falernum Clamabat*; 8 *Sobrius a thermis nescit abire domum*.

inscripta lintea probably refers to the scrolls or *tituli* set over the liquor shops to attract the notice of guests. *Inscriptio* was the regular word for a shop sign; cf. Plin. Ep. v. 19. 3. A sign, often, it would seem, with the picture of an animal upon it, invited passing strangers to enter; such were *ad Gallum Gallinaceum* Henzen, Inscrip. 4330: cf. also *imago Galli in scutico picta*, probably explained by Friedländer Vol. ii. p. 42 as the sign of a tavern. Henzen, Inscr. 4329 gives such an *inscriptio* found in Lyons: it was probably an inn frequented by commercial men. 'Here Mercury promises you gain, Apollo health, Septumanus welcome and food. Whoever enters will be the better: stranger, have a care where thou lodgest!' Juvenal's meaning is, 'Lateranus is strong enough and young enough to defend the Roman

frontiers and to guard the Emperor's person. Send him to Ostia, Caesar (whence he must embark for his expedition), but you will have to pick him out of some low pothouse.' Some have taken *Ostia* as referring to the mouths of the rivers mentioned, but the interpretation given seems simpler. *Ostia* was used indifferently as feminine singular (no doubt from *urbs* being thought of in connection with the word), or as neuter plural.

169. **bello Armeniae.** On the terror inspired by the warlike Parthians cf. Horace, Car. i. 12. 53, iii. 6. 9, &c.: Amm. xxv. 4. 23 *Parthici ardores.*

tuendis amnibus, the Euphrates and Tigris.

170. **Rheno atque Istro.** The Rhine, Danube, and Ister were looked upon as the natural boundaries of the Roman Empire; cf. Amm. xvii. 13. 4, and ib. xxi. 10. 3, 'the Haemus rises *ab ipsis Histri marginibus*'; he then proceeds to show how admirably suited for defence is the line of the Danube. Ammian also in xxviii. 2. 1 describes how Valentinianus fortified the whole of the Rhine *a Raetiarum exordio ad usque fretalem Oceanum.*

172. The **popina** was so thoroughly reprobated as low that an action for *iniuria* lay against any one who enticed a child or a slave into it. Digest xxvii. Tit. x. § 26.

173. For the low company in the Roman *tabernae* see Friedländer, ii. p. 42; they were cheap, but incredibly dirty and immoral as well. Horace, Sat. i. 5. 4, and elsewhere in the same Satire, cites the sailors as foul-mouthed: the *tabernae* at a port like Ostia would be full of such.

175. **carnifices:** see Sat. vi. 480 *tortores*; their office was to punish slaves; see Mart. ii. 17. 2, and ix. 92. 9.

sandapilarum. 'Coffins of wood' in which the poor and malefactors were buried, being conducted to the grave by *vespillones*. Roman citizens were conducted, when dead, to the funeral pyre on a *lectica*; cf. Martial, ii. 81. 2.

176. The **Gallus,** or priest of Cybele, is drunk on his back, his silent tambourine beside him. For the shamelessness of the *Galli* or priests of Cybele see Satire ii. 82 sqq. The **tympana** were the regular instruments used by these *Galli*; cf Sat. vi. 515; Catull. lxiii. 8 sq.; they were properly women's instruments. Cf. Achilles' words in Stat. Ach. i. 654 *tibi* mollia *gesto Tympana.* Cf. too Stat. Theb. ix. 800.

180. The town slaves were punished by being sent into the country, there to work on farms or in the quarries. **ergastulum** was the technical name for their dungeon. Plautus, who gives us so many pictures of slave life under the Romans, is full of references to the hard lot of these country slaves. Cf. Plaut. Mostell. i. 1. 17, 19, &c., and Mart. ix. 23. 4. Lucania and Etruria especially had large *latifundia*, since the almost total destruction of their free peasantry in the Second Punic War. Martial expressly refers to the numerous slaves in Etruria, ix. 22. 4 *Et sonet innumera compede* Tuscus *ager.*

nempe, 'of course,' as supr. 57.

181. **Troiugenae,** cf. i. 100. **vobis ignoscitis,** 'are indulgent to yourselves.'

'You of the blue blood of Rome have a different code of honour for yourselves.'

182. **cerdoni,** as the type of a handicraftsman: the **cerdones** seem to have been despised. See Pers. iv. 51 *tollat sua munera cerdo.* Cf. Sat. iv. 153; Mart. iii. 16. 1. Cf. the proverb *ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

Volesus Valerius, the ancestor of the patrician *gens Valeria,* cf. Dio. Hal. ii. 46. Cf. Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto iii. 2. 103, 105:—

animus semper tibi mitis, et altae
Indicium mores nobilitatis habet;
Quos Volesus patrii cognoscat nominis auctor,
Quos Numa maternus non neget esse suos.

Cf. too Sil. It. Punic. ii. 8 *Poplicola, ingentis Volesi Spartana propago.*

183–210. 'Others take to the stage, and are not ashamed to accept the applause of the people; others have actually descended to perform as gladiators!' One of the greatest signs of the demoralisation under the empire was the loss of self-respect shown by some of the noble families who condescended to appear upon the stage or in the arena. The Emperors as a rule would not be sorry to see the degradation of the aristocracy, whom as a rule they hated: and the mob found a new pleasure in seeing the degenerate descendants of the oldest families in Rome court its favour by sacrificing their self-respect. Young noblemen were seen performing in the Circus-games of Caesar. Under Augustus both senators and knights fought as gladiators to repair their ruined fortunes, Hor. Ep. i. 18. 36, though there was a special enactment of the senate forbidding such conduct passed 38 B. C. (the S. C. in Dio xlviii. 43). Under Nero the evil reached its greatest height: cf. Tac. Ann. xiv. 15 *non nobilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores impedimento quo minus Graeci Latinive histrionis artem exercerent usque ad gestus modosque haud viriles,* &c. Cf. Suet. Nero ii. 12; Friedländer ii. p. 372.

For the Latin use of **quid si,** where we should use some expression like 'Is it not sad?' or 'Is it not true?' &c., see Zumpt § 769.

183. 'But every depth has a lower one: we have lived to see Roman nobles emulating buffoons and play-actors.'

185. **Damasippus,** a spendthrift: his character had passed into a type from Horace, Sat. ii. 3. 16 sq. He is mentioned by Cicero as having statues and gardens for sale, ad Att. xii. 29. 2; 33. 1; ad Fam. vii. 23. 3.—Cicero speaks of him as the prince of brocanteurs. See Palmer's note on Hor. Sat. *loc. citat.*

186. **siparium,** 'the curtain,' here used for the stage. *Siparum* seems to have been an Oscan word meaning a sail. The word has survived under the form *sipario* in modern Italian. *Siparius* seems specially employed of the curtain of comedy as opposed to that of tragedy, Sen. Tranq. An. 11. § 8. From App. Met. 10 *aulaeo subducto*

et complicitis siparii scena disponitur, some have thought that *aulaeum* was the name of the large curtain drawn up at the end of the play, *siparium* of a small curtain drawn up between the acts; others explain it of a folding screen.

clamosum. To play the screaming 'ghost-part' of Catullus. This Catullus was a play-writer under Caligula, referred to by Martial v. 30. 3 *nec te* facundi *scena Catulli detineat*. 'The ghost' in some form was a constant subject in Roman plays, e. g. the Mostellaria of Plautus; and Menander wrote a play with the title of *Phasma*.

187. **Laureolus.** The *Laureolus* was also a character in a farce of Catullus. The character seems to have been very well known; he was exposed upon the stage on a cross, and either torn by a bear as Martial alleges, Spect. 3; or, as Josephus, (Antt. xix. 1 § 13) says, was crucified. The Scholiast speaks of him as a slave; Josephus as a captain of robbers. The *Laureolus* was played on the day of the murder of Caligula, Suet. Calig. chap. 57. It was also a favourite subject for representation in the amphitheatre, where pantomimic representations were given of all kinds of mythological subjects, the actors being condemned criminals, and trained to die like the character whom they had to represent; cf. Martial, viii. 30. Juvenal says that the aristocrat acted his part so well and naturally that he deserved real crucifixion for his loss of self-respect.

Lentulus. Cf. Tertullian, Apol. 15 *Dispicite* Lentulorum *et Hostiliorum venustates utrum mimos an deos vestros rideatis*.

188. Actors as such were *infames*, and ranked with convicted felons: see Fried. ii. p. 467.

189. **durior.** Shameless as was Lentulus, the people who can encourage him are more shameless still.

190. **triscurria,** 'the arch-buffooneries'—a word composed by Juvenal; *tri-* has an intensive meaning, as in *trifurcifer*. Cf. Horace's *felices ter et amplius* C. i. 13, 17), and the Greek word τρικυμία, which survives in modern Greek with the meaning of 'a hurricane.'

191. **planipedes,** actors who played in low farces (*mimi*), so called because they wore no *calcei* or *cothurni*. **audit.** The *mimi* were full of coarse allusions, vulgar words, low and broad jokes: blows, slaps, and knocks given to the 'dullard' of the piece were among the standing jokes: see Fried. ii. p. 436. Cf. Ap. Flor. i. 4 (in the mimes) *animadverteret paene simili purpura alios praesidere, alios* vapulare. Cf. too Ovid Trist. ii. Eleg. 1. 515 *Scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos*.

Fabios, see l. 14.

192. The *Mamerci* were a noble family of the *gens Aemilia*.

The difficulty in **funera** is that he is not speaking of gladiators; whence Ribbeck has adopted the reading *munera*, which is unsupported by the MSS., but will bear the meaning of 'services.' Reading **funera**, some suppose that Juvenal is mentally referring to Damasippus as having volunteered as a gladiator; some, like Madvig, that he is speaking of his moral death. Mr. Munro, in Mayor's edition, supposes

with more reason the sense of the passage to be 'at what price these creatures sell their death, what does it matter? (We know that they do sell them at the present day, though no Nero compels: nay, they unhesitatingly sell them at the games of the praetor.) But, if they had the choice given them between the stage and the sword, I should have thought that they would have preferred the sword to the *rôle* of low characters upon the stage.' This explanation assumes that Juvenal begins by thinking vaguely of Nero's times, in which D. Cass. 61. 17 expressly states that men and women of the equestrian and senatorial rank went on the stage and fought in single combat. He then in the parenthesis returns to his own time. In this case *gladios* has no reference to the gladiatorial shows, but simply means 'violent death.' *Mortem* and *vulnere* then (in l. 210) will refer to any death and suffering, which is preferable to the stage on the one hand, or to the disgrace attending a public exhibition of a nobleman's adoption of the *rôle* of a gladiator on the other.

193. **vendunt:** cf. Tac. A. xiv. 14 (Nero) *nobilium familiarum posteros* egestate venales *in scenam deduxit.*

194. Augustus transferred the whole arrangement of the shows to the praetors: they had formerly been superintended by the aediles, D. Cass. liv. 2.

196. **quid** for *utrum* is a mark of late Latinity, sometimes found in prose, though the use is not unknown in Verg. Aen. xii. 727, and in Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 41. Cf. too Ov. Met. xii. 200 *Elige quid voveas.*

sic commonly means 'in this way'; here it = *adeo*, 'to such a degree.'

197. 'Has any one ever fallen so low as to prefer to be the *mari soupçonneux* of Thymele (i. 36), or the mate of Corinthus, the stage-blockhead?'

Zelotypus. For the formation of the word cf. *cacozeli*, Suet. Aug. 86. **Thymele,** the *mima* referred to Sat. i. 36. The subjects of the *mimi* were taken from low life; as the Maccus was one of the standing figures of the *Atellanae*, so was the *stupidus* of the mimes: cf. an inscription in Henzen, Inscr. Lat. 2645, found at Verona, *Aurelius Eutyches, stupidus gregis ut[ellanae.* The *Atellanae* differed from the *mimi* chiefly in the fact that the former confined themselves to four standing conventional characters with regular masks, while the latter permitted a greater variety of characters and incidents.

198. **citharoedo,** as Nero was. Sueton. Nero, 20, tells us that as soon as he came to the throne, he summoned Terpnus the citharoedus, the most celebrated performer of his time; and he learnt from him all the artifices of the profession, dieting himself and employing mechanical means to keep himself in voice. Although it is true that to play upon an instrument was thought unworthy of a Roman of condition, that which gave the greatest offence to his contemporaries was that he wished to cultivate music, not as a pastime, but as a profession. His last words were, *Qualis artifex pereo!* (Suet. 49). When the revolt broke

out against him, he felt more than anything else that Vindex had styled him in a public proclamation 'a bad *citharoedus*.' For his various performances in public see Friedl. iii 2. p. 356.

199. 'There is only one lower depth: the gladiators' school.'

ludus. Domitian built the four imperial gladiator's schools after the completion of the Flavian amphitheatre. They comprised a complete staff of officials—such as trainers in the use of arms, surgeons, inspectors, &c.; they were presided over by a procurator of knightly rank. They were treated with the greatest rigour, in fact, almost like prisoners, and were watched by armed soldiers. They were dieted on food solely designed to promote their strength—food which was, however, repellent to other people *miscellanea ludi*, Juv. xi. 20).

200. The nobleman disgraces his order by not even disguising himself as a *murmillo*, whose features were concealed by a helmet: but he appears as the *retiarius*, who had to try and fling his net over his adversary, and transfix him with his trident. Should his attack fail, he had to run away. Thus the Roman noble twice disgraces himself, (1) by displaying his face, when for very shame he should hide it; (2) by assuming a *rôle* which entailed his running away. **murmillo** is thus spelt in two inscriptions given by Henzen, 6174, 6175. The *murmillones* and *Galli* seem to have been similarly, but not identically, armed: see Fried. ii. p. 529. The *murmillo* was armed with a helmet with a fish upon it (*μόρμυρος*). His business was to catch the *retiarius* before the latter could entangle him in his net. He was completely covered with armour. Cicero draws the same contrast, Phil. vii. § 17 Gracchorum *potentiam maiorem fuisse arbitramini quam huius gladiatoris futura sit?* (Mayor).

201. The **Gracchus** whom he mentions appears as a *retiarius*; he has not even as much armour to conceal him as a Threx. These were armed with a small concave shield, commonly called *parma*, Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 129. They carried as a weapon of attack the *sica*, the national weapon of the Thracians, Val. Max. iii. 2. 12, a short crooked sword bent upwards. They were also fully equipped with defensive armour.

202. 'He scorns such trappings; and acts on his feeling of scorn: it is no mere affectation.' The *retiarii* were the only class of gladiators who appeared without any protection to their head (Suet. Claud. c. 34). They wore a tunic (Sat. ii. 143), a wide belt (*balteus*), and a guard of leather or metal on their left arm (*galerus*). They carried a large net, a harpoon (*fuscina*), and a dagger; their object was to envelop the *murmillo*, Gallus or Threx, and then to stab him; if the *retiarius* missed his cast, being practically without armour, he was obliged to run away; and, having thus to pass bareheaded the rows of spectators, he would be the more readily recognised. For the *retiarius*, see Rich, s. v.

205. **spectacula,** 'the places of the spectators,' for 'the spectators' themselves; just as *servitia* stands for 'the slaves.'

207. 'Let us trust our eyes, since a noose of gold (gold-lace) reaches

from the neck of his tunic and dangles from his tall arm-guard.' The *spira* was a noose or lasso running from the left shoulder across the breast to the right hip; it was to this that the *rete* was probably fastened. The *galerus* was a guard for the left arm, high enough to rise above and protect the left shoulder; it was sometimes so high that it looked like a wing, *galerus est umero impositus gladiatoris*, Schol. The name, which seems inapplicable (and is more commonly used for a covering for the head), must be explained as a technical term of the gladiatorial profession, in which the net was called *iaculum*; see Fried. ii. p. 528. The bravery of the lasso and of the rising *galerus* would make the *retiarius* more conspicuous, and render his dishonour the greater; he was in fact a *virtuoso* in his disgraceful pursuit.

209. 'And so, owing to the disgrace of his noble competitor, the vile gladiator matched with him is disgraced with an infamy worse than any wound'; whichever combatant is defeated, he will die a death disgraceful from the ignominy of his opponent. For the sentiment cf. Sen. de Prov. 3. § 4 *ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi*. Cf. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 12. § 3 *Plus etiam quam ignominia est mors ignominiosa*.

210. The *secutores* were also matched with the *retiarii* Suet. Cal. 30). Their weapons were a sword, a shield, and a helmet. Their name comes from their method of fighting—viz. pursuing their flying adversary, who tried to enmesh them. Commodus fought armed as a *secutor*, D. Cass. lxxii. 19. 22.

211–230. 'If the people might decide their own fate, they would prefer Seneca the stern moralist, Seneca the Spaniard, Seneca the teacher of Nero, to his high-born pupil, the wilful parricide, not to be excused by the precedent of Orestes, who slew his mother—*he* was merely carrying out the divine commands, and after the one dread deed he stayed his hands; he committed no wholesale murder of his relatives: never trod the stage as a professional: wrote no epic. This is the crowning disgrace: a Roman emperor sought to win a parsley crown on a foreign stage. Place his gew-gaw trophies on the family statues of the Emperor who won such prizes!' For the satirical bathos compare De Quincey's 'Murder as a Fine Art.'

212. Seneca the Stoic, whose motto was 'Never will wickedness wax so strong, never will any conspiracy against virtue so prevail, as to forbid the name of Philosophy remaining honoured and holy.' Seneca had actually been suggested, on the occasion of Piso's conspiracy, A. D. 65, as a possible candidate for the imperial throne, on account of the renown of his virtues: Tac. Ann. xv. 65.

213. Nero was worthy of more than one parricide's punishment. He was privy to the murder of Claudius: Suet. Nero 33 *Parricidia et caedes a Claudio exorsus est; cuius necis etsi non auctor at conscius fuit*; and he refused to allow his *bustum* to be decently fenced in. He poisoned, with the aid of Locusta (Suet. ib.), Britannicus, his step-brother, Claudius' son, partly out of jealousy of his good voice. He

poisoned two sisters of his father: his mother Agrippina blamed him and remonstrated: he tried to poison her, to stifle her, and to drown her: but, failing in all these attempts, he had her massacred. Like Orestes (215) he was tormented by the vision of Furies with thongs and blazing torches. He murdered his first wife Octavia, after endeavouring to strangle her: he finally banished her and had her executed on a trumped-up charge of adultery (Suet. Nero 35). He kicked his second wife, Poppaea, to death because she remonstrated with him for coming home late from driving in a race. He killed Antonia the daughter of Claudius because she would not marry him after his treatment of Poppaea—*similiter ceteros aut* affinitate *sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos* (Suet. ib.). Suetonius expressly dwells on the indignation openly shown by the people on Nero's treatment of Octavia; and shown also after his treatment of his mother.

214. The punishment of the parricide, as we learn from the Digest, xlviii. 9. 9, was, after being scourged, to be tied up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and an ape, and then cast into the sea or worried by wild beasts. Cicero, Rosc. Am. c. 26, gives the reason, *ut repente caelo, sole, aqua terraque, privarentur.* Under Claudius this punishment was more frequent than crucifixion. The animals with which the criminal was sewn up were foul—the viper, the type of unnatural ingratitude (*viperam nutricare sub ala* Petron. 77); the ape that stifles its young; the dog that will worry even its parents: cf. *cane peius et angui* Hor. Ep. i. 17. 30. The punishment is referred to by Suet. Aug. 33; and by Seneca de Clem. i. § 23; also by Ap. Met. x.

215. 'It is true that Orestes was a matricide; but this was at the bidding of heaven: he spared the rest of his relatives, and never murdered Hermione or Electra as Nero murdered his adopted sister Antonia.' The crime is briefly compared to the author of the crime: cf. iii. 74 *Isaeo torrentior.* **Agamemnonidae . . Orestes.** Suetonius, Nero 21, tells us that Nero composed a tragedy, *Orestes Matricida*; and in ib. 39 he tells us that such verses as this were posted up or passed from mouth to mouth: **Νέρων, Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων, μητροκτόνοι.** The crime of Orestes was a hackneyed theme in the schools of rhetoric: cf. Cic. de Inv. i. §§ 18, 19 (quoted by Mayor).

217. Cf. Homer, Odyssey xi. 410, where Aegisthus and Klytemnestra are spoken of as having murdered Agamemnon at a feast to which they had bidden him. Seneca, Agam. 867 sqq., follows Homer. Aeschylus represents Agamemnon as having been murdered in a bath. Ag. 1097. For the thought in these lines see Horace, Sat. ii. 3. 133 sqq.

218. **Spartani.** Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen. Juvenal, as frequently, omits the name and supplies it by a circumlocution.

220. Nero actually appeared as a public singer on the stage at Naples, and repeated his performance several times: Suet. Ner. 20.

221. 'What among all his frivolous and cruel acts deserved more to be punished than his audacity in wishing to join the sacred com-

pany of *pii vates*?' A seeming bathos: 'He never murdered the epic of Troy as did Nero by writing wretched verses on this theme,' cf. Dio lxii. 29: cf. for a similar bathos, Pope, On the Characters of Women, 'And mistress of herself though China fall.' For another, in Latin, cf. Petron. § 71 *Trimalchio sestertium reliquit trecenties nec unquam philosophum audivit*, and cf. Juv. Sat. iii. 9 *et Augusto recitantes mense poetas*. For the description of Troy's fate, cf. Eumolpus' poetical description of a picture, supposed to be a parody of Nero's Troica, Petron. § 90 sqq. The view is one natural to men who, like Juvenal, deemed that a crime might well be excused by passion or interest, but that deliberately to forfeit dignity was the one unpardonable crime. The conspirators who meant to kill Nero intended to kill their own chief Piso afterwards, in order that a man who had once acted on the stage might not be emperor: Tac. Ann. xv. 65. What should we think of our Queen performing as a nautch-girl, or of a prince of the blood performing amid strolling minstrels?

Troica. Nero composed verses when quite a boy: Tac. Ann. xiii. 3. He earnestly wished to acquire the fame of a great Roman poet. He wrote occasional pieces (in one of which he sang the praises of Poppaea's 'amber locks'), lyric verses, tragedies. The long epic mentioned here is 'the tale of Troy,' of which Paris is the hero, who, in a wrestling match, beat all the combatants, Hector included. Martial speaks of his verses with admiration: *docti carmina Neronis* viii. 70. 8. Pers. i. 121, ridicules them keenly.

L. **Verginius** Rufus, consul A. D. 63, was governor of Upper Germania A.D. 68, when C. Julius Vindex, propraetor of his native Gaul, rose against Nero, and (finding the provincial levies insufficient to found a Gallic empire) offered the crown to Ser. Sulpicius Galba, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, who declared himself, April 2, 68 (Mayor). Verginius refused to acknowledge anyone as emperor unless he had been acknowledged by the Senate, and marched against Vindex, destroying him and his whole army at the battle of Vesontio. Verginius was a really remarkable man: he refused the empire several times. Pliny, Ep. ii. 1, should be read in connection with his name. 'For thirty years he survived his glorious deeds; he read poems, he read histories written about himself, he was a witness to his own fame with posterity. He outlived his eighty-third year . . . his eulogy was pronounced by Cornelius Tacitus.'

225. 'These are the works, these the accomplishments of your prince of the blood, who exulted in flaunting his shame by singing his degrading songs on a foreign stage, and winning the parsley crown of Greece!' His appearance in public was degrading to a Roman; but it was doubly degrading that he should flaunt his shame before Greeks.

226. For **prostitui** cf. Suet. Nero 21 *non cessavit identidem* se publicare. For Nero's Greek tour, in which he sang publicly as a professional (66 A. D.), cf. Suet. 22. He flattered them by telling the messengers who brought him *citharoedorum coronas* that the Greeks were the only critics

worth considering. **apium.** Parsley was employed for crowns at the Nemean games, as fir was at the Isthmian: Luc. Anach. 9.

227. He now turns to Nero and tells him to deck the statues of his ancestors with these frivolous trophies. Suet. 25 tells us that Nero actually placed statues of himself as a *citharoedus* in his bed-chamber, *circum lectos.*

vocis. Suet. ib. says he was so careful about preserving his voice that he made some one summon the soldiers that he required for his service, to spare his voice; and in chap. 21 he says that those present demanded his *caelestem vocem*: cf. too Tac. Ann. xvi. 22 and xiv. 15.

228. Curiatius Maternus wrote a play on Thyestes about this time, intended as a sequel or compliment to one called Cato, and in which Domitius was alluded to, i.e. Domitius Ahenobarbus the friend of Cato: Tac. de Orat. c. 23. Nero's father was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

229. **syrma,** the long train of the tragic actor: cf. Martial, iv. 49. 3, 4 *Ille magis ludit qui scribit prandia saevi Tereos, aut coenam, crude* Thyesta, *tuam.* So id. xii. 94. 4 *Aptasti longum tu quoque syrma tibi.* Suetonius, c. 21, says that he performed in tragedies; mentioning, as among others, the *Canace parturiens*, the *Orestes matricida*, the blind Oedipus, the insane Hercules. Vindex charged him with appearing in the character of Thyestes. Euripides wrote two tragedies called *Melanippe* (the mythical daughter of Aeolus).

230. Nero had a colossal statue, twenty feet high, erected in the vestibulum of his golden house, as we learn from Suet. Vita Neronis, c. 31. This was, however, apparently of bronze, according to Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 18, § 6 (Lemaire); *ea statua indicavit interisse fundendi aeris scientiam.* Probably this refers to some statue of a Domitius.

231. 'Birth does not necessarily confer honesty. Catilina and Cethegus are instances to the contrary: remember how they were crushed by a young man of no family and unknown to fame.'

Catiline was of the *gens Sergia*, a patrician *gens* which claimed as its ancestor Sergestus, the comrade of Aeneas, cf. Verg. Aen. v. 121. His great-grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, was an adventurous leader in the Second Punic War; cf. Plin. N. H. vii. 29. The **Cethegi** were of the *gens Cornelia.*

natales, for 'birth.' So Tacitus, 'natalium *claritas*' Hist. i. 49: but the word in this sense is confined to the Silver age.

233. Cf. Plutarch, Cic. 18. Lentulus determined to kill all the senators and as many of the rest of the citizens as he could, and to burn the city. A *night* had been fixed for the attempt, &c. (Mayor).

234. 'As though you had been the sons of the breeched barbarians and the descendants of the Senones.' **Bracata** was the name given to Gallia Narbonensis. The use of breeches was looked upon as effeminate, and was at the same time regarded as barbarous: cf. Cic. in Pis. c. 23 *O bracatae cognationis dedecus!* for Piso was connected with the people of Gallia Bracata through his maternal grandfather Calventius. The

Senones (whose name survives in the town Sens) lay to the north of the Aedui. They were the nation who took and sacked Rome, B. C. 390 (Liv. v. 35), devastating the city so completely that it was proposed that it should be transferred to Veii. It was natural that their name should have been proverbially used for the enemies of Rome as it is by Statius, Silv. v. 3. 197–8 *sacrilegis lucent Capitolia taedis Et Senonum furias Latiae sumpsere cohortes.*

braca (or *bracca*), the Gallo-Latin word, is probably from Gaulish **vraca*, a stem also contained in Welsh *gwreg-ys*, 'girdle.' See Schuchardt, Zeitschrift für Roman. Philol. iv. 148.

Senones. Zeuss, Gramm. Celt. p. 49, compares Irish *senm* = *sonitus*: so that the name would mean the 'shouters.'

235. **tunica molesta** was a nickname given by the people to the burning garments of those poor wretches who had to represent in the amphitheatre such scenes as Hercules burning to death upon Mount Oeta. Martial has two Epigrams, viii. 30 and x. 25, upon the firmness with which a man acted the part of Mucius Scaevola, and burnt his hand off in some games in the amphitheatre; indeed, in the epigram cited, x. 25, the sufferer is expressly stated to have consented to have his hand burnt off to save himself from the *tunica molesta*. The *tunicae* were often embroidered with gold or purple; and from beneath these the fire was seen suddenly to leap up and consume the victim; see Fried. ii. p. 409.

237–268. 'On the other hand Cicero, the Decii, and Marius, Rome's saviours, were all men of no birth.'

237. **novus.** It was a boast of Cicero himself that no *novus homo* had ever been made consul before him (de Leg. Agr. ii. § 3), and the *nobiles* deemed before Cicero's consulship that discredit would be cast upon their order should any *novus homo*, however illustrious, be appointed, Sallust, Cat. 23. § 6. Cf. *divus Augustus (usus est) M. Agrippa, et proxime ab eo Statilio Tauro, quibus novitas familiae haud obstitit quominus ad multiplices consulatus triumphosque et complura vehierentur sacerdotia* Vell. Pat. ii. 127. For the high value set upon the consulship, even under the Empire, see Casaubon's learned note to Suetonius, Caligula 26; cf. Jornand. de Rebus Geticis c. 57 *factusque est consul ordinarius*; *quod summum bonum, primumque in mundo decus edicitur.*

Arpinas. Arpinum, in the territory of the Volsci to the east of Rome.

238. For the contempt with which provincials were looked upon by genuine Romans see Fried. i. 3, p. 234; cf. Cic. Orat. Philipp. iii. 6. 15. 'You see how lowly we are rated, we who come from *municipia*, that is, all of us! For how many of us are there who do not come thence?'

galeatum, 'as ready to fight'; cf. i. 169 galeatum *senio duelli Poenitet.*

239. **in omni monte,** 'on all the seven hills'; cf. *istos colles* in Sat. vi. 295.

240. toga, the garb of the advocate when pleading in court; cf. Cicero's own line, in Pis. § 73 *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*, and Pliny, N. H. vii. § 117 *Salve primus omnium parens patriae appellate, primus in toga triumphum linguaeque lauream merite.* Martial uses *toga* of the profession of eloquence: ii. 90. 2 *Gloria Romanae Quintiliane togae.* So too ib. i. 55, where Fronto is called *clarum militiae Fronto togaeque decus*, in which case *toga* is used for 'the garb of peace,' which idea is no doubt connoted here; cf. *M. Antonius philosophus per Brundusium veniens in Italiam togam et ipse sumpsit et milites togatos esse iussit* Jul. Cap. Vit. M. Ant. Phil. § 27.

241. The difficulty in the reading **non Leucade**, that of the text, is that the meaning would naturally be 'as much as Octavius did *not* get at Leucas but *did* get in Thessaly';—and there seems no proof that *non* can be understood with the second clause when expressed with the first only, any more than in such a sentence as *Quasi nunc id agatur . . . ac non hoc quaeratur* it is understood in the *first* limb of the sentence because expressed in the second. To meet this, K. F. Hermann conjectures *vix*, which reading Mayor adopts: others read *quam non in Leucade ; quam non*, &c.:—and this would give the sense required. The reading of P is *quantum in Leucad*; *non* is the reading of P *manus secunda.*

Leucade. The peninsula of Leucas is really distant 240 stadia from Actium, and yet is often spoken of as the scene of the battle (B. C. 31.; so Aen. viii. 675-7 *Actia bella Cernere erat* totum*que instructo Marte videres Fervere* Leucaten. The Romans expressed themselves vaguely with respect to the geography of the East. Thus, too, Vergil Georg. i. 489 sq. speaks of *Emathia* and *Haemus* as having witnessed the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi; where see Conington's note *ad loc.* But the passage in Vergil probably led to the perpetuation of the mistake in such places as Ovid, Met. xv. 824; Lucan, Phars. i. 680 sqq.; &c.

243. Rome was free when she called Cicero **pater patriae**, but enslaved when she honoured Octavius. Cicero was saluted as *pater patriae* by Catulus: cf. Or. pro Sestio § 121. In a letter to Atticus, ix. 10, he says *me quem nonnulli conservatorem istius urbis, quem parentem esse dixerunt.* Augustus received *patris patriae cognomen* Suet. chap. 58; cf. Ovid, Fast. ii. 127 (B. C. 2). For his name with the title cf. Henzen, Inscription 3310; Julius Caesar is also called by this title, Inscription 585; cf. Cic. Phil. ii. § 31. The title given to Cicero was merely a complimentary one: under the later emperors it became a regular title.

245. There was another man of Arpinum, C. Marius, who rose *e plebe infima* Tac. Hist. ii. 38. Juvenal says 'he was first of all a common ploughman, and afterwards, as a common soldier, he received blows on his head which broke the wand of the centurion' (**vitis**). Plutarch, Mar. 13, speaks of his proverbial patience.

Arpinas alius. Cicero names Marius as his fellow-townsman, de Legg. ii. 6 *quod ex eo* [*Arpino*] *duo sui conservatores exstitissent.*

Plut. Mar. 3 tells us that Marius was the son of poor parents: and that he was brought up temperately and frugally. Ammian, xxx. 8. 9, speaks of Marius and Cinna as *vulgi rudes animi sed humana respectare soliti*, and in xxi. 15. 14 says that some persons believed Marius to have a familiar genius.

The **Volsci**, with the Marsi and Sabini, are types of strong and hardy warriors, cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 168. Cf. Livy Epit. lvii. for the use of the *vitis*, which was applied to Roman soldiers, while foreigners were visited with the *fustis*; and also Ov. A. A. iii. 527, Tac. Ann. i. 23.

248. **dolabra.** An instrument employed for making stockades; a pick-axe, having a long handle and a double head. An illustration is given in Rich.

250. Catulus and Marius united to overthrow the **Cimbri** at Vercellae, B. C. 101.

252. The Romans often quoted the barbarians as taller and stronger than themselves. Seneca, de Ira i. 11. 1 speaks of *barbaros robustiores corporibus*; and Quint. Decl. 3, § 14 says *non enim nobis vehementiora corpora quam vel his ecce Cimbris.* See l. 117.

253. **collega.** This was Catulus Lutatius, who was elected consul in the year 102 B. C., when Marius was elected consul for the fourth time. In the next year, the year of his fifth consulship, Marius gained the decisive victory of Raudii Campi. Plut. Mar. 27 tells us that the soldiers insisted that Catulus should share the honour of the triumph with his colleague.

254. P. **Decius** Mus, father and son, Livy viii. 9, x. 28, sacrificed themselves for their country; the father in the battle at Vesuvius against the Latin league, 340 B. C.; the son at the battle of Sentinum against the Samnites, 295 B. C. The words of Decius, according to Livy, viii. 9. § 8, were *pro republica Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum dis manibus Tellurique devoveo.* Horace too notices the plebeian origin of the Decii, Sat. i. 6. 20. Many similar acts of expiatory sacrifice are quoted by Mr. Mayor, such as that of the daughters of Orion, Metioche and Menippe (Ov. Met. xiii. 692, 6), of M. Curtius, of Palinurus, Aen. v. 815. The example of the *Decii* was a commonplace; cf. Amm. xvi. 10. 3 *ignorans (Constantius) . . . alium ad Deciorum exempla vovisse pro republica spiritum . . . diversos denique actibus inclaruisse magnificis.* Thus Julianus ap. eund. is made to say that if he falls in battle *pro orbe Romano sese vovisse sufficiet ut Curtii, Mucliique veteres et clara prosapia Deciorum.*

258. 'For the **Decii** are worth more in the eyes of the gods below than all they died for.' Some editors, like Markland, suspect this verse as not genuine: but one of Juvenal's marked characteristics is the frequency with which he introduces *sententiae*, or aphorisms which would be very telling in recitations. Other instances are iii. 104, vi. 50–55, 112, 562; vii. 145, 194–196; viii. 140, 141; x. 54, 55; xi. 99; xiii. 166. For other instances see Smit, Annot. p. 34. If we were to delete the digressions and aphorisms in Juvenal, no doubt we should succeed

in making his Satires more concise, but should at the same time efface one of the characteristics which give him his individuality.

259. **ancilla natus,** Servius Tullius, Sat. vii. 199. Servius is constantly cited as the example of one who from low birth rose to bear the kingly diadem; cf. Cic. Rep. ii. 37 *Servius Tullius primus iniussu populi regnavisse traditur, quem ferunt ex serva Tarquiniensi natum*: cf. also Hor. Sat. i. 6. 9.

trabeam. An old Indo-European word, appearing in Sanskrit as *tārpja* (Vaniček p. 307), where it means a robe woven from a material made out of some plant: in Latin, it means a *toga* ornamented with horizontal stripes of purple, adopted by the kings as a royal robe, and bequeathed by them to the consuls and knights. See Rich, s. v.

261–268. 'The sons of Brutus would fain have opened the city doors to the exiled tyrants: how much nobler would it have been had they dared some great deed for their country such as might have won the admiration of their country's heroes!'

261. **laxabant.** The imperfect, implying that the attempt had not succeeded. This use is called the imperfect *de conatu*; it easily flows from the fundamental meaning of the imperfect, which is that of incompleted action. It is found in Plautus (cf. Holze ii. 71), Menaechm. iv. 1. 6 *pallam ad phrygionem* ferebat ('he wanted to carry'): Merc. v. 2. 43 *quo nunc ibas* ('whither did you wish to go?'). It is not uncommon in Cicero and Caesar, and is very common in Livy; cf. ii. 43. 6 *prodebat*; cf. Dräger, i. p. 279.

262. Livy ii. 3 *per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est*; the sister of the Vitellii was married to the consul Brutus, and of this marriage were born Titus and Tiberius; their uncles admitted these also into the conspiracy (ib. c. 4).

263. **dubia pro libertate**; cf. vii. 116, where, however, *dubius* is used in a different sense.

264. For the exploit of Horatius Cocles in defending the bridge against Porsena see Livy ii. 10 *Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles*: cf. too Verg. Aen. viii. 650. Plut. in Poplic. identifies the name *Cocles* with the Greek Κύκλωψ: the form *Coclites* seems developed from the analogy of *milites*; see K. and C, S. and Infl. p. 211.

Mucius. C. Mucius Cordus *Scaevola*, who burned his right hand before Porsena; cf. Livy ii. 12, his words being *et facere et pati fortia Romanum est*; cf. ib. xiii. *postea* Scaevolae *a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum*, the name *Scaevola* being connected with σκαιός and *obscae(v)nus* ('of ill omen').

et quae. Cloelia, who escaped from the camp of Porsena and swam across the Tiber, Livy ii. 13 *dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit*: cf. Aen. viii. 651. For her statue cf. Seneca. Cons. ad Marciam 16 *equestri insidens statuae, in sacra via, celeberrimo loco, Cloelia exprobrat iuvenibus nostris pulvinum ascendentibus, in ea illos urbe sic ingredi, in qua etiam feminas equo*

donavimus. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 6. § 13, mentions the legend with the variation that Cloelia was the only hostage who escaped; whereas Livy makes them all return in safety.

265. **Tiberinum natavit.** This accusative is really an extension by analogy of the ordinary cognate accusative, which is itself merely an adverbial use of the case: in fact, the transition is not very great from a case like *saltare Cyclopa* to *natare amnem*, though it is possible that the use of words like *secare, tranare,* &c. may have contributed to render the construction usual. Cicero, de Fin. ii. § 112, uses *terram navigare* and *mare ambulare.* Juvenal, as usual, instead of giving Cloelia's name, gives the exploit by which she is famous.

266. The slave's name was Vindicius; he discovered the secret at a supper-party, and warned the consuls of the impending danger (Livy ii. 4); he was as worthy of being mourned for by the matrons as was Junius Brutus, who fell in the fight, and who, according to Livy ii. 7, was mourned for a whole year by the Roman matrons: *quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.*

268. **legum.** The first *legal* execution under the reign of law—i. e. the Republic; cf. Livy xi. 3. 4, where *rex* and *leges* are sharply contrasted. The contrast is with such arbitrary power as was exhibited under Tarquin; cf. Livy i. 49 *Neque enim (Tarquinius) ad ius regni quidquam praeter vim habebat: ut qui neque populi iussu, neque auctoribus Patribus regnaret.*

269–275. 'I would rather you were the son of a Thersites, if you were yourself an Achilles, than a Thersites yourself the son of an Achilles. And after all, if you are a Roman, you must trace your ancestry to Romulus' asylum, which must have been tenanted by shepherds or what taste forbids me to say.'

269. **Thersites,** proverbial for a low braggart, from Hom. Il. ii. 216 αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν. Cf. *ausus erat reges incessere dictis . . . protervis* Ov. Met. xiii. 232–233. Cf. Ap. Flor. i. 3. § 2 *Thersites cum decoro.* Cf. Amm. xxx. 4. 15 *Conluvionis taeterrimae audire existimes ululabili clamore Thersiten.* Seneca, Ep. xliv. § 1, takes the contrary view: *Omnes si ad primam originem revocantur a dis sunt.*

270. **Achilles** was the son of Peleus, the son of Aeacus: the patronymic is thus used by Homer, Il. xviii. 221. After the death of Patroclus, the Trojans bore off the arms of Achilles, and Thetis obtained from Hephaestus a new suit of armour: Il. xviii. 369 sqq.

272. **revolvas,** 'retrace,' from unfolding a scroll: similarly Seneca, Contr. i. 6. § 4 *quemcunque volueris revolve nobilem; ad humilitatem pervenies.*

273. **infami asylo.** Livy i. 8 describes the founding of the asylum where all malcontents, whether free or slaves, might gather. Strabo v. 3 describes it as lying μεταξὺ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ καπιτωλίου: i. e. between the two peaks of the Capitoline hill, which were distinguished respectively as the Arx and the Capitolium. Livy ii. 1 speaks of its population as made up of *pastorum convenarumque plebs . . . impunitatem adepta.* Cf. Lucan, Phars. i. 97 *exiguum dominos commisit asylum.*

SATIRE X.

ON THE VANITY OF AMBITION.

THIS splendid Satire, Juvenal's masterpiece, has been often copied and translated. Mayor gives a list of the best-known translations and copies, among which is Johnson's 'Vanity of Human Wishes.' Dryden and Boileau have also translated it.

With the whole Satire compare M. Antoninus viii.

The tenth Satire is one of those which are regarded by Ribbeck as spurious, because it is more general in its scope and declamatory in its tone than those which come earlier in the series, and than the eleventh. Setting aside this theory as extravagant, we are bound to recognise a difference of style in the Satires, and the question is whether the tenth and those of its class belong to the poet's early manhood or to his later years. Mr. Lewis suggests that the disputed Satires bear the traces of youth, as the poet's juvenile productions 'would naturally be full of mythological allusions, and contain very little about living persons or contemporary usages, with a good deal of the frothy declamation habitual in youth, and from which the poet never entirely freed himself.' It would be easy to urge a good deal on the other side. Milton and Burke are commonly thought to have become more declamatory as they advanced in years; Cowper and Wordsworth more diffuse; Crabbe and Dickens less observant of detail. The truth probably is that Juvenal was by nature a little more of an orator and a moralist than a humourist, and that as he withdrew from life in the city and camps he was less interested than he had been in the personal life of his contemporaries. Possibly too age and disappointment may have made him cautious not to offend. Meanwhile, though the tenth Satire gives only one, and this an almost worthless, clue to its time of composition, viz. a line repeated from Satire i, which alludes to a rich man who had shaved him when he was young, this line at least implies that the poet was no longer a young man. The tenth and fifteenth Satires, which are supposed to exhibit the same characteristics of style, belong unquestionably to the time of Hadrian.

It may surely be added that the master has left the ineffaceable stamp of genius on this Satire. What other man could have given us two such pictures as we find here, the praetor celebrating his triumph with such a circumference of crown as no one neck could bear up under, and the old man with his face wrinkled like a baboon with sunken jaw and slobbering mouth, and all the faculties only half animate. We must look to Hogarth for such a picture as the first; to Denner for so vivid a portraiture of old age as the second. Even the simile of the bird (ll. 230–232) is Juvenalian. No one but Juvenal would have attempted so rapid

a descent as when Nestor's old age is computed by the times he has drunk new wine. Above all, however, who but Juvenal was capable of the sustained dignity of thought and the wonderful flexibility of verse, that meet us throughout this admirable Satire? It is the masterpiece of the poet's second style, as the third Satire is the supreme outcome of his first.

ARGUMENT.

We are all constantly wishing for things that will hurt us, but especially for money, ll. 1–14, which more than anything marks out its possessors to the tyrant, the brigand, or the poisoner, ll. 15–27. Is it wonderful if Democritus was always laughing, ll. 28–33, though the civic life of his time was not half as rich in absurdities as our own, with the praetor in procession wearing a big crown and an embroidered toga, and followed by a mob in their holiday clothes? ll. 34–46. Yet Democritus found plenty to laugh at, ll. 47–53.

Do I say then that the gods are approached with entreaties for hurtful things? ll. 54–55. Does not power often ruin its possessors? Remember how Sejanus was hurled from a height under no charge but a tortuous and long letter from the Emperor, ll. 56–71, and the people flocked to see him dragged to execution as it would have flocked to see him installed in the place of Tiberius, ll. 71–81, only anxious to be seen taking part in a loyal demonstration, ll. 81–89. Would you like to have the greatness of Sejanus and run his chances? Of course, power is enviable, but is it not safer to be the alderman of a country town looking after weights and measures? ll. 90–102. Nay, you admit that Sejanus only prepared a lofty scaffolding for his own fall: but did anything else than power ruin Crassus and Pompey and Caesar? ll. 102–113.

By what did Demosthenes and Cicero perish but their eloquence? ll. 114–132. The reputation of a conqueror is regarded as the greatest of earthly possessions by Roman and Greek and Barbarian, though even the rock on which inscriptions record glory is perishable, ll. 133–146. Take Hannibal and his achievements, the conquest of Spain, the crossing of the Pyrenees, the blockade of Rome, ll. 147–158, what is the end of it? a drop of poison in a tyrant's court, ll. 159–167. Alexander chafed at having only one world to conquer, and a sarcophagus contains him, ll. 168–173. Look at Xerxes chaining the ocean, and coming back in a single boat, ll. 174–187.

We all wish for long life, but what disfigurements and privations does not old age carry with it, wrinkles, second childhood, and impotence? ll. 188–209. What enjoyment of life has he who cannot hear the musicians or feel warmth, whose life is a change of diseases, and who cannot taste his food? ll. 210–232. But worst of all is the loss of mind and memory, so that the old man does not remember his friend's face, and

is at the mercy of his housekeeper, ll. 233–239. Grant, however, that he keeps his strength, it serves him only to survive all he loves, ll. 240–245, as Nestor buried Antilochus, and Priam having given Hector to the flames was slain without a defender, ll. 246–272. Pass by Mithradates and Croesus. Would not Marius have been happier if he had died in the day of his glory? and did Pompey gain anything by the recovery that saved him to lie a headless trunk as not even Catiline lay? 272–288.

The mother prays that her children may be beautiful. What gain had Lucretia and Virginia of their loveliness? ll. 289–295. Above all, what beautiful boy can grow up uncorrupted or unmutilated to manhood? ll. 296–309. If he does it is to be an adulterer, and bear the penalties of guilt, ll. 310–317. Nay, you say, but to be some fair woman's darling. Let him begin with this, and he will soon sell himself for gain, ll. 318–323. But if he is chaste? what will his beauty be good for then but to excite desire in women who will hate him for refusing them? ll. 324–329. Was the fate of Silius so desirable? to die if he refused Messalina, and to die for marrying her, ll. 330–345.

It is best to leave it to the gods, who love us better than we love ourselves, to decide what we are to have, ll. 346–350. We ask for a wife and children; they know what the wife and children will be, ll. 350–353. But if our natural instincts to wish must have a vent, ask for a heroic mind, that can dare all, endure all, and court death as a bride, ll. 354–362. These things are within our competence; and we want no divine interference, if we have common sense, but Fortune is a deity of our own making, ll. 363–366.

1. **Gadibus.** 'From Gades (Cadiz) to Ganges,' etc., from furthest west to furthest east; a proverbial expression, as we see from Cicero, de Domo Sua c. 30. For Cadiz cf. Stat. Silv. iii. 1. 183 *solisve cubilia Gades.*

usque, 'as far as,' used without *ad*, as in Cicero, ad Q. Fr. i. 1. 14. § 42 *usque Romam.*

2. **Auroram et Gangen** must be taken closely together. Cf. the German use of *Morgenland* for the East. For Ganges, as the limit of the East, cf. Amm. xxxi. 2. 16 *Amazonum sedes dilatari ad usque Gangen accepi.*

3. **illis multum diversa.** A *litotes*, 'their greatest contrasts,' i. e. the greatest evil. *Diversus* is used with a dative in Hor. Ep. i. 18. 5. Adjectives signifying 'difference from' are commonly followed by a dative in the classical poets; another such word is *discors*, cf. Vell. ii. 37 *filius discors patri*; and in ecclesiastical Latin we find *ingratus* used in the same way. See Handbuch der klass. Wiss. p. 276. *Multum* is one of many words found in Latin to intensify the meaning of a simple adjective. It is common in Plautus, but not in Terence. Other such words are *valde, vehementer, admodum, adfatim*, etc.

4. **erroris nebula.** Taken from Plato, Alc. ii. 150 *τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς ψυχῆς*, who himself refers to Homer, Il. v. 127 seq., where Athena removes the mist from the eyes of Diomedes.

ratione, 'rationally,' *ὀρθῶς*. Cf. Sen. de Ben. ii. 18. 2 *omne honestum . . . non tantum fieri debet sed ratione fieri.* So Pliny, Ep. ix. 7, § 1 *aedificare te scribis, bene est . . . aedificio ratione quia tecum.* These ablatives of manner commonly take *cum*, unless an adjective precedes them. Vergil, however, can write *colles clamore relinqui* (Aen. viii. 216), *templum clamore petebant* (i. 519). Montaigne works out this thought and quotes this passage in his Apology for Raimond de Sebonde.

5. 'On what scheme do you enter so auspiciously, that you do not rue your effort, and your prayer vouchsafed?' The right foot should be moved first to ensure good luck. In Petronius 30 a slave is appointed to shout to the guests entering the dining-hall *dextro pede!* Cf. also Sen. de Ben. ii. 12 *sinistro pede.* In Vitruvius iii. 3 we are told that the steps of a temple should be odd in number, that the worshipper should place his right foot on the lowest step first, and should also enter the temple right foot foremost. Augustus thought it unlucky to put the left shoe on the right foot: Suet. 92. Cf Verg. Aen. viii. 302 *tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.* Vergil was celebrated for his exact knowledge of ritual. To express conceiving an idea, we find commonly *mente concipere*; Juvenal writes *pede*, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν.*

6. **peracti,** 'accomplished, realised': cf. Stat. Theb. xi. 671 *spes longa peracta est.*

7. This passage comes from Plato, Alcib. ii. 138: 'many call down ruin upon themselves . . . mistaking it for a blessing.' Seneca, who often had Plato in his mind, has several similar passages besides that quoted: cf. Ep. xxxi. § 2 *surdum te amantissimis tui praesta. Bono animo male precantur: et si vis esse felix, deos ora ne quid tibi ex his quae optantur eveniat.* Cf. idem, Ep. xcv. § 50 *dei aliquando specie boni puniunt.* **evertere,** aorist of habit.

domos, 'families,' as in Verg. Aen. i. 284 *domus Assaraci.*

ipsis, 'the masters.' For this use of *ipse* cf. Catull. iii. 7 *suamque norat* Ipsam *tam bene quam puella matrem*, i. e. 'the sparrow knew its own mistress as well as a girl knows her own mother.'

8. **faciles,** 'good easy beings.' Cf. Martial, i. 103. 4 *Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei*, and xii. 6. 10. *Et dare quae faciles vix tribuere dei.* **nocitura.** Sen. Ep. cx. § 10 *quidquid nobis bono futurum erat deus et parens noster in proximo posuit . . .* nocitura *altissime pressit.* Cf. Lucan, Pharsalia i. 510, 511 *O faciles dare summa dees, eademque tueri Difficiles.*

9. **torrens copia.** The impetuous volume of their own eloquence. Cf. iii. 74 *Isaeo torrentior.* **torrens** is an epithet applied to eloquence also by Quintil. Inst. Orat. iii. 8 § 60 torrens . . . *dicentis oratio.*

10. **sua facundia,** their native power of speech, which should have defended them. Cf. Ammian, xxix. 3. 6 *hoc elogio perit homo disertus ad potiora festinans ut multi.*

ille. Milo of Crotona, 'wedged in the timber which he strove to rend.' Milo lived at the time of the Persian war: Herod. iii. 137, § 4. He is constantly referred to as a stock example of enormous

strength (Cic. Cat. Mai. § 33), and sometimes as an example of the evil into which that strength may lead us: cf. Ov. Ib. 611, 612 *Utque* Milon *robur diducere fissile temptes Nec possis captas inde referre manus*. Cf. Amm. Mar. xxx. 7. 2, 'Valentinianus could pull a rope and hold his own against five soldiers: *aemulatus Crotoniaten Milonem, cui mala saepe cohaerenter laeva manu retinenti vel dextra, nulla unquam virium fortitudo abstraxit*.' The suppression of the name, as we have seen, is a common characteristic of Juvenal.

11. **periit.** The last syllable is lengthened, as in vi. 295 and iii. 194. Possibly such lengthenings are reminiscences of the older form of the perfect ending in *-eit*, as *redi-eit*, which seems to have been lengthened by analogy with the first person ending in *ī*. See Handbuch der kl. W. p. 233. **lacertis.** *Lacertus* is the arm between the shoulder and the elbow: constantly referred to as the seat of strength: cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 9. 22 *O pectora, o terga, o lacertorum tori!* Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 48 *arma | Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis*.

12. **plures** is emphatic. 'Most are choked by money, and an income far above all other revenues.' For an account of the rich men in Rome and their fortunes see Fried. iii. 1. p. 10 sqq. Great opportunities of amassing colossal fortunes were afforded by the victorious campaigns conducted at the end of the Republic by Pompey, Caesar, &c., just as to Clive and Warren Hastings. Plutarch, Lucull. xxxix. 2, says that the gardens of Lucullus, even in his time, were reckoned as the most splendid under the Empire. Pliny N. H. xxxvi. 113) states that a private citizen, Scaurus, had in the magnificence of his theatre eclipsed the most splendid buildings of Caligula and Nero. But still Pliny (N. H. xxxiii. 134 deemed the latest era of the Republic as poor when compared to the wealth of his own time, and it seems probable that large fortunes were even larger under the Empire than the Republic. The largest fortunes in Rome amounted to between 300 and 400 million of sesterces (£4,850,000 , and only two persons are mentioned as having attained the last-mentioned amount—the augur Cn. Lentulus and Nero's freedman Narcissus. Thus it will be seen that the greatest fortunes accumulated in Rome fell considerably short of those amassed in modern times; although in many ways, owing to slave labour, more luxury might be purchased for the same amount among the ancients.

13. **exsuperans.** We must here understand *tanto*. Seneca has the same expression: cf. Ep. li. § 13, 'Pleasures, like highwaymen, choke us by their embrace.' **cuncta patrimonia.** 'All *other* fortunes,' as *cunctis ephebis* Sat. ii. 164 'all the other young men' (Lewis). The language appears due to a 'contamination' of the two expressions, *exsuperans alia patrimonia* and *aequans cuncta* or *tota patrimonia*. Cf. l. 40 *cervix ulla*.

14. Wonderful tales were told of the whales of the north, 'that sea-beast Leviathan, which God of all His works Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream.' Cf. especially Plin. N. H. ix. 5.

The natural history of Britain formed a subject of great interest to the Romans after the island had been opened up by Agricola, and the Britons are associated with marine prodigies: cf. Horace, Car. iv. 14. 47, 48 *beluosus qui remotis Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis*. Ovid calls the Britanni themselves *aequorei* Met. xv. 752 and *virides* Am. ii. 16. 39.

15. **temporibus diris** in the reign of terror under Nero: so in Sat. iv. 84 *clade et peste sub illa* of Domitian's time.

igitur, 'and so—*since* riches work so powerfully—in the reign of terror.'

16. **Longinum.** Caius Cassius Longinus was consul and praetor, and a celebrated jurist. Cf. Suetonius, Nero 37. Tacitus, Ann. xvi. 7, tells us that he was accused by Nero *nullo crimine nisi quod Cassius opibus vetustis et gravitate morum praecellebat*. He was banished. **Longinum claudere** = *Longini domum claudere*: cf. Livy v. 52. 10 *Iuno dedicata est*, for *fanum Iunonis*. Cf. also Verg. Aen. ii. 311 *proximus ardet* Ucalegon. **clausit** was a technical police word: cf. Amm. xiv. 1. 4 *claudebantur opulentae domus et clarae*.

Senecae. Tac. Ann. xv. 64 calls Seneca *praedives et praepotens*: from the same authority, xiii. 42, we find that P. Suillius asked how Seneca had in four years amassed 300,000,000 sesterces. In spite of his great riches, Seneca himself led an austere and self-denying life, abstaining for a year from animal food, and even in his old age from such luxuries as wine, mushrooms, ointment, and oysters. See Ep. cviii., 13-17: Tac. Ann. xv. 63 *corpus parco victu tenuatum*. In A. D. 62 Seneca was accused Tac. Ann. xiv. 52 of trying to outdo the Emperor himself *hortorum amoenitate et villarum magnificentia*. He begged Nero that he might be permitted to give back his wealth, but the Emperor declined.

17. In A. D. 65 Natalis denounced Seneca as privy to Piso's conspiracy: Tac. Ann. xv. 56, 60. A tribune invested his villa. Seneca, like Lucan his nephew, who was really engaged in the conspiracy, opened his veins and bled to death. Tacitus, Ann. xv. 60, says *Illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum saepsit*. His palace was on the Caelian mount. **Lateranorum.** Plautius Lateranus, a senator, who suffered death for joining in Piso's conspiracy from patriotic motives. The change of tense from **clausit** to **obsidet** gives a picture. The soldiers have closed Seneca's house, and are now proceeding to beset Lateranus. Extensive remains have been found of the ancient Lateran villa, cf. Middleton, p. 497. 'It afterwards came into the possession of a later Lateranus, a member of a different family, to whom it was presented by Severus, A. D. 197, and was finally given by Constantine to the Bishop of Rome (Sylvester) as a site for the new church, which was hence called the *Lateran Basilica*.'

18. 'Those who are worth arresting for their money are not found in attics.' **cenacula** are 'attics' on the upper floor, which was let to the poor; cf. Cic. de Leg. Agr. ii. § 96 and Juv. iii. 201. Varro, L. L. v.

§ 162, says the upper stories were so called *posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt*. For the sentiment cf. *praedam civilibus armis Scit non esse casas* Lucan, Phars. v. 526, 527. Martial (i. 108. 3) lived in a *cenaculum* ; Plautus, iii. 1. 3, makes Amphitruo boast *in superiore habito cenaculo*, i. e. the sky.

19. 'If you only carry a little silver, and that quite plain'; unembossed as contrasted with *asperum*, 'in relief.' It was reckoned against Domitian that in his youth he was so poor, *ut nullum argenteum vas in usu haberet*, Suet. Dom. i. 1.

20. **contus.** The word *contus* is used by Juvenal, ii. 150, for a punting pole, and so Tac. Annals, xiv. 5 and Suet. Tib. 62. The Russian *kónchik*, a point or end, seems to explain it as well as the Greek κέντρον. It was tipped with iron, and is, like other expressions connected with the details of navigation, borrowed from the Greek (Greek κοντός, connected with κέντρον) : Schräder, p. 112. See Nettleship's Essays in Latin Lit. p. 30. It seems to have been the name by which the Sarmatian spear was called (cf. Statius, Achill. ii. 417), but is used of long poles of different kinds, as a punting pole, Aen. v. 208 ; a pike, Aen. ix. 510.

21. **ad lunam,** '*in* the moonlight,' like the French *au clair de lune*. P reads *umbram*, 'a shadow,' the reading of the text. So Ovid, Ep. ii. 7. 14 *vanaque sollicitis incutit umbra metum*.

trepidare is here used with the accusative, as Horace uses *contremo* Car. ii. 12. 8 ; cf. Shakespeare's 'to bay the moon,' for 'to bay at the moon.' The accusative, especially after verbs expressive of feelings and affections, constantly occurs after words which are originally intransitive. For numerous instances cf. Dräger, I. p. 358. Cf. Plaut. Capt. 139 *ego ne illum non fleam ?* So Cicero, Acad. ii. 38. 121 *divinum nomen horrere* ; so *deperire = amare, stupere = admirari, inhiare = avide cupere*. The intransitive words, having some part of their signification common with the transitive words, take their *régime* by the operation of analogy.

22. **cantabit.** The future denotes 'will be found to sing,' and thus practically comes to be used, like the perfect, as a tense expressing habit ; cf. Hor. A. P. 32–35 *exprimet . . imitabitur . . nesciet*. The statement is a common one ; cf. Sen. Ep. xiv. § 9 *plures computant quam oderunt* (i. e. more commit murder from calculations of gain than from hatred) : *nudum latro transmittit : etiam in obsessa via pauperi pax est*. So Ovid, Nux 43. 44 *Sic timet insidias qui se scit ferre viator Cui timeat : tutum carpit* inanis *iter*. Cf. Apuleius, Met. i. 11 *An ignoras, inepte, nudum nec a decem palaestritis despoliari posse ?* For the numbers and audacity of the banditti who infested Italy see Friedländer, vol. i. p. 28 : he quotes Varro, de R. R. i. 16. 2 *multos enim agros egregios colere non expedit propter latrocinia vicinorum, ut in Sardinia quosdam qui sunt prope Celiem et in Hispania prope Lusitaniam*. Petron. § 111 *cum interim imperator provinciae latrones iussit crucibus adfigi*.

23. '*And still* the first wish and prayer is for riches.'

24. **divitiae** is a more special term than *opes*; the latter term signifies power derived from other sources than money, such as influence and credit.

25. **arca,** 'money-box.' The Romans deposited their ready money with the *argentarius*, who carried on business in the forum. The *tabernae argentariae*, 'shops of silversmiths and bankers' (Livy xxvi. 27 and xl. 51), stood opposite to the *tabernae veteres*; these stood on the south-west of the Forum, facing on the Sacra Via, where the Basilica Iulia was afterwards built: see Middleton, p. 146. When the *tabernae argentariae* were rebuilt after a fire they were called *tabernae novae*.

nulla aconita. A grim picture of the morality of the times, and a reminiscence of Locusta and her doings. The three chief poisons used by the ancients were poppy, aconite (the alkaloid of *aconitum*, or common monkshood), and hemlock (*conium maculatum*). The scene of poisoning on a grand scale has always been the East, where to the present day secret poisons are handed down as family traditions, as are antidotes for poisons. It seems that in India at the present day, certain poisons are known to some of the natives of which the nature remains unknown to men of science. It was Oriental influence which brought poisoning into fashion at Rome. Mediæval Rome (cf. the Borgias and others) retained many of these traditions. The medical men at Rome knew much about these poisons. See Friedländer on the subject of medical men at Rome, vol. i. p. 335.

26. **fictilibus,** 'common earthenware,' as in iii. 168 fictilibus *cenare pudet*. Cf. Sen. Thyest. 451 sqq. *Scelera non intrant casas, Tutusque mensa capitur angusta citus. Venenum in auro bibitur.* Cf. too Sen. Oct. 895 *Bene paupertas Humili tecto contenta latet* ('upon uneasy pallets stretching thee'). *Quatiunt altas saepe procellae aut evertit Fortuna domos.* Cf. also *omnibus saeculis Tuberonis fictilia durabunt* Sen. Ep. xcv. § 73.

27. 'And the Setian wine shall show its fire in spacious gold cups.' The Setian was an expensive wine, as we are told by Strabo v. 234, and Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 213.

28. **iamne igitur.** 'Surely now then you must approve of the opposite feelings of the two philosophers—Democritus, who laughed, Heraclitus, who wept, as he passed his threshold?' The contrast between the two philosophers was a commonplace. Seneca, de Ira ii. 10. 5, gives the same account of them, citing their names. In Tr. An. xv. 2 he states that Democritus is more worthy of imitation than Heraclitus. Montaigne has an essay upon them (No. 50) wherein this passage is cited.

30. **contrarius auctor,** a condensed expression for *contrariae sententiae auctor*; cf. Caesar, de Bello Civ. iii. 108 *conscios sui = conscios suorum consiliorum.*

31. 'But the criticism of a sneering smile is cheap and easy to any one; the marvel is how the store of tears for the other's eyes held out.'

34. urbibus illis. Abdera and Ephesus.

35. The triumphal procession at the public games might well excite derision from a philosopher. The games themselves were a substitute for political liberty. The people, who met no more to decide the affairs of empire, were amused and distracted by these. The praetor's duty was, under the Empire, chiefly to manage shows; and yet he assumed the pomp of a conqueror. The reading in the text is drawn from the Florilegium S. Galli, *praetexta trabeae*. Mayor reads *praetexta et trabeae* from the reading of P, which is *practexta et rabeae*. The *trabea* was a toga bordered (*praetexta*) with purple and crossed by horizontal bars of scarlet '*trabes*, beams'. It was worn by kings, augurs, and on state occasions by *equites* (Mayor). The tribunal was the praetor's.

36–53. 'How much more would the laughing philosopher have laughed if he could have seen the fussy pomp of a Roman praetor with his bought friends on the way to the games!'

36–46. A description of the *pompa* or procession which opened the Circensian games: the presiding magistrate is spoken of as praetor and as consul; he might be either. For the solemn procession with which the games in the circus was opened, see Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 351 sq. The advent of these games was looked forward to with an eagerness not easy to describe. Long before daylight the streets were filled with spectators anxious to secure places, and the din raised by them was very great. Women, no less than men, were present at the games in the Circus, and their presence added a charm to the excitement. The great procession filed down the Capitol, over the gaily decorated Forum; then turned to the right, passing between the shops of the Vicus Tuscus, crossed the Velabrum and the Forum Boarium: passed into the Circus by the central main entrance, and proceeded up the course, passing round the *metae*. The magistrate who had charge of the games preceded the procession, standing, if he were a praetor or consul, in a lofty chariot in the garb of a general celebrating a triumph, the gold-embroidered toga above thrown over the tunic embroidered with palm-leaves, the ivory sceptre with the golden eagle in his hand; a public slave held over his head a huge crown of oak-leaves set with gems. The procession was preceded by music and by throngs of clients in white togas. Augustus, on one occasion, when indisposed, had himself carried on a litter so as to lose none of the homage. Every detail in the order and ceremony of the procession was prescribed with the most scrupulous rigour, and any infraction of the strict order prescribed by the Roman ritual rendered it necessary that the games should be begun afresh. In the procession, besides images of the gods, there were carried images of former members of the imperial family; and the contrast must have been sharp and painful to a Roman eye between the living presence of one of the emperors of Juvenal's time and the *imago* of a Caesar, an Augustus, or a Germanicus. The magistrate, who is in the triumphal car, is called in v. 36 praetor, and consul in v. 41. As the magistrate might be either, it seems probable that Juvenal employs a poet's licence to call him by either name; he is, in any case,

thinking of the highest magistrate, and mentally contrasting with sorrow the glorious memories bound up with a *real* triumph with the popular exhibition of this procession. Similarly Vergil, Aen. book ii, edit. Conington, speaks of the wooden horse as built of oak (l. 186), pine (ll. 16, 258), and maple (l. 112), in different passages. In the present passage the poet is enabled to avail himself of the poet's artifice to attain variety in order to point the contrast between the presiding magistrate and the slave, which would be stronger as between consul (v. 41) and slave than that between the praetor and slave.

38. **tunica.** This refers to the *tunica palmata*, so called from the palm-branches worked on it (Mayor). It was borrowed for the occasion from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Juvenal speaks ironically, as if the praetor had borrowed Jove's tunic for the occasion.

Sarrana, Tyrian; the word *Tyrus* represents the Aramaic *Sor* or Zor. The folds of the *toga* are so stiff with gold that Juvenal calls them curtains.

38, 39. **pictae togae,** i. e. patterned with needlework: cf. Mart. vii. 2. 8 *Palmataeque ducem, sed cito, redde togae*—where Martial speaks of the *toga picta*, the garb worn by generals when celebrating a triumph, as *palmata*, and this was the regular name for it after it had adopted the embroidery of the *tunica*. See Marq. St. ii. 587, Prl. 526. Tertull. de Idol. 18 gives as instances of *insignia dignitatis praetextae vel trabeae vel palmatae*, and de Cor. Mil. 13 he speaks of the *toga palmata*. Festus says that the *tunica palmata* was originally so called from having a *latus clavus* one palm broad; afterwards, when it was adorned with palm-branches, the name was referred to them. It was conferred upon distinguished men: cf. Livy xxx. 15 *Masinissam Scipio aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburneo, toga picta et tunica palmata donat: addit. . . . neque magnificentius* triumpho *quicquam apud Romanos neque triumphantibus ampliorem eo ornatu esse.* Cf. Apul. Apol. § 441 *signiferis vexilla et denique triumphantibus quadrigas albas et togam palmatam.* So also Tac. Ann. i. 15 *Decreta pecunia ex aerario utque per Circum triumphali veste uterentur.* See Paley's note on the passage quoted in Martial; he thinks that the *toga picta* was identical with the *trabea*: Propert. v. 4. 53.

Mr. Schunck, in the Journal of the Chemical Society, vol. 35. lxiv. p. 589, has an interesting paper on the purple of the ancients, the main results of which are appended. The art of dyeing with the purple extracted from shell-fish having fallen into disuse, the conditions under which colour was extracted from a colourless substance, such as that yielded by the animal organism, long remained unknown. Since the end of the sixteenth century, however, different experiments have been made in England and France, with the following results:—

(1) The colour so much prized by the ancients really comes from a secretion contained in a small cyst or gland placed under the shell and near the head of the shell-fish.

(2) The *pus*-like matter, on being applied to white linen and exposed

to sunlight, rapidly changes its colour—passing from yellow, through light green, deep green, and 'watchet-blue,' to purplish-red or crimson. While the changes are in progress, a strong odour, as of garlick, is given off.

(3) To produce this change of colour the light of the sun is essential. The change will not take place by moonlight or artificial light.

(4) The colour produced is remarkably stable, resisting the action of soap, alkaline, and most acids.

The mollusc with which most of the experiments were made (as those by Cole, Bancroft, and in France by Réaumur was the *purpura capillus*, found commonly upon our coasts and those of France.

The most instructive details as to these dyes are given by Perrot and Chipiez, History of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus, translated by Armstrong, p. 424. It thence appears that the molluscs to which these dyes were due belonged to the Gasteropods.

The species chiefly used by the Phoenicians were the *murex trunculus* and the *murex brandaris*, both of which are plentiful in the waters of the Mediterranean. The great merit of these dyes lay in the fact that they were rendered more brilliant and more lasting by sunlight instead of being faded by it. It is the violet tone that the Mediterranean fishermen or the experiment-makers in a laboratory obtain from the *murex* when only a simple process is employed ; the other tints were the results of certain mixtures and manipulations which would no doubt be readily discovered should dyers again turn to the *murex*. Such a return, however, is impossible ; too many shells would be required. Each *murex*, owing to the small size of the spot whence came the secretion, furnished a very small portion of colouring-matter, and the Phoenician dyeworks must have used millions every year. Thus at Sidon on the Cliff, which rises to a height of some eighty feet above the southern harbour, the *débris* left by the dyers may still be seen. This is a bed some hundreds of yards long and several yards deep, entirely composed of the shells of the *murex trunculus*. They have all been opened at the same point, apparently by an axe, to get out the dye.

40. The crown is so huge and so heavy that no neck could support it, and therefore the slave has to hold it over the head of the magistrate.

41. **publicus** with *servus*. A public slave holds the crown, and rides in the same chariot as the praetor, to remind the latter that he is after all but mortal. *Servi publici* were commonly prisoners of war who were retained in the service of the state for such public purposes as the taking of the census, the superintendence of public sacrifices, &c. The state occasionally bestowed freedom upon these as a recompense for long service or for some signal service performed to the community as a whole. For the fact of the slave holding the crown see Pliny xxxiii. 11 : 'Formerly in a triumph, when a golden Tuscan crown was held up behind, yet the hero of the triumph and the slave who might be holding the crown both bore an iron ring (for the fact see Arr.

Epict. iii. 24, § 85.), like those who stand over triumphing generals from behind and remind them that they are but men.' So Tertull. Apolog. 33 *hominem se esse in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur, suggeritur enim ei a tergo 'respice post te, hominem memento te.*' So Pliny, N. H. xxxiii, § 39, 'A charm against the evil eye protects children, and to cure envy guards the chariots of the heroes of triumphs, hanging beneath these ; and a similar medicine administered by the tongue orders them (the heroes of the triumph) to look back, in order that Fortune, who murders Glory, may be appeased behind their back.' The *medicina linguae* here seems to refer to the admonition of the slave. It was remarked of Constantius, Amm. Mar. xvi. 10. 6, that he sat alone, *tanquam Euphraten armorum specie territurus aut Rhenum altrinsecus praeeuntibus signis insidebat aureo* solus ipse *carpento fulgenti claritudine lapidum variorum.* Herodotus, Aeschylus, and the Greek dramatists generally, are penetrated with the thought that Nemesis is the sure attendant of too great fortune, and especially if the possession of this be attended with ὕβρις.

43. da nunc. 'Then think of,' &c. Cf. the use of *cedo*, Sat. xii. 210. It would seem that *do* in this sense has retained something of the sense of the verb *do* as found in ab*do*, con*do*, &c. ; the root connected with that seen in τί-θη-μι, 'set before yourselves' : cf. Sen. de Ben. iii. § 23 da mihi *quemquam qui magnificentius dominum servarit.*

volucrem. The eagle surmounting the sceptre borne by the general who triumphed. The eagle is the symbol of the conquering power of Rome Ov. Fast. v. 586 *Romanaeque aquilae signifer hostis erat*) ; but likewise of the apotheosis of the conqueror : cf. Isid. xviii. 2, § 5 *quod per victoriam quasi ad supernam multitudinem accederent.*

44. Cf. Suet. Cal. 26 *Quosdam summis honoribus.* According to Plutarch (Life of Lucullus , Tigranes had four kings ὥσπερ ὀπαδοὺς ἢ δορυφόρους. According to Eutropius, lib. ix. 24, Galerius, when repulsed, went to Diocletian, who received him haughtily, and let him run some miles in his purple robes by his chariot : cf. Suet. Galba, c. 6 ; Casaubon in Caligulam, c. 26.

45. officia, 'the clients' : **officium.** the mark of respect or compliment put for the person who pays it, as in viii. 219 *coniugium* for *coniux.* So *matrimonia* for *uxores* Tac. Ann. ii. 13 : cf. Dräger i. p. 23.

niveos = *albatos,* the white toga worn by clients at a *salutatio.* Cf. Mart. i. 55. 14 *urbanis albus in officiis.*

Quirites, ironical. 'Rome's proud citizens have lost their hearts to the dole.' Contrast this with Vergil's use of *Quirites* in Georgic iv. 201, to ennoble the bees.

46. defossa, 'stowed safe away.' The construction *defossa in loculos* is, like that of *condere,* followed by *in* with the accusative in such sentences as *conditus in nubem,* Verg. Georg. i. 442, called by grammarians the *constructio praegnans* : for the sentiment cf. *Condit avarus opes defossumque invenit aurum* Petron. 104. **sportula,** 'the dole in money,' Sat. i. 25. **loculos,** 'cash-boxes,' Sat. i. 99. Martial,

ix. 14. 3, your parasite *Aprum amat et mullos et sumen et ostrea*: non te. Cf. too Mart. iii. 45. 6.

47. **tunc quoque.** '*But* even in olden times the laughing philosopher found plenty to laugh at.'

ad omnes occursus hominum, i. e. 'each time he met a human being.'

50. **vervecum in patria:** Abdera, celebrated for the obtuseness of its inhabitants; cf. *Abderitanae pectora plebis habes* Martial x. 25. 4, i. e. 'you belong to the country of blockheads.' The jokes cited against the Abderites by Mayor are mostly of the nature of Irish bulls. Juv. here parodies Verg. Aen. i. 51, *nimborum in patriam. Vervex* was used as the epithet of a dullard: cf. Petron. 57 *quid rides, vervex?* Cf. German *Schafskopf*, and our epithet 'mutton headed.' Plaut. Merc. iii. 3. 6 *itane vero vervex introeas.*

crasso sub aere. We have constant references among the ancients to the effect of climate upon character. The gods themselves lived in a purer atmosphere. Ov. Met. i. 28 *Proximus est aer illi levitate locoque; Densior* his *tellus.* The dull air of Boeotia was thought to produce dull wits, and was contrasted with the pure and light air of Attica (the λαμπρότατος αἰθήρ of Eur. Med. 829): cf. Cic. de Fat. 4 § 7. *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici, crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani*; Plato, Timaeus 24 c. Boeotia was subject to earthquakes; Amm. xvii. 7. 13. The verse seems a reminiscence of Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 244 *Boeotum in crasso iurares aerenatum.*

52. 'When Fortune frowned he bid her go hang, and pointed at her with his middle finger': the sign of scorn, called by Persius *infamis*, ii. 33.

53. **mandaret laqueum.** 'Showed her a halter,' 'bid her go hang': cf. Plaut. Poen. i. 2. 34 *capias restim ac te suspendas.* So id. Pers. v. 2. 34. The gesture of pointing with the *infamis digitus* (vid. Schol. Arist. Pax 549 σκιμαλίζειν) was deemed a remedy against the evil eye.

54-113. ''Tis ambition which brings most to their ruin: witness Seianus, to-day the people's idol, the next their scapegoat. Would you change with him? No! few tyrants die a bloodless death.'

54. The MS. reading is *supervacua aut perniciosa*; to avoid the hiatus Jahn read **aut vel.** The meaning then would be 'and so things superfluous or actually harmful are craved, to gain which 'tis deemed right to set wax on the knees of the gods.' The wax tablets were fastened to the knees of the god to remind him of the vows of the suppliant. Cf. *νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμῆσαι τάδε* Aesch. Supp. 463 (quoted by Mayor). Cf. Apuleius, Apologia 492 *votum in alicuius statuae femore assignasti.* Lachmann, ad Lucr. ii. 27 would read *Ergo, supervacua aut ne perniciosa petantur, propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum?* The present reading is an admirable emendation by Mr. Herbert Richards, founded on *putantur*: it was suggested in the 'Classical Review.' The meaning of the reading adopted is, 'Well, then, are those things necessarily to be deemed superfluous or harmful

for which religion tells us to appease the gods?' The poet then proceeds to give instances of some requests which are harmful, such as ambition, beauty, &c., and ends by telling us what we may naturally and rightfully pray for, and what we should be wiser to omit.

56–113. 'Lofty rank gives no abiding security.'

56. **subiecta potentia**, a kind of oxymoron—'power, the thrall of envy in high places.'

57. **mergit.** The honours are too much weight; they *sink* the bearers of them: cf. Apul. Apol. 436 *Igitur et immodicae divitiae velut ingentia et enormia gubernacula, facilius mergunt quam regunt*; Sen. Ep. lv. § 3. Cf. too Verg. Aen. vi. 511 *me mea fata His* mersere *malis*: so Pliny, H. N. vii § 132 *Quam multos bona perdidere et ultimis* mersere *suppliciis*. **longa pagina**, the *tabula generis et honorum*, containing the list of the offices held by a man: it was hung up in front of his statue.

58. 'Down come the statues, and are haled by the rope.' The destruction of the statues of the fallen was common in ancient as in modern times. Among the instances cited by Mayor are those of L. Piso at Dyrrhachium, Cic. in Pis. § 93, and the statues of Piso, which were dragged to the *scalae Gemoniae* Tac. Ann. iii. 14, and Domitian, Suet. 23, whose portraits the Senate ordered to be destroyed before their eyes *eradendosque ubique titulos*; so too with Plautianus, Severus' favourite, Dio xxvii. 14. The writer saw the imperial *écussons* torn down by the Parisian soldiery at the proclamation of the *déchéance* of Napoleon the Third, and the fate of the Vendôme column is in the memory of all. Cf. Amm. xiv. 11 *Montius . . . post statuas Constantii deiectas super adimenda vita praefecto conveniet securius cogitari*. For the destruction of statues on the fall of an emperor see Fried. vol. iii. p. 253.

59. Satirical: even the wheels of the triumphal chariots and the poor horses come in for punishment. To break their legs was the punishment of slaves. Sen. de Ira iii. 32. 1, 'we need not be anxious precipitately *servo crura protinus frangere*.'

60. **immeritis**. Cf. Hor. Carm. i. 17. 27 *immeritamque vestem*. **caballis**. The popular word for 'horse,' whence come the Romance words *cheval* and *cavallo*.

61. **follibus atque caminis**, 'by dint of bellows and furnace.'

62. **adoratum populo caput.** When Sejanus was at the zenith of his power, so many statues were erected to him by the Senate, the *equester ordo*, the tribes, and the chief men of Rome, that Dio Cassius says (lviii. 2) no one could compute their number, especially since Tiberius, acting on a decree of the Senate, had raised a statue of bronze to him in the theatre of Pompey. His images were worshipped by especial leave of Tiberius, Tac. Ann. iv. 2; cf. also Sueton. Tib. 65, who says the same thing.

crepat, 'crackles in the fire.' The expression is used by Seneca, *domus crepuit*, for 'the house has been burnt down' (Ep. xcvi. 1).

63. **Seianus.** L. Aelius Seianus, son of an eques L. Seius Strabo, of

Volsinii, was entrusted with the command of the praetorian guard shortly after the accession of the Emperor. His daughter was betrothed to a son of Claudius, afterwards emperor. His obstacles to the throne were Drusus, son of Tiberius, and the children of Germanicus, the nephew of Drusus. He poisoned Drusus, and requested the hand of Livia, but Tiberius discouraged the suit as likely to expose him to envy. He fell on Oct. 18, A. D. 31, when apparently at the zenith of his greatness. Ben Jonson in his 'Sejanus,' Act v. Sc. 10, translates this part of this Satire; the play should be read in connection with it.

secundus denotes second, with the notion of proximity to the first: cf. Hor. Car. I. 12. 18 *Nec viget quidquam simile aut* secundum; *Proximos illi tamen occupavit Pallas honores.*

64. Tac. Ann. iii. 70 expressly tells us that L. Ennius, an eques, was charged with treason for melting down an effigy of the Emperor *promiscuum ad usum argenti*. For other charges of similar desecration cf. Tac. Ann. i. 73 § 2; 74 § 4.

urceoli, 'ewers,' with one handle, for holding water or preserving fruit: **pelves**, footpans (*pedelvis*, cf. *sella* for *sedla*): **sartago**, 'a frying-pan' used in Pers. i. 80, like *farrago*, for a medley). Cf. Ben Jonson, Sejanus, Act v. Sc. 10

> 'First they tear them down,
> Then fastening ropes drag them along the streets,
> Crying in scorn, "This, this was that rich head
> Was covered with garlands, and with odours this
> That was in Rome so reverenced! Now
> The furnace and the bellows shall to work,
> The great Sejanus crack, and piece by piece
> Drop in the founder's pit."'

65. 'Hang bays over your doors, as if for some great festival; Sejanus' body is being dragged along by the hook, a sight for all to see.' Cf. Suet. Tib. 61. Tiberius, after Sejanus' death, became more undisguisedly cruel than before, and the first victims upon whom he wreaked his vengeance were the relations of Sejanus, and then his friends. Many of his victims on being accused took poison *in media curia et tamen colligatis vulneribus ac semianimes palpitantesque in carcerem rapti: nemo punitorum non et in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, viginti uno die abiecti tractique sunt, inter eos feminae et pueri.* Sejanus' own daughter of tender years was *oblisis faucibus in Gemonias abiecta*, Tacitus, Ann. v. 9. Piso's effigies were dragged to the *Gemoniae* Ann. iii. 14.

lauros, branches of bay surrounded by fillets were suspended in Roman houses on festivals, Sat. xii. 91, Tertul. de Idolat. c. xv.

66. cretatum. If he is not pure white he must be pipeclayed, to make him appear so. The scholiast quotes a line from Lucilius *Cretatumque bovem duc ad Capitolia magna.* Cf. too Ovid, ex Ponto, lib. iv. Epist. ix. 49, 50 *Nunc pro Caesaribus superis decernere grates*

Albave opimorum colla ferire boum. Cf. Fast. i. 720. Cf. Arnob. ii. 68 *in Albano antiquitus monte nullos alios licebat quam nivei candoris tauros immolare.* Munro in Mayor's edition remarks that chalk was unknown in Italy: this *creta* must have been some kind of pipeclay. Cf. *cretata* in Mart. ii. 41. 11, where *creta* is used for sifted white earth (*cerno cretus*), used for powdering a lady's face.

uncus is the 'hook or drag . . . by which the corpses of convicts were drawn from the neighbouring *carcer*, where they had been strangled, to the *Scalae Gemoniae*' (Mayor). Lucan describes a witch dragging along a dead body, Phars. vi. 637, as if it had been that of a criminal: *Electum tandem traiecto gutture corpus Ducit, et inserto laqueis feralibus unco Per scopulos miserum trahitur.* The mutilation and outrage of the corpse was much dreaded; cf. Nero's anxiety that his body should be burnt entire, Suet. Nero 49. The horror of the Hindoos at being blown to pieces is an instance of the same feeling. An inscription found at Pompeii, probably written by a gladiator, terminates with the words *uncu' Pompeianis, Petecusanis,* Rolfe p. 20.

67. The conversation of two spectators returning home from the demolition of the statue. 'I never liked the man! but what was he accused of, and what were the proofs?' 'Oh, none were necessary. Tiberius' long letter to the Senate was the warrant!' 'Good—I ask no more!'

quae labra: 'what scornful lips!' 'they say they could never abide him,' Ben Jonson loc. citat.

The best commentary on this and the following line is Tac. Ann. iv. 74. Tiberius retired to Capri A.D. 28, and would hardly allow any one to see him: he came, on the express solicitation of the senate, into Campania, *anxii erga Sianum, cuius durior congressus: . . . satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam feodum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti.* In Ann. v. 8 Pomponius was accused of friendship with Aelius Gallus, the eldest son of Sejanus. Again, in Ann. vi. 8, M. Terentius remained true to the memory of Sejanus, *ea tempestate qua Sciani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant.*

69. **cecidit** seems used in the technical sense of being 'cast in a suit'; cf. iv. 12 *caderet sub iudice morum,* and Suet. Otho 5 *sub creditoribus in foro cadere.* Tiberius, in the commentary which he drew up on his own life, *ausus est scribere, 'Sianum se punisse quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui'* Suet. Tib. 61.

70. For the terror inspired by the **delatores** under Tiberius' reign cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 28. For the rewards given to informers cf. lib. iv. 20, Suet. Nero 10: Tac. Ann. xvi. 33, and Hist. iv. 42. 5; cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 219–220. The *delator* is the accuser, or rather informer: the *index* is the man who approves or substantiates the evidence, disclosing the names of his accomplices on an assurance of personal safety: cf. *Sestius indice Nerio de ambitu est postulatus* Cic. ad Quint. Fratr. ii. 3, and Tac. Ann. iii. 10 *neque se accusatores sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos,* in which passage *index* seems to mean a collector of evidence, as well as a personal witness of what he knew.

71. The *locus classicus* for the **verbosa et grandis epistula** is Dio Cassius, lviii. 9. The letter was addressed to Macro, appointing him prefect of the praetorians: he delivered the letter to the consuls: it was read: it was long and discursive: finally it ordered the arrest of Seianus; (cf. Jonson, Sejanus, v. 10). Macro had, before the arrest of Seianus, told him that he was empowered to offer to him privately the *tribunicia potestas* (which was regarded as a not infrequent preliminary to the Empire itself). Suet. Tib. 65 calls the letter *pudenda* and *miseranda oratio*. Tiberius' utterances, when he wished that they should appear obscure, were very mysterious; even in cases where he had no object in hiding the truth, *suspensa semper et obscura verba* Tac. Ann. i. 11. His words seemed rather to be wrested from him than to fall spontaneously from him (Ann. iv. 31. 4): he was *consulto ambiguus* Ann. xiii. 3.

72. **bene habet** = καλῶς ἔχει. *Habere se* is used as equivalent to *esse* by Cicero, e.g. de Orat. ii. 67 § 271: *sic* habet, 'it is so,' by Horace, Sat. i. 9. 53. Seneca, Contr. v. 34 uses *bene habet* as here.

73. The use of **Remi** may denote 'the people who from their first traditions are accustomed to fratricide.' But it suits the scansion, though there also seems something contemptuous in the use of *Remi*; cf. Catullus' mention of the degenerate Romans as *Remi nepotes* (lviii. 5). Cf. also Martial, x. 80 *de plebe Remi Numaeque verna*. Certainly the Romans seem spoken of as the descendants of Remus, when some turmoil or disturbance is thought of in the connection: cf. Hor. Epod. 7. 17 *acerba fata Romanos agunt Scelusque fraternae necis, Ut immerentis fluxit in terram* Remi *Sacer nepotibus cruor*; Sulpicia, l. 19 *sed genus Ausonium Remulique exturbat alumnos*.

sequitur fortunam. The unhappy fortune of favourites at court under the Empire is exemplified by many cases in Friedländer, i. p. 143 sqq. Cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 30; Sallustius fell out of favour, as Maecenas had done before him, *fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt aut hos cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant*. Tiberius himself chose twenty of the chief men in the state as his privy counsellors; of these, only two or three survived; the rest he crushed, Suet. Tib. 55.

74. **Nortia**. The Etruscan goddess of fortune; see Livy vii. 3. 7. Thus Juvenal means 'if the Etruscan deity had smiled on her own countryman.' A nail was driven every year into her temple at Volsini as a calendar to mark the years, and as a symbol of the unalterable power of destiny; cf. Hor. Car. i. 35. 18. Fortuna and Fors were very widely worshipped in Italy as the representatives of Fate and Luck: thus there were temples to Fortuna at Antium and Praeneste, and again in Algidus (Liv. xxi. 62. 3.). Tac. Ann. xv. 53 speaks of a temple to Salus or else to Fortuna in Ferentinum, an Etruscan town. Seianus had in his house a statue of Fortuna, which he worshipped, and which turned its back on him before his fall (Plin. H. N. viii. § 197), a speci-

ally bad sign from her whom he regarded as unchanging (*ne vortia*), and found *nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.*

75. si oppressa foret, &c., 'had the Emperor in his old age been surprised when off his guard': a common use of *opprimere*: cf. *inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt* Caes. B. G. iv. 4. Suet. uses the same word in the same connection: Tib. 65, *et oppressa coniuratione Seiani nihilo securior*. He was now nearly seventy-two. For the expression **secura senectus**, cf. *Βίη Ἡρακληείη*, &c., *Crispi iucunda senectus* iv. 81, and *Montani venter*, ib. 107.

77. 'Since we have had votes to sell we have nothing to do.' Cf. Petronius 119 *Nec minor in campo furor est*, emptique Quirites *Ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt.* Tacitus, Ann. i. 15. tells us that this was Tiberius' doing: 'not till now were the elections transferred from the Campus to the Senate.' On the bribery at elections at the end of the Republic cf. Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 179–80, who describes, as a symptom of the want of discipline and self-control, *letalis ambitus urbi Annua venali referens certamina Campo*: so Senec. Epp. cxv. 10 *et magistratus et iudices facit pecunia.*

78. The nominative to **effudit** is *populus*, understood before *dabat*. Julius Caesar assumed to himself the right of recommending half the number of candidates for election; he sent *per libellos* to the tribes a brief *congé d'élire*, of which Suetonius (Jul. 41) gives the words: cf. too D. Cass. xliii. 45, 47, and 51, who adds that really and truly J. Caesar chose them all. 'But Tiberius, immediately after his accession to the throne, A. D. 14, brought it to pass that from that day for the first time the elections were transferred from the Campus to the Senate: for up to this time, although the chief elections were made at the will of the emperor, yet some were left to the decision of the tribes. Nor did the people complain of this abolition of their rights but by an empty outcry; and the senate, freed from the necessity of bribes and degrading entreaties, grasped eagerly at the boon, Tiberius limiting himself to the recommendation of four candidates *sine repulsa et ambitu designandos*,' (cf. Tac. Ann. i. 15 § 1). On the whole question see Furneaux, Tacitus Ann., Introduction, p. 375: Vell. ii. 126. 2, and Mommsen, Staatsrecht ii. p. 877.

79. imperium. The vote of the *Comitia centuriata*, by which the consuls were elected, conferred on them civil authority only (*potestas*); but as soon as they entered upon office, military power also (*imperium*) was bestowed on them by the *Comitia curiata*; cf. Cic. de Leg. Agr. ii. cap. 12.

fasces. When the office of consul was first instituted, each lictor carried a bundle of rods (*fasces*) with an axe in the midst; but by the *lex Valeria* the axe was to be removed from the *fasces* of the consul while in the city (*secures de fascibus demi iussit*, Cic. de Rep. ii. 31), and when the consuls appeared in the *Comitia*, their lictors were compelled to lower their *fasces* (*fasces submittere*), as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people. See Ramsay's Roman Ant. p. 180.

legiones, military commands, and such posts as *tribuni militares consulari potestate*, Liv. iv. 6; Dionys. xi. 60; Ramsay, p. 152.

80. 'Now sits at home, and longs fretfully but for two things—bread and the games.' See Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 296; the policy of amusing the people to keep them quiet is described by Dio Chrys. Or. xxxii. p. 370, § 18.

81. **panem.** For the *plebs sordida*, many of whom were outside the pale of the thirty-five tribes, a monthly corn dole was provided. Cf. Orell. Inscrip. 754, of the time of Titus, *Plebs urbana quae frumentum publicum accepit et tribus.* Besides these, extra subsidies were occasionally provided, as that mentioned in Tac. Ann. ii. 87, when the people murmured at the high prices, and Tiberius ordered that corn was to be sold at less than the current price, and the difference was to be made up out of the *fiscus*. For such occasional *frumentationes*, cf. Suet. Aug. 41 sqq. Cf. also Tac. Ann. xv. 39. 2. On the regulation of the corn-market by the government, see Marquardt, ii. pp. 122 sqq.; and Furneaux, Tac. Ann. p. 349.

Circenses. Distributions of provisions were also made on a large scale at the games of the Circus. Slaves bore large baskets of provisions, under which they staggered, and distributed them to the spectators. Even the equites were allowed a sum for refreshments (Mart. i. 11); see too Suet. Calig. 18, who *sparsit et missilia variarum rerum et panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit.* The whole subject of the games, and their influence upon the morals of the Romans of the empire, has been exhaustively treated by Friedländer, vol. ii. pp. 317 sqq. For the Christian view of the pagan *Circenses*, cf. Arnob. adv. Gentes vii. 36, 37, and Tertullian de Spectaculis, chap. xvi. The expression *panem et Circenses* seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Mayor ad loc., who quotes Fronto, Princ. Hist. ad fin. p. 210 (Naber), 'the emperor knows *populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus, annona et spectaculis, teneri.*'

perituros. Another conversation. 'I hear there are to be many executions!' 'No doubt of it, many another statue will go into the furnace.' 'Yes, friend Brutidius, when I met him to-day in the Campus Martius, was quite pale.' The contest between Aiax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles was a common theme for declamation, cf. vii. 115. Mayor thinks that Seianus is here called Aiax, and that Brutidius defended him and failed: hence he, ill-defended, avenges himself on his lukewarm advocate, gloating over his terror from the other world. It seems simpler to refer Aiax to Tiberius, and to suppose that Juvenal has transferred the epithet which suited Aiax to Tiberius, whom it did not precisely fit.

perituros audio multos. The courtiers of Seianus, who swarmed down to Campania to see him, and found him hard of access, came back to Rome, some cheerful, but with bad reason, since the tragic sequel of their ill-starred friendship was so near; Tac. Ann. iv. 74 § 7 ad fin. Many of Seianus' friends committed suicide; an unknown speaker, Ann. vi. chap. 1, announces that he will anticipate his sentence: cf. especially

Tac. Ann. vi. 19. Maddened by the sight of punishments, Tiberius ordered all who were lying in prison under accusation of friendship with Seianus to be executed. Tacitus adds *iacuit immensa strages*: Suetonius, however, Tib. 61, is more cautious in his statement, *viginti uno die abiecti tractique sunt; inter eos pueri et feminae.*

82. **magna est fornacula.** The furnace is large enough for anything: i. e. the blaze is so hot that it well may spread. The expression puts us in mind of *proximus ardet Ucalegon*; the speaker, no doubt, had in his mind *ardet adoratum populo caput* in l. 62. For the fate of the friends of fallen favourites, cf. the end of the friends of Agrippina, Tac. Ann. iv. 52. *Fornacula* is the diminutive of *fornax*. The number of diminutives employed in the silver age of Latinity was very great: very many passed over into the Romance languages, and formed substantives in which the idea of diminutives is entirely wanting, such as *soleil, abeille*: the fact that such an epithet as *magna* could be used with the diminutive *fornacula*, shows that no diminutive sense was felt to attach to the word.

83. **Brutidius** or Bruttedius Niger, Tac. Ann. iii. 66, is mentioned as one of the accusers of C. Silanus, proconsul of Asia, on a charge of *repetundae*. M. Seneca, Contr. ix. 35, speaks of him as an orator and historical writer (cf. Suas. vi. §§ 20, 21).

84. The epithet **victus**, although it seems unsuitable to apply to Tiberius, is the very epithet which does suit Aiax, as it was the frenzy of his defeat which brought on the massacre of the sheep when he thought that they were his enemies: so the thought seems to be, 'How anxious I am lest he, like a conquered Aiax, should raise a general massacre.' For the omission of *ut*, or some similar word, which causes the two names to seem identified, cf. the use of *corrector Bestius* Hor. Ep. i. 15. 37.

87. 'But let our slaves see that we insult our Caesar's enemy, to prevent their turning round and accusing us of lack of loyalty.' The testimony of slaves was accepted in the case of persons accused of high-treason, and Tiberius employed this as a useful way of arriving at the secrets of the nobility of his time. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 28. 30.

90. **salutari.** To have as many attendants on your morning *salutatio*. For a description of the *salutatio*, and a collection of passages relating thereto, cf. Friedländer i. 4. pp. 282 sqq. Cf. Sen. de Ben. vi. 34 and Tac. Dial. de Orat. c. 6 *Quid enim dulcius . . . quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum?*

91. **illi**, more commonly *huic* and *illi*, though *ille* followed by *illi* is not uncommon.

curules, i. e. *sellas*; chairs originally of ivory, later of metal, without back or arms: reserved for such magistrates as occupied a *curule* post: originally for the kings; after their expulsion for consuls, praetors, aediles, censors, and later for the *praefectus urbi*; also for dictators, the *magister equitum*, the *decemviri*, and the *tribuni mili-*

tum consulari potestate. See a woodcut of such a *sella* in Guhl and Koner, p. 524, taken from a coin of the *Gens Furia*. Tacitus, Ann. iii. 66, speaks of one Otho, who was raised from the master of an elementary school to the post of praetor by the influence of Seianus. Tac. Ann. iii. 35 tells us that Blaesus, the maternal uncle of Seianus, was appointed by Tiberius proconsul of Africa, his claims resting on his relationship.

92. tutor haberi. Seianus was sent (Ann. i. 24) as *rector iuveni* (the young prince Drusus) on his mission to Pannonia on the occasion of the military revolt: and in iv. 7 Drusus complains that Seianus is called *adiutorem imperii*.

93. augusta. Another reading is *angusta*. *Augusta* will point to the majesty conferred on the barren rock by the presence of the emperor with his horde. Suetonius (Tib. 43) tells us that Tiberius was nicknamed *Caprineus*, from his love of Capri, no doubt with a further allusion to his incontinence.

Capreae, an island off the coast of Campania, eight miles from Surrentum, eleven miles in circuit, the modern Capri. Augustus had obtained it in 725 (B.C. 29), Strab. v. 4. 8, (p. 248), Dio lii. 43. 2, Suet. Aug. 92, by giving in exchange for it to the community of Neapolis the more important island of Aenaria (Ischia): he had erected there a villa, laid out gardens, and built a museum. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 67, tells us that Tiberius, A. D. 28, took a fancy to its solitude, to its charming climate, mild in winter, owing to the cold winds being broken by the *promunturium Minervae* in the west, and the fresh breezes which blew from the open sea in summer. He absorbed twelve villas or estates which he found there into his own; and, in spite of his parsimony, Tac. Ann. iii. 52. 3, he seems to have erected more than one villa on the island. He had one villa called *villa Iovis* (Suet. Tib. 65) near the Pharos on the eastern height; besides this, remains of a marine villa in a secluded nook beneath a precipice have been found. See Furneaux, Tac. Ann. loc. citat.

94. cum grege Chaldaeo. Chaldaei was the common name given to astrologers; cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 27. *Hic prope (Seleucia) Chaldaeorum est regio altrix philosophiae veteris, ut memorant ipsi apud quos veridica vaticinandi fides eluxit*, Amm. xxiii. 6. 25. These astrologers, otherwise known as *mathematici*, Tac. Hist. i. 22 and *periti caelestium*, Ann. iv. 58. 2, professed to predict the destiny of individuals from the state of the stars at their birth. They were expelled from Rome, B. C. 139, by a praetor's edict (Val. Max. i. 3. 2). We have occasional references to their superstitions, as early as Horace's *nec Babylonios tentaris numeros* (Car. i. 11. 2–3); but their great influence belongs to this age. See Furneaux on Tac. Ann. ii. 28; compare also Mayor's note to Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 248, and Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 90–95. Augustus was not free from a belief in such superstitions, Suet. Aug. 92, 97; a withered tree was, he believed, restored to life at his arrival in Capreae. See Friedländer, vol. iii. 4. pp. 465 sqq. They also seem to have foretold

future events by inspecting *exta*. See Arnob. i. 4 and iv. 13 *Chaldaeos, qui in interioribus viderunt*. The influence of astrology upon the views of Tacitus may be seen from Tac. Ann. iv. 58 § 2, and from Ann. vi. 22 § 5; his contempt for ordinary impostors from Hist. i. 22. 1 etc.

pila, as *primipilus centurio*: **cohortes**, as *tribunus militum*: the special reference is to Seianus' body-guard.

95. **egregios equites**. The technical name given to rich young men of promise by Augustus was *equites illustres*, or *splendidi*; these were regarded by him as forming a nursery for future statesmen. Cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 4. It is probably to these that Juvenal here refers.

castra domestica. The praetorians, collected by Scianus into a standing camp (Tac. Ann. iv. 2). The meaning is, 'You would like to have army appointments at your disposal, and body-guards as well.'

quidni, 'why not?' 'naturally enough.' Cf. Senec. ad Marciam xviii. ad fin. *Respondebis, velle te vivere? quidni?*

96. Cf. Ovid, Her. xii. 75 *perdere posse sat est si quem iuvat ipsa potestas*. M. Terentius, who remained faithful to the memory of Seianus, said in his own defence, *spectamus quae coram habentur, cui ex te opes, honores, quis plurima iuvandi nocendive potentia, quae Seiano fuisse nemo negaverit* (Tac. Ann. vi. 8).

97. Lit. 'what prosperity is at such a price, i.e. so valuable (as to be worth obtaining) upon the condition,' etc. The passage is like that in Sat. iii. 54, 55 *tanti tibi non sit opaci Omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum Ut somno careas*. 'Let no wealth seem to you valuable, (of equivalent value), that for it you should sacrifice your sleep.' Cf. Seneca, Suas. vi. *Quidquam tanti putas ut vitam Antonio debeas?* In xiii. 96 *tanti* is also used in the sense of 'sufficiently valuable,' worth the price, and the condition is there expressed by *dummodo* in line 94. The fact is, that *tanti* has, owing to usage in such connection as this, come to be apprehended in meaning as *satis pretiosum*. The full and natural construction would be *sunt tanti quanti debuerint esse ut*; but the ellipse passes unnoticed, as in such a phrase as *Ce n'est pas la peine* in French for *Ce n'est pas une chose qui vaut la peine*. For the sentiment cf. Sat. xiv. 314 *Alexander . . . passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus*.

99. 'Would you rather wear the *praetexta* of a Seianus than be the *podestà* of some country town like Ulubrae, in his tawdry state?'

praetexta (not used without *toga* in classical prose: see Dräger, vol. i, p. 65, under *toga*), the official dress of consuls, praetors, curule aediles, and the higher orders of priests (Livy xxxiv. 7. 2, 3: cf. xxii. 57).

100. **potestas**, abstract for concrete, just as we say, 'an authority.' Cf. the use in Sat. i. 117 *summus honor*, Verg. Aen. x. 18, and Martial x. 78. 4 *semper pauperior redit* potestas. For similar linguistic uses, cf. Spanish *el cura*, the priest; *el justicia*, the magistrate. Cf. Paul, Principles of Language, Eng. edit. pp. 291 sqq.

101. As the chief magistrate in an Italian town. These were commonly called *duoviri iuri dicundo*, but are called *aediles*, Sat. iii. 179.

The four chief magistrates formed a *collegium*; the *aediles* were reckoned as *collegae minores* of the *duoviri iuri dicundo*; their chief business was the allocation of public contracts, the superintendence of public games, public buildings, &c. Both *duoviri* and *aediles* had the right of wearing the *praetexta*; for their other marks of outward distinction, as well as for the classical passages bearing upon the subject, see Staats- und Rechtsalterthümer (Schiller), p. 656.

102. **Ulubrae** (cf. Hor. Ep. i. 11. 30; for *Gabii*, cf. ib. 7) is mentioned as the type of a small deserted country town by Cicero, Ep. ad Fam. vii. 12 § 2; again, vii. 18 § 3, in which he speaks of the frogs as its inhabitants: cf. too Cic. ad Att. ii. 6, where he says he would rather be a *duovir* at Antium than at Rome. The thought is from Persius i. 129-30.

104. Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 8 § 6, Terentius' speech: *Non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem, sed Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem, quos adfinitate occuparverat, tuum. Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in republica capessentem colebamus.*

105. **numerosa.** He was adding storey to storey that his fall might be the more crushing, The thought is similar to that in Hor. Car. ii. 10. 10 *celsae graviore casu Decidunt turres.* Cf. *tolluntur in altum Ut lapsu graviore ruant*, Claud. in Rufin. i. 22, 23. *Numerosus*, in the sense of numerous, belongs to silver Latinity; the classical use is 'harmonious' or 'rhythmical': cf. Ov. Am. ii. Eleg. iv. 29 *Illa placet gestu*, numerosa*que bracchia ducit.* For the present use, cf. Amm. Mar. xxx. 4, § 6 *cum Philippis Scaevolae aliique* numerosi; Plin. H. N. xi. 4 *animalia numeroso fecunda partu*; though the adverb *numerositer* is used in the classical sense, as in Arnob. ii. § 73 *cantionibus ut praeirent numerositer.* Juvenal uses *numerosa* in another passage, vii. 151, in the sense of harmonious. Both usages are common.

107. **praeceps**, 'the dizzy height,' used substantively, as in Sat. i. 149; cf. also Apul. Met. iv. 5 (66) *per altissimum praeceps* (precipice) *in vallem praecipitant*, just as we speak of a 'steep.'

impulsae ruinae means 'of the falling building set toppling over.' *Ruina* is used in the same sense in Ovid, Trist. i. 9. 19 *At simul impulsa est* (viz. *domus ruens*) *omnes timuere ruinam.*

108. **Crassos** and **Pompeios** as types of their class: cf. Verg. Aen. i. 181 *Anthea si quem . . . videat*; cf. the use of *Decii*, Sat. viii. 258 and xiv. 239. Cf Seneca, ad Polyb. Cons. xxxiv. § 1 *Quid Pompeios quibus ne hoc quidem saeviens reliquit fortuna, ut una denique conciderent ruina.* Seneca proceeds to speak of the two sons of Pompeius Magnus, Gneius and Sextus; and the three might be intended here, but that the combination with Caesar makes it more likely that we are to take the words as stated.

illum. C. Julius Caesar; the name, as so frequently in Juvenal, replaced by a periphrastic description. For instances of Caesar's arrogance and of the patience of the people in tolerating it, see Suet. 76 *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit.* The people wrote (ib. 80) a pasquinade, which they affixed to Caesar's statue—*Brutus quia reges eiecit consul primus factus est: Hic quia consules eiecit rex*

postremo factus est. Suet. Aug. 94 relates that Cicero saw in a dream Jupiter present a *flagellum* to a boy let down from heaven by a chain of gold; this boy he afterwards recognised as Octavianus. Other signs of Roman subjection followed. The *flagellum* was the slaves' punishment for offences of a graver kind (Hor. Sat. i. 3. 119).

110. The participle joined with the substantive is equivalent to the verbal substantive and the word with which it is connected: cf. Horace's use of *ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis* Car. ii. 4. 10–12, where *ademptus Hector = ademptio* or *mors Hectoris*. Cf. Juv. viii. 72, i. 163; xiii. 204–5; Tacitus passim, e. g. Ann. ii. 2 *accendebat dedignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis*: i. 42 *occisus Augusti pronepos interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciat*. **Nempe** constantly introduces a reply: 'of course, 'tis the quest of supreme power that stops short at no intrigue, and the overhearing of ambitious vows by spiteful gods.' For the thought, cf. Sen. Ep. xcv. § 3, 'count yourself as much afflicted as those *quos divitiae per summum acquisitae sudorem, male habent: inter illos, quos honores*, nulla non arte atque opera *petiti discruciant*.'

111. exaudita, 'overheard.' Cf. Sen. de Ben. ii. § 16 *Sunt quaedam nocitura impetrantibus . . . saepe etiam noxia concupiscimus*. Cf. too Tac. Ann. xv. 21 *plura saepe peccantur dum demeremur quam dum offendimus*. The idea seems to be that the malicious deity was eavesdropping. It was not the wish for power, but the fact of that wish being heard, that proved fatal. *Exaudire* means to hear with some effort: cf. Cic. ad Att. iv. 8 (*b*) *Dic oro te clarius: vix enim mihi* exaudisse *videor*: cf. also ad Att. xiii. 48. For the sentiment, cf. Sen. Ep. xcv. § 2 *et verum ne dis quidem dicimus: sed di aut* non exaudiunt, *aut miserentur*.

112. generum. Pluto, whose wife was Proserpina, daughter of Ceres. As usual, Juvenal prefers to indicate the person of whom he is speaking by a periphrasis.

113. On the punishment of tyrants, see Sen. de Ben. vii. 14 § 5, on the tyrannicides Aristogeiton and Harmodius: ib. ii. 19. 1 *tuber tyranni gladio divisum*; cf. also de Clem. i. 26. 1.

114–132. 'Oratory again, and love of eloquence has proved the bane of many. Schoolboys think with envy on Demosthenes and Cicero. Good were it for the one had he been remembered as a poetaster only; for the other had he never left his father's forge.'

115. Quinquatria, 'the festival of Minerva,' the spring holidays, which lasted from the 19th of March till the 23rd, five days, according to Roman reckoning. The word originally denoted the fifth day after the Ides (Festus, p. 254 M), but it was commonly taken to be derived from the number of days it comprised. Scholars brought gifts during the festival to Minerva, the patroness of learning: cf. Ovid, Fast. iii. 816 *Qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit*. Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 197, whence we see that it was kept as a school-holiday: *puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim*.

116. i. e. 'Who adores the goddess of learning so frugally minded as to sell her graces for a single copper.' This refers to the school-fee paid monthly. Horace expresses his joy at having been saved from such a preparatory school (Sat. i. 6. 75 *octonos referentes Idibus aeris*), kept by a *ludi magister* of no great learning. Cf. Palmer's note on the passage.

117. He is so young that the *paedagogus*, or trusty slave, takes him to school as Horace's father l. c. supra) took him. Marquardt, vol. vi. p. 111, supposes the *capsarius* to be a different slave from the *paedagogus*; and it seems from Suetonius, Nero 36, that sometimes a *capsarius* as well as a *paedagogus* was employed; *constat, quosdam cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos.* Seneca, Ep. lxxxix. § 13, calls the *sapiens* a *humani generis paedagogus.*

118. Cf. Quintil. Decl. 268, p. 509 Burm. quoted by Mayor, *nonne Demosthenem illum oppressum veneno suo scimus? nonne Ciceronem in illis . . . rostris poenae suae expositum?* Demosthenes committed suicide by poisoning himself, B. C. 322, to escape Antipater. Cicero was murdered, B. C. 43, at Caieta, by order of the triumvirs, irritated by his Philippics. Sen. de Tran. Anim. 15. 5 *Cicero clientibus suis praebet cervicem.* **perit**, perfect tense. Cf. iii. 174 *tandemque redit ad pulpita.*

119. 'The torrent of their own eloquence has drowned them.' This final use of the dative seen in *leto* is found in Verg. Aen. **v. 451** *It clamor caelo*, and in Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 49 *puerum egerit Orco.* Cf. also Apul. Met. **v. 2** *cubiculo te refer.*

120. ingenio, dative. Genius is personified. 'Genius lost hand and head' (Mayor). This describes Cicero's fate, whose hand and head were cut off and hung from the rostra. Cicero is mentioned by Seneca, ad Marc. xx. § 12, as having lived too long for his happiness. Cf. Liv. Epitome 120.

manus est et cervix caesa. Cf. the whole of Seneca's Suasoriae vi and vii, the former of which is entitled *Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur*; the second, *Historicorum de Cicerone Elogia*, quotes from Livy *M. Cicero sub adventum triumvirorum cesserat urbe, pro certo habens id quod erat, non magis Antonio eripi se quam Caesari Cassium et Brutum posse: . . . Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum, ipsum deponi lecticam, et quietos pati quod sors iniqua cogeret, iussisse. Prominenti ex lectica, praebentique immotam cervicem, caput praecisum est. Nec satis stolidae crudelitati militum fuit: manus quoque, scripsisse in Antonium aliquid exprobrantes, praecciderunt. Ita relatum caput ad Antonium, iussuque eius inter duas manus in rostris positum ubi ille consul, ubi saepe consularis, ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium, quanta nulla humana vox, cum admiratione eloquentiae auditus fuerat: vix attollentes lacrimis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra poterant.* So again, ib. *visa ad caput eius deligata manus dextra, divinae eloquentiae ministra.*

121. **rostra.** For a learned discussion on the *rostra*, see the Edinburgh Review, Feb. 1885. The tribune or *suggestum* on the *Comitium* in the Roman forum, from which public men addressed the people, was so called because it was ornamented with ships' beaks, taken from the Antiates in the Latin War. See Rich s. v.

pusillus, 'of small account,' rather mentally than physically. Cicero himself had no personal advantages; he was lean, goose-necked, and unattractive. Demosthenes' want of presence was a constant drawback to him.

122. An unfortunate jingling line from a poem written by Cicero on his own consulship, B.C. 63. In Epist. ad Atticum ii. 3, Cicero quotes with complacency an extract from the same poem, where Calliope is introduced as exhorting him to continue the same course and to prosper:—

> *Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae*
> *Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,*
> *Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.*

Quintilian quotes the line with disapproval, blaming its vanity. Inst. Or. i. § 24 *in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere maligni 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi' et 'o fortunatam,'* &c. Seneca, de Ira xxxvii. § 3, speaks of the *deridenda poemata* of Cicero. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 21 says that Caesar and Brutus wrote poetry as poor as that of Cicero; but they were happier in their lot, inasmuch as fewer are aware that they wrote any. Martial refers to his poems in an uncomplimentary way, ii. 89. 3, 4 *Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo Laudari debes*: hoc Ciceronis habes. These jingles were a part of the 'technique' of Roman comic poetry. Cf. Ter. Andria 218 *amentium haud amantium*. So Eunuch. ii. 3. 6 *Taedet cotidianarum harum formarum*; but, when employed in didactic or narrative poetry, had a comical effect, as Horace's *ridicul*us *m*us, A.P. 139.

123. **potuit** would be naturally *potuisset*: cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 132 *Et si non alium late iactaret odorem Laurus* erat. The past tenses of the verb *possum* are constantly employed in the indicative, where a subjunctive occurs in the apodosis: cf. Cic. de Rep. iii. 29. Liv. xxii. 12. Cf. Sen. ad Marc. xii. § 3 *At potuit* (might have been) *longior esse fructus et maior*. There are certain other words like *debeo*, whose tenses are used in the indicative, where we should use the subjunctive to translate them: cf. *Debuisti, Vatini, etiamsi falso in suspicionem venisses P. Sestio tamen mihi ignoscere* (Cic. in Vatin. i. § 2: cf. Madvig, § 348 (e)); Roby ii. p. 148.

Antoni gladios. The first Philippic was spoken before the senate Sept. 2, B.C. 44; Antonius replied in a fierce invective against Cicero. The second Philippic was never spoken, but is written as if it were an answer delivered on the spot; but in reality Cicero had not the courage to publish it until Antonius had left Rome to forcibly deprive Decimus Brutus of his province. For its reputation, cf. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 37 *Nec*

Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius *hanc illi famam circumdederunt.* Seneca, in his Suasoria vii, tells us that Pollio, in a speech for Lamia, alleged that Cicero was willing not merely to disown, but to refute the Philippics. Suasoria viii is on the subject *Deliberat Cicero an scripta sua comburat, promittente incolumitatem Antonio, si fecisset.* In this Cestius Prius says, *ubi est sacra illa vox tua?*

The words are taken from Cicero's own Second Philippic § 118 *Defendi rempublicam adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos.*

125. The Second Philippic was a common topic in the schools of the rhetoricians. Dio Cassius published an imitation of it, which contains also a reply by a friend of Antony's.

126. **volveris**. In reference to the scroll. **a prima proxima**, the second: cf. *a prima proxima segnis erit*, Ovid, Rem. Am. 404 and Verg. Ec. v. 49 *tu nunc eris alter* ab *illo.*

illum. Demosthenes, born about 383 B. C., was the son of a weapon manufacturer of considerable wealth, who died when Demosthenes was only seven years old. He had lessons from the lawyer Isaeus. The great characteristic of his oratory was its ardour and enthusiasm, amounting to exaltation.

128. **moderantem frena,** a characteristic metaphor so often used among the Romans that it would hardly be felt as such: for a similar confusion, cf. Verg. Georg. i. 514 *neque audit currus habenas.*

theatrum refers to the theatre of Dionysus on the S. W. of the Acropolis, where the great assemblies of the people were sometimes held. The assemblies of the people were held in theatres, as at Ephesus, Acts xix. 29; Val. Max. ii. § 5, ambassadors sent to Tarentum *in theatrum ut est consuetudo Graeciae introducti legationem peregerunt* (Mayor).

129. The belief that misfortune was a direct punishment was so common that the expression *iratis dis natus* was proverbial. Demosthenes was constitutionally weakly and even cowardly, and fought a gallant fight against these defects. At an early age too he discovered that the negligence of his guardians had deprived him of much of his property.

For **dis adversis**, cf. Henzen, Inscr. 7302 *Duodecim deos habeat iratos* (whoever shall profane this spot).

130. **lippus**, blinded by his trade as μαχαιροποιός: perhaps with the implied idea that 'had he seen further into the future, he would have acted otherwise.' As a matter of fact the father was wealthy and died early, cf. note on l. 126, so the statement is an absurd exaggeration: but the poet uses a poet's licence to point his own moral.

132. *Vulcanus,* for the fire, as Verg. Aen. vii. 77 *Vulcanum spargere tectis.* **luteo Vulcano,** like *parca Minerva.*

ad rhetora. This refers to Isaeus, whom Demosthenes kept for four years to prepare him for the charge against his guardians of embezzlement.

133–187. 'Not the least fatal of ambitions is the wish to win laurels in war; look at Hannibal in his life and in his death! Think of Alexander and of Xerxes!'

133. **bellorum exuviae**, properly 'the strippings,' from *exuo*: cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 72 *hostiles exuvias*, for the general's prize-money.

For trophies, cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 18 *miles in loci proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit*: cf. also ib. 22 § 1. The custom was derived from the Greeks, and does not seem traceable earlier than B. C. 121 (see Flor. iii. 2. 6; Strab. iv. 1; xi. 185: see Furneaux, note to Ann. ii. 18). Cf. Verg. Aen. xi. 5 and 7, where arms are piled on an oak trunk as a trophy.

truncis tropaeis, 'trophy-stumps'; possibly with reference to Vergil, Aen. xi. 5. 6, where the trophy is an actual stump.

134. 'A cheek piece dangling from the battered casque' (M.).

136. **summo in arcu**. On the spandrels of the central arch of Severus (Middleton, p. 218) are winged victories bearing trophies. On the pedestals of the columns are life-sized reliefs of captives driven by Roman soldiers.

aplustre, properly = *ἄφλαστον*, the sign of a ship on the bowsprit; also, as here, 'the flagstaff.'

137–139. 'To gain such prize, Roman, Greek, and barbarian commander has raised his soaring hopes.'

138. **induperator**: Juvenal uses the archaic form, 'the commander, even in the good old times.'

The form *endoperator* occurs in Lucretius iv. 968 *endoperatores pugnare ac proelia obire*, and id. v. 1126. *Endo* was the old form for *in*; it is to be compared with *οἴκον-δε*: K. and C. p. 148. Brugmann, Gr. Gr[2]. 221 and Henry, Précis, p. 37.

140. **inde** parallel to **hoc** in l. 137: 'from such prizes he drew his motives for risking peril,' &c.

141. For the sentiment, cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 8 *virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.*

For the construction **amplectitur . . . si tollas**, see Roby, vol. ii. § 1574; Madvig, § 348 b; cf. *multa me dehortantur a vobis, ni studium reipublicae superet*, Sall. Iug. 31.

ipsam is emphatic: 'for its own self.'

142. **olim**, 'again and again.'

143. Seneca, Ep. cii. 18 *Quid intersit inter claritatem et gloriam, dicam: gloria* multorum *iudiciis constat: claritas* bonorum.

144. **haesuri**, 'meant to stay firm on the grave-stones which guard the ashes; stones which, however, are pushed aside by the wild growth of the barren fig-tree; for even the tomb has its day of death.' See Pope, Epistle v:—

'See the wild waste of all-devouring years!
How Rome her own sad sepulchre appears,
With nodding arches, broken temples spread,
The very tombs now vanished like their dead!'

Pope in these lines has only reproduced Spenser's translation of Joachim du Bellay in a verse translated by du Bellay from an epigram by Janus Vitalis, a Sicilian of the 16th century:—

'Rome now of Rome is the only funeral,
And only Rome of Rome hath victory.'

Few passages in literature have been more unscrupulously pillaged than this. Du Bellay, as quoted by Brachet, gives the piece as a sonnet of his own; Spenser only acknowledged it as a sonnet of du Bellay's; and Quevedo reproduced it as a sonnet of his own, and as such it was retranslated into English by Hazlitt in his Sismondi's Literature of the South, and afterwards by the younger Milman. The original begins:—

Quid Romam in media quaeris, novus advena, Roma,
Et Romam in Roma non superesse vides?

Spenser's translation is very fine, and the stanza in Pope stands out from the rest of the poem like

'Cloth of gold upon cloth of frieze.'

The rank growth of the fig-tree must have been familiar in Rome. We learn that whenever a fig-tree rooted itself in the *fastigium* of the temple of the Arval Brethren, the necessary removal and repairs had to be atoned for by *lustrum missum suovetaurilibus maioribus* (Act. Fr. Arv. Tab. xxxii). Cf. also Mart. x. 2. 9 *Marmora Messalae findit caprificus*, id. i. 89. 3 *Pario nutantia pondera saxo Quae cineri vanus dat ruitura labor*; cf. also Pers. Sat. i. 25 *quae semel intus Innata est rupto iecore exierit caprificus*.

147. The thought is the same as that in Aeschylus, Ag. 429 ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμίζων λέβητας εὐθέτου. Cf. also Ovid, Met. xii. 615 *Iam cinis est; et de tam magno restat Achille Nescio quid, parvam quod non bene compleat urnam. At vivit totum quae gloria compleat orbem.* Cf. too Propert. Eleg. iv. 11. 14, where the buried Cornelia is made to say *En sum quod digitis quinque levatur onus*; cf. also Sen. Herc. Oet. v. 1758 sq.

148. capit = χωρεῖ, 'has space for'; cf. Cic. Phil. ii. c. 44, pro Mil. c. 32.

149. Nilo tepenti. Lucan gives the reason for the heat, Phars. x. 213 *Cancrumque tenet, cui subdita Nili Ora latent.*

150. rursus = *reversus*: turning in the opposite direction, thus 'to the south.' Some word like *pertinens* must be supplied in sense from *admota*. P has *altosque*; the reading in the text is supported by most MSS.

151. additur. By Hamilcar Barcas, the head of the most powerful family in Carthage, and his son-in-law Hasdrubal, B. C. 236–228. The

Carthaginian dominion extended in Africa from the boundary of Kyrene to the pillars of Hercules, and thence to the Pyrenees (M.).

152. transilit, contemptuous. 'He skips over,' like Horace's *non tangenda rates transiliunt vada,* Carm. i. 3. 24. Mommsen holds that Hannibal's route was over the little St. Bernard. Polybius certainly seems to assume this route; Livy, on the other hand, xxi. 31, seems to describe that over Mount Genèvre, or possibly the Col d'Argentière.

153. The story is from Livy xxi. 37; cf. also Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. § 2. Polybius is silent on the subject. Cf. Amm. xv. 10. § 11 *Hannibal excisa rupe in immensum elata, quam cremando vi magna flammarum acetoque infuso in montem solvit.* Dio Cass. xxxvi. § 18 refers to vinegar as used to break up a tower.

154. iam tenet Italiam, after Cannae. Hannibal, though he had broken up the Italian confederacy, was really far from having Italy in his hands; the numerous Roman fortresses everywhere offered a barrier to his progress, and signs of independence on the part of individual communities, such as that of Capua, were not wanting. 'From the field of battle Hannibal turned his steps to Campania. He knew Rome better than the simpletons who in ancient and modern times have fancied that he might have terminated the struggle by a march on the enemy's capital.' Mommsen, Book III. chap. vi.

155. For this sense of **nihil actum est,** 'nothing has been gained,' 'no progress has been made,' cf. Lucan, Pharsal. ii. 657 of Caesar, nil actum *credens dum quid superesset agendum.*

portas. After the conflicts around Capua, Hannibal led his troops through Samnium and along the Valerian Way, past Tibur, to the bridge over the Anio, which he passed, and encamped on the opposite bank five miles from the city. The children's children of the Romans still shuddered when they were told of 'Hannibal at the gate': real danger there was none. Mommsen, Bk. iii. chap. vi. p. 169. Hannibal passed with the Romans as a model of perfidy, cruelty, and vice: cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 5 § 2: and especially Livy xxi. c. 4, xxiii. c. 5.

156. Subura. As the most populous district in Rome, in the hollow between the Quirinal, the Esquiline and the Viminal. **pono,** 'I plant with my own hand.'

157. This was after the battle of the Trebia, Dec. B.C. 218.

158. The elephant carrying the one-eyed captain is from Livy xxii. 2 *elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus: vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.* For the terror inspired by elephants, cf. Amm. xxiv. 6. 8 *post hos elephanti gradientium collium specie motuque immanium corporum propinquantibus exitium intentabant documentis praeteritis formidati*; cf. too id. 18, 7 § 6 *Persarum manipulos adiectis elephantorum agminibus, quorum stridore immanitateque corporum nihil humanae mentes terribilius cernunt.* See too ib. xxv. 1. 14. For the general terror inspired by Hannibal's invasion, cf. Lucretius iii. 845–9.

Ad confligendum venientibus undique Poenis,
Omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu
Horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris;
In dubioque fuere utrorum ad regna cadendum
Omnibus humanis esset terraque marique.

160. After the battle of Zama Hannibal remained some years in Africa, engaged in introducing political reforms, weakening the oligarchy, and introducing a freer government. The aristocratic faction accused Hannibal of connivance with Rome and peculation, and further denounced him to the Romans as having intrigued with Antiochus. The Romans demanded that he should be given up. In 195 B.C. Hannibal came to the court of Antiochus at Ephesus. The Romans in their treaty with Antiochus stipulated that Hannibal should be given up; but he escaped, first to Crete, and thence to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. Here, after successfully fighting in the cause of Prusias against Eumenes of Pergamos, he poisoned himself to escape being murdered by his miserable patron.

161. The 'princely and curious client' would suggest the humiliation of attending a Roman *salutatio* at daybreak at Rome as a *querulus cliens* (Mart. i. 50. 33). **praetoria,** used simply for a palace in post-classical Latin.

163. Cf. Livy, xxi. 22, who gives an account of a dream of Hannibal's, probably derived from Caelius Antipater (cf. Cic. de Divin. i. 24 § 49): a divine youth led him against Italy; on turning his head he saw a huge serpent crashing through the wreck of trees; thunder and a storm followed. On asking what this signified, he was told '*vastitatem Italiae esse:* pergeret porro ire.' And indeed Hannibal's constant epithet is *dirus*, which word seems especially employed of *relentless persistency in advancing*: cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 6. 36 *Hannibalemque dirum*; in Carm. iv. 4. 42 he is compared to a hurricane: cf. too for the use of the word Hor. Carm. ii. 2. 13 *dirus hydrops*, and Vergil's use of the word in Aen. iii. 235, where the aggressive harpies who come down *horrifico lapsu* receive the same epithet. Cf. Arnob. ii. 73 *cum Hannibal Poenus res Italicas raperet.*

164. Not a stone, like that which killed Pyrrhus.

165. Cannarum vindex. After the battle of Cannae, B.C. 216, Hannibal *ad fidem tam laetarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut metientibus dimidium supra tres modios explesse sint quidam auctores*; he stated that no one except the *primores equitum* had the right to wear these, *quo maioris cladis indicium esset*, Liv. xxiii. 12.

166. anulus. When Prusias consented to deliver Hannibal up, the latter took poison which he carried upon him concealed for the purpose, Livy xxxix. 51, § 8. Cf. Ausonius, Idyllia 12 de historiis, *Sera venenato potu abstulit Hannibalem nox.* The ring is mentioned only in Aur. Vir. Ill. 42, § 6.

i, 'go to now,' an expression of scorn: cf. Horace, Ep. i. 6. 17

I nunc argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspice, and id. Ep. ii. 2, 76. Cf. Persius iv. 19 and Sen. Consol. ad Helv. vi. § 7 *I nunc et animum humanum moleste ferre puta transitum.*

The student should read 'Hannibal, a historical drama,' by Professor Nichol (Macmillan, 1873).

167. Hannibal was a constant theme for declamation: cf. Satire vii. 161, and cf. Cic. de Invent. i. § 17, ii. § 171.

168. 'A single world is all too small for the stripling of Pella,' the little town of Macedonia (Pliny, H. N. xxxv. § 35), where Alexander was born, 356 B. C. He died at Babylon, 323 B. C.: cf. Antholog. Veter. Latinor. Epigramm. et Poemat. Lib. ii. Ep. xv

Sufficit huic tumulus cui non suffecerat orbis;
Res brevis huic ampla est, cui fuit ampla brevis.

Cf. too Ep. xvi. 3. 4

Adspice Alexandri positum memorabile corpus;
Abscondit tantum putris harena virum,

and xvii. 33 *Non satis mundus fuit unus illi.* Cf. too Sen. Ep. cxix. § 8 (Alexander) *mundi claustra perrumpit . . . ille modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia dominus tacto fine terrarum per suum redituras orbem tristis est.* Cf. id. de Benef. vi. 3. 1 *Alexandri cupido insatiabilis*, and so Amm. xv. 1. § 4 *mundorum infinitates (quas regeret) magnus somniabat Alexander.* He is compared with Hannibal in Livy xxxv. 14, §§ 6-11, and with Julius Caesar by Vell. Pat. (ii. 41): 'Caesar exactly resembled Alexander the Great when the latter was sober and free from passion.'

170. 'He frets like an ambitious political exile reduced to idleness on a rock like Gyarus or Seriphus.' Tiberius himself thought Gyarus too miserable a place for the banishment of Silanus; Tac. Ann. iii. 69 *addidit immitem et sine cultu hominum esse.* Pliny, H. N. viii. 29, says it was originally deserted owing to a plague of mice. In iv. 30 it is coupled with Donusa as lacking in water. Strabo (x. p. 485) at the time of the battle of Actium found there fishermen who complained that they were too poor to pay the tribute laid upon them (600 H.S.). See Furneaux, note on Tac. Ann. iv. 67.

Seriphus (called *parva*, vi. 564), according to Plin. H. N. iv. 22, twelve miles in circumference; the place of exile of Vistilia, Tac. Ann. ii. 85 *in insulam Seriphon abdita est.* Again, book iv. 21 § 5 Cassius Severus was *relegatus* to Crete, and afterwards *deportatus* to Seriphus, on which barren rock he expired.

171. Alexander, after the battle of Arbela, received the submission of Babylon and Susa, the two great capitals of the Persian Empire (Oct. 331 B. C.). He was received by the population with wild enthusiasm; sacrifices were offered to him; enormous treasures were taken. In the winter of B.C. 323 he marched again to Babylon, and on the way received embassies from the most distant nations. The Chaldaean priests met him soon after he crossed the Tigris, warning him that it would be dangerous for him to enter the city. He at first laughed at

their prophecies, Arrian vii. 22. 1, but afterwards repented of not having followed their counsel, Diodor. xvii. 116. He seems to have had the seeds of fever in him, and to have brought on his fatal malady by passing two nights in intemperate drinking on the occasion of the obsequies of his friend Hephaestion.

The **urbs** is Babylon, which Juvenal describes, as often, instead of mentioning. For the building of the walls of Babylon, see Herod. i. 178 sqq. The city was built in the shape of a square with a broad ditch around it. The clay dug from this was formed into bricks; the face of the ditch and wall were then built of these bricks cemented with bitumen. Cf. Ovid, Met. iv. 57, 58: Pyramus and Thisbe lived in the country, *ubi dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem.* Pliny, H. N. vi. 30, describes Babylon as *sexaginta milia passuum amplexa muris ducenos pedes altis, quinquagenos latis.* Cf. Ammian xxxiii. 6. § 23 *Babylon cuius moenia* bitumine *Semiramis struxit* (*arcem enim antiquissimus rex condidit Belus*).

172. **sarcophagus.** Pliny, N. H. ii. 98, tells that this name was originally applied to a particular kind of limestone quarried at Assos in the Troad, remarkable for its peculiar power of consuming the flesh and bones: *Circa Asson Troadis lapis nascitur quo consumuntur omnia corpora: sarcophagus vocatur.* Hence it was applied generally to a coffin. The same author, H. N. xxxvi. 27, says that bodies buried in coffins made of such stone were entirely destroyed, with the exception of the teeth, within forty days. In the East the 'flesh-eating' stone was applied as a torture to living bodies.

fatetur, 'brings out.' Cf. Sat. ii. 17.

173. **quantula . . . corpuscula.** Diminutives are a marked characteristic of the Silver age, and of Cicero's letters; they were likewise common in Plautus, and doubtless in the spoken Latin; and many modern French substantives are formed from them, as *abeille* from *apicula.* A full list of the diminutives in Juvenal is given by Mayor ad loc. In Satire x we have 64 *matella*, 82 *fornacula, pallidulus*, 121 *pusillus*, 334 *flammeolum*, 354 *sacellum*, 355 *candidulus.* For the formation of diminutives, see Madvig, Gramm. § 182.

174. The story is told in Herodotus vii. 22 sqq. how Xerxes cut a canal through the isthmus connecting the peninsula with Chalcidice. The trace of this canal is still most distinctly to be seen: see Lieut. Wolfe's remarks quoted in the article on Athos in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. The violation of the laws of nature, the sea made passable by roads, the land sailed over, were a stock antithesis: cf. Cic. de Fin. ii. § 112 *Xerxes cum Hellesponto iuncto, Athone perfosso, maria ambulavisset, terram navigasset.* So Seneca, Suasoriae ii. (Triarius); *sed montes perforat, maria contegit,* and again ib. *Maria terraeque, rerum naturam, statione mutavit sua*: cf. too Lucan, Pharsal. ii. 672 677 *non Eurum Zephyrumque timens, cum vela ratesque In medium deferret Athon*; Catullus lxvi. 45 *cum Medi peperere novum mare, cumque iuventus Per medium classi barbara navit*

Athon. Nero, in imitation of Xerxes, designed to build a ship-canal across the Corinthian isthmus: Pseudo-Luc. Nero 2.

175. **constratum classibus isdem.** Herodotus vii. 33, 36. But the story was a commonplace theme: cf. Amm. xxii. 8, § 4 *Abydon, unde iunctis pontibus Xerxes maria pedibus peragravit,* id. xxiii. 6. § 8 *Darius, posteaque Xerxes Graeciam elementorum usu mutato adgressi cunctis paene copiis terra marique consumptis vix ipsi tutum invenere discessum.* So Arnob. i. 5 *ut ille immanis Xerxes mare terris immitteret, et gressibus maria transiret nostri nominis effectum est causa?*

177. The words of Herodotus (vii. 21) are *κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν*; The *prandium* is the late breakfast between the *ientaculum* and the *cena*. Thus the sense is, 'they say that the rivers were drunk up by the Mede even for his breakfast.' Cf. Herodot. vii. 27–29, and ib. 118–120, where we read how disastrous were the king's visits to those on whom he inflicted the duty of showing him hospitality. The Abderites returned thanks that the king took only one meal a day.

178. **Sostratus** (an unknown poet) recited with such excitement that he perspired. Such a proceeding in the ancients excited rather ridicule than disgust. Guérin translates *madidis* '*inspiré par Bacchus*'; the epithet may refer to nothing more than the pitiable case of a poet who would soar like the swan of Dirce, but is weighed down by his subject. But that the interpretation given is probably correct will appear from Sen. Contr. i, where it is counted as a manly trait in M. Porcius Latro, *non sudorem unctione discutere.* Horace had made enemies by coupling Gargonius with *hircus,* Sat. i. 4. 92. The language seems suggested by Ovid, Met. i. 264 *madidis notus evolat alis.*

179. **ille,** Xerxes. After Salamis, B.C. 480, Xerxes hurried to the Hellespont, accompanied by a body of 60,000 men. He suffered much from famine and sickness; he lost many in the icy waters of the Strymon; the bridges over the Hellespont had been destroyed by the waves. At Abydos the excessive indulgence of his troops destroyed many more, so that the band which he took with him to Sardis was a mere wreck. He was assassinated B.C. 465. Xerxes *ὁ θούριος* (Aesch. Persae 714) gave his orders with a light heart because he could not read the future (ib. 375). The single ship of l. 185 is a late invention of the rhetoricians.

180. **solitus,** 'known to,' seems to have special reference to one occasion from which you might guess what he would do in others similar. Cf. *totum* solitus *conflare Tonantem,* Sat. xiii. 153.

181 **barbarus.** The special characteristic of barbarians appeared to the Romans their capricious passion (*impotentia*). Thus Sen. de Ira, Lib. i. xi. § 2 ii, *illis* (*barbaris*) *erat ira pro virtute.* Cf. Valer. Max. ix. 5 Ext. 2. *Xerxes cuius in nomine superbia et impotentia habitat,* where the same writer also refers to Hannibal. Similarly Horace of Cleopatra, Carm. i. 37. 10, 14; cf. too Vergil, especially in the characters of Turnus and Amata, Aen. vii. 376, xii. 9, 10, and of Dido, Aen. iv. 300, with Nettleship's remarks, Essays, p. 131.

Aeolio. Juvenal is thinking of Vergil, Aen. i. 52 sqq. *vasto rex Aeolus antro Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras Imperio premit* et vinclis et carcere *frenat.*

182. The story is from Hdt. vii. 35. It was a common theme for declamation, and Juvenal's avowed disbelief of the Greek legends would not be inconsistent with a belief that Xerxes was capable of such a mad freak. So Seneca, de Const. Sap. 4 § 2, Do you think *dimissis in pontum catenis Neptunum posse contingi?* See Grote, Hist. Greece c. xxxviii. vol. iv. pp. 115–116, 4th ed.

Ennosigaeum, 'the earth-shaker,' the Homeric epithet for Poseidon. *Neptunum umentis substantiae potestatem Ennosigaeum et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt*, Amm. xvii. 7 § 12.

183, 184. 'Too kind a punishment, on my word; did he not think of branding him as well? What god would consent to be a slave to a tyrant like this?' Runaways and thieves were branded (*notati*) with a hot iron, and called *inscripti* (Sat. xiv. 24). Herodotus, vii. 35, says that he had heard that Xerxes actually sent branders to brand the Hellespont.

185. **sed,** resumptive of **qualis** in l. 179; 'but in what plight did he return?'

cruentis fluctibus. Aesch. Pers. 421–2 *θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν | ναναγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.*

187. **totiens** with **optata.**

188–237. 'Length of days, the universal prayer, is but increasing misery. Think of its ailments, its bereavements, of the anguish of its solitude!' Cf. the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite *γῆρας . . . οὐλόμενον, καματηρόν, ὅτε στυγέουσι θεοί περ*, and the *ψόγος γήρως* of Mimnermus. For old age, with special reference to its advantages, cf. Cicero, Cato Maior; e. g. c. 5 *Gorgias cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet ess in vita, 'Nihil habeo, inquit, quod incusem senectutem.' Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum.* Cf. too similar answers on the same subject in Athenaeus xii. 26. Cf. Seneca, Ep. ci. § 4, where the folly of thinking of the future is dwelt on: *O quanta dementia est spes longas inchoantium! . . .* § 10 *Inde (metu mortis) illud Maecenatis turpissimum votum, quo et debilitatem non recusat et deformitatem*, &c. . . . And he quotes Maecenas' verses on the subject. Cf. La Fontaine I. Fab. xv.

189. **pallidus,** the colour of anxiety: *tinctus viola pallor amantium*, Horace, Carm. iii. 10. 14. So Pers. iv. 47 *si* palles, *improbe, nummo.* 'Men pray for old age, whether in good fortune or in bad.'

190. Cf. Hamlet's remarks to Polonius, Act i. Sc. 2. Cf. also Lucret. iii. 452, quoted by Montaigne in his Essay on Old Age, which has many thoughts in common with this passage.

192. Cf. Ben Jonson, Volpone, Act iii. Scene 6

> 'An old decrepit wretch
> That has no sense, no sinew: takes his meat
> With others' fingers: only knows to gape
> When you do scald his gums: a voice, a shadow,' &c.

dissimilem, 'unlike its proper self.' Apul. Metam. iii. 51 *Fotis mea . . . sui longe dissimilis advenit.* Cf. too Ov. Met. xi. 273 *Ceyx . . . maestus Dissimilisque sui.*

cutis is 'a man's skin'; **pellis,** 'a beast's hide.'

194. **Thabraca**, an island on the coast of Africa to the west of Carthage, still called Tabarka. Herodotus, iv. 194, speaks of the numerous apes on the Libyan hills.

196. 'Youths have many points of difference: old men all look alike.' Juvenal has probably in his mind Ovid, Am. ii. 10. 7 *Pulchrior hac illa est; haec est quoque pulchrior illa, Et magis haec nobis, et magis illa placet.* Cf. Sen. Ep. lxvi. § 32 *tanquam viri boni omnes pares sunt, quia boni sunt: sed habent differentias aetatis; alius senior est, alius iunior: habent corporis; alius formosus, alius deformis est: habent fortunae,* &c.

199. 'The drivelling nose of second childhood.'

200. 'The wretch must needs mumble his bread with unfenced gum.'

202. Martial has several epigrams on **captatores** who courted repulsive old ladies who had not long to live: thus i. 11. 3, 4. *Adeone pulchra est? Immo* foedius *nil est. Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet?* Tussis.

209. 'Nay, he is deprived of the pleasures of hearing as well.'

210–12. The construction is, *et cantantibus iis quibus mos est*, etc. The **citharoedi** appeared in public in rich attire, the *palla* and *syrma*; Juvenal calls the *palla* here **lacerna,** as effeminate. Cf. i. 27 *Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas.* Cf. Cic. ad Herenn. iv. c. 47; 'The citharoedus comes before the public *palla inaurata indutus cum chlamyde purpurea, coloribus variis intexta, et cum corona aurea, magnis fulgentibus gemmis illuminata, citharam tenens exornatissimam, auro et ebore distinctam.*' Cf. too Horace, A. P. 214, 215. On the high prices paid to such performers, see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte iii., pp. 342 sq.

213. The theatre of Pompey, opened in 55 B. C., contained 40,000 people. The seats and inner architectural decorations were of marble. In 193 B. C. the elder Scipio Africanus assigned special places to the Senators, and the orchestra was set apart for their use. In 68 B. C. the *lex Roscia* made over fourteen rows of benches immediately behind those of the Senators, to the Equites: and this distinction was maintained; Plin. H. N. vii. 30, Juv. Sat. iii. 154–159.

214. Seneca, Ep. lxxxiv, refers to the large numbers of *aeneatores* (performers on brazen *tubae*) in the Roman theatre, who apparently gave the signal for the commencement of the play, just as the *tuba* gave the signal for the commencement of battle.

216. Sun-dials (*solaria*) did not come into use at Rome till the Second Punic War. In Cicero's time we find *clepsydrae* or 'water-clocks' spoken of in private houses; cf. Cic. ad Fam. xvi. 18 § 3. These were also kept in public places at the expense of the state. Rich men kept slaves to announce the hours; cf. Mart. viii. 67 *Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat, et tu Iam conviva mihi Caeciliane venis.*

The *cubicularius* announced visitors: Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 4, and Cic. ad Att. vi. 2. 5, whence it appears that visitors were admitted in the order of their arrival. So Petron. xxvi. Trimalchio *horologium in triclinio et buccinatorem habet subornatum ut subinde sciat quantum de vita perdiderit.*

218. **febre calet sola,** 'requires a fever to make it warm'; so Martial, addressing a hag, iii. 93 *Cum bruma mensem sit tibi per Augustum, Regelare nec te pestilentia possit.* Cf. too Seneca, Ep. lxxvii. § 1 *iam aetas mea contenta est suo frigore: vix media regelatur aestate. Itaque maior pars in vestimentis degitur:* cf. too *nova febrium Terris incubuit cohors*, Horace, Carm. i. 3. 30–1.

219. A parody of passages like Verg. Georg. ii. 103 sqq.

si quaeras . . . expediam (future). For the construction, cf. Plaut. Amphitruo 297 *si insecndas . . . poteris*, Hor. Carm. iii. 3. 7 *Si fractus* illabatur *orbis Impavidum* ferient *ruinae.* Cf. Sonnenschein's Lat. Syntax, § 501.

221. There was a Themison who lived at Rome, a contemporary of Cicero's: he is mentioned with praise by Pliny, H. N. xxix. 5, and by Celsus: he founded a school in the practice of medicine, Sen. Ep. xcv. § 9. This, however, seems to have been a practitioner of Juvenal's time, and he will have assumed the name of his celebrated predecessor, as was usual with artists of every kind. See Friedländer, ii. 2. 459 sq. The medical men at Rome, mostly Greeks, stood in very low repute. Cf. Friedländer u. s. Juvenal's Themison was like the doctor described by Voltaire in L'Ingénu, *qui au lieu d'aider la nature et de la laisser agir, ne fut occupé que de contrecarrer son confrère.* **autumno.** The autumn was always the unhealthy season at Rome. Cf. Horace, Satires ii. 6. 19 *Autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.* Suetonius, Nero, chap. 39, speaks of *pestilentia unius autumni, qua triginta funerum milia in rationem Libitinae venerunt.* Cf. iv. 56, note.

222. **Basilus**, mentioned vii. 145 as a needy lawyer. Basilus is here a fraudulent *socius* of a *societas* or company (*societas*), who invested their funds in common as farmers of the public revenues, or in taking contracts for building, etc. The sanctity of the relation was regarded as very great. *Socii putandi sunt quos inter res communicata est*, Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 20, and Cic. pro Rosc. Am. § 16 *acque nefarium est pupillum fraudare . . . et socium fallere.*

circumscripserit: cf. Sat. xiv. 237, xv. 135–6. So Pliny Ep. viii. 18 circumscripto *testamento.* An inscription in Henzen 6404 invokes curses on a *liberta perfida* who *suum manumissa gratis secuta adulterum patronum* circumscripsit.

226. This line occurs in i. 25, and is probably a parody of Vergil, Ecl. i. 29 *Candidior postquam tondenti barba sonabat.*

gravis, as we might say 'so grandly'; the youth's beard invests him with a feeling of Roman *gravitas.*

227. Cf. Sen. Ep. ci. § 11 for the prayer of Maecenas mentioned above.

228. Cf. the French proverb, *dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi.*

231. 'He has to be fed like a young bird.' Cf. Hom. Il. ix. 323-4, of which this line seems to be a parody.

234. **nomina servorum.** Cf. Pliny, H. N. vii. § 90, who has a curious passage on the caprices of memory: one patient forgot the names of his slaves. A common defect of memory attendant on old age is that the patient forgets names, though he can recollect their initials. Cf. Bastian 'The brain as an organ of mind,' chap. xxix.

'Last scene of all Is second childishness and mere oblivion.'—*As You Like It*, ii. 7.

236. Some commentators take the meaning to be 'The old man is *malicious* enough to wish to disinherit his own children; but so feeble is his memory that he, fortunately for them, forgets that in order to do this he must expressly mention the reasons besides stating the fact.' Justinian, Institutes ii. 13. 18. But the sense is probably only that he forgets his children, and makes a will in favour of Phiale, who is probably shrewd enough to see that it is in legal form. The testator who had *sui heredes* or obligatory testamentary representatives (for which see Ramsay's Antiquities, p. 261), if he intended to disinherit them, must disinherit them expressly, else the will was void.

238–264. 'Had Nestor died early he had not lived to mourn Antilochus, nor Peleus to lose Achilles; further, Priam might have had a happy end, and Hecuba been saved from her unnatural fate, had they but died young.'

240. **ut,** 'even although.' Cf. viii. 272.

241. It was a grievous sorrow if a son or daughter who should perform the funeral rites, and preserve the family traditions, should die before the parent; thus in Lucan, Pharsalia iii. 742 sqq., the aged parent of Argus kills himself, *letum praecedere nati Festinantem animam morti non credidit uni* (750–1). Cf. Sen. ad Marc. Cons. 10. § 3 'All our relations *et quos superstites lege nascendi optamus et quos praecedere iustissimum ipsorum votum est.*'

245. **nigra veste,** for black was with the Romans, as with us, the sign of mourning; thus on the occasion of Germanicus' funeral, *atrata plebes*, Tac. Ann. iii. 2 § 2. Cf. too Propert. iv. 7. 28.

246. **rex Pylius,** Nestor. Homer, Il. i. 247, says that Nestor lived out two γενεαί, and was now ruling among the third. Cf. Ovid, Met. xii. 188 *vixi Annos bis centum: nunc tertia vivitur aetas*, where he seems to take γενεά for a century. Gellius, ix. 7, calls him *trisaeclisenex*, and Tibullus iv. 1. 50, and Propertius ii. 13. 46 attribute to him three *saecula*. Homer was the great authority on all subjects. See Quintilian x. 1 § 46 sq. *Hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit.* He is constantly quoted: e.g. Ammian, xix. 4 § 6, quotes him as an authority on biology, and again, xxi. 14 § 5, on the intercourse between gods and men.

247. **a cornice,** for *a vita cornicis*. Cf. *sermo plenus et Isaeo torrentior*, iii. 74. Hesiod, fragment 163 (Göttl.), says that 'the crow outlived three generations of men.' Cf. also Horace, Carm. iii. 17. 13

annosa cornix: so Ovid, Am. ii. 6. 36 *illa quidem* (*cornix*) *saeclis vix moritura novem*: cf. Lucret. v. 1083, Greek Anthol. ix. 112.

249. 'He was more than a hundred years old'; the *saeculum* or 'generation' is the third of a century. Nestor has outlived three *saecula* and now begins to count his years on his right hand, ἀναπεμπάζεσθαι. Units and tens were counted on the left hand, and hundreds on the right hand. Cf. Suet. Claud. 21 of the emperor counting out gold pieces to victorious gladiators, *ut oblatos victoribus aureos, prolata sinistra, pariter cum vulgo, voce digitisque numeraret.*

252. **stamine**, thread for the Fates to spin. Cf. *Currite ducentes subtemina, currite fusi*, Catull. lxiv. 328. Cf. Sat. iii. 27.

253. i. e. *Cum quaerit ab omni socio quisquis adest.*

254. The original passage from which this is a copy is in Propertius iii. 5. 32

Cui si longaevae minuisset fata senectae
Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus,
Non aut Antilochi vidisset corpus humari,
Diceret aut 'o mors, cur mihi sera venis.'

Cf. too Horace, Carm. ii. 9. 13. The story of the death of Antilochus, who died defending his father, is told in Pindar, Pyth. vi. 28 sqq.

256. **Peleus.** Hom. Il. xviii. 434 sq. Achilles had the choice between a short and glorious life, and a long life full of glory. Cf. Iliad ix. 410 sqq. In Il. xxiv. 534 sqq. he bewails the approaching bereavement of his father.

257. **alius**, i. e. Laertes. For Laertes see Odyssey i. 189, where Athene, in the person of Mentes, describes the aged hero Laertes, 'who men say no longer goes to the town, but afar in the country remains bearing woes.' Cf. Ovid, Heroid. i. 113–4 *Penelope Ulixi*,

Respice Laerten: ut iam sua lumina condas,
Extremum fati sustinet ille diem.

fas = *fatum*, as Aen. i. 206 *illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.* So Aen. xii. 28. **Ithacum** is Ulysses. So xiv. 287.

natantem. Cf. Auli Sabini Ulixes Penelopae 29 (*Arma*) *pelago sunt obruta: non mihi classes, Non socii superant: omnia pontus habet.*

258. The original of this whole passage is in Cic. Tusc. Disput. i. c. 35. Priam had fifty sons, *e quibus septem et decem iusta uxore nati. . . . Metellum multi filii, filiae, neptes, in regum imposuerunt, Priamum tanta progenie orbatum, cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. Hic si vivis filiis incolumi regno occidisset 'Adstante ope barbarica, Tectis caelatis, laquearis,' utrum tandem a bonis, an a malis discessisset? Tum profecto videretur a bonis. At certe ei melius evenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur 'Haec omnia vidi inflammari, Priamo vi vitam evitari, Iovis aram sanguine turpari.' Quasi vero ista, vel quidquam tum potuerit ei melius accidere.* Cf. Homer, Il. xxiv. 496, who says that Hecuba bore nineteen children to Priam; Theoc. Idyll xv. 139 says twenty. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 503 sqq.

259. **Assaracus** was the son of Tros, hence the Vergilian expression *domus Assaraci* (Aen. i. 284.).

Instead of this, Hector was himself buried amid tears, Il. xxiv. 786. The passage much resembles Vell. Paterc. Hist. Rom. i. 11 § 7 *Vix . . . hominem inveneris cuius felicitatem fortunae . . . Metelli compares. Nam praeter excellentes triumphos honoresque amplissimos . . . extentumque vitae spatium . . . quattuor filios sustulit. Mortui eius lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quattuor filii . . . hoc est nimirum magis feliciter de vita migrare quam mori.*

funus, the corpse, as in Propert. i. 17. 8, Verg. Aen. ix. 491.

261. Cf. Homer Il. xxiv. 723 sqq. where the funeral wail over the bier of Hector is described.

primos edere planctus. Cf. Il. xxiv. 723 ἦρχε γόοιο. So at Roman funerals the *praeficae* or hired female mourners chanted dirges, shrieked aloud, and tore their hair. See Ov. Amor. ii. 6. 3, 4. 5; and Ramsay's Antiquities, p. 426.

262. **Cassandra** is here represented as chief mourner.

264. Cf. Ovid, Heroides Ep. v. *Oenone Paridi* 41

Caesa abies sectaeque trabes et classe parata
Caerula ceratas accipit unda rates.

aedificare is used for 'to build' generally; the sense of the special meaning has died out before the more general meaning. In the same way we speak of *dilapidations* even in wooden houses.

265. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 554 sqq. *Haec finis Priami fatorum: hic exitus illum Sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum Regnatorem* Asiae. The Πριαμικαὶ τύχαι are mentioned as proverbial, Aristot. Eth. Nic. x. 110 a; cf. too Ibis 254 *Sint tua Troianis non leviora malis.*

265–280. 'Mithradates, Croesus, Marius, Pompey, all bear witness to the same truth.' Cf. Lucan, Phars. iv. 517–521.

Agnoscere solis
Permissum est, quos iam tangit vicinia fati,
Victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.'

265. **dies,** meaning 'length of time,' is commonly feminine, and generally masculine when it means 'a day.'

266. Herod. i. cc. 3, 4 describes the Trojan war as an episode in the perennial feud between Europe and Asia. Accordingly we find Priam's throne identified with the power of Asia. Thus Cic. de Divinat. i. § 89 *Asiae rex Priamus.* Cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 1 *Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem Immeritam visum superis.*

267. Cf. Hamlet Act. ii. Sc. 2 :—

'Anon he finds him
Striking too short at Greeks: his antique sword,
Rebellious to his arm, lies where it falls,
Repugnant to command.'

tiara, an upright cap or fez worn by Orientals, such as Persians (Amm. Marc. xviii. 5. § 6) and Phrygians, among whom it was reserved for priests and kings. Cf. Servius ad Aen. vii. 247 *Hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum iura vocatis More daret populis, sceptrumque* sacerque tiaras : so Ovid, Metamorph. xi. 181, attributes purple *tiarae* to Midas.

268. **ante aram.** Cf. Vergil, Aen. ii. 550 *hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa* (*Priamum*) *trementem* (*Pyrrhus*) *Traxit* : the common story made the death of Priam take place at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἕρκειος in his own palace, as in Eur. Tro. 483. See Conington's note ad loc.

The abrupt fall of the line should be noted, coinciding with the fact described.

vetulus bos. The monosyllabic ending seems copied from Verg. Aen. v. 481 *exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos,* on which Conington quotes the remark of a commentator, *Nihil aptius indignationi quam oratio desinens in monosyllabum.*

270. **ab.** When the instrument whereby an action is performed is a person or in any way personified, *ab* is the proper preposition to denote the immediate agency, *per* that to denote the less immediate means; as *quis veterum non loquitur quae sit* ab *Attio Navio* per *lituum regionum facta descriptio?* Cic. de Div. i. 17 (quoted by Roby, vol. ii. p. 89) ; and when these words are used instead of the simple ablative personification is sometimes intended to be denoted : to which the word **fastiditus** would likewise point. Still we have instances in which *ab* is used of the effect of inanimate substances, as Verg. G. i. 234 *torrida semper* ab *igni* : thus Ovid, Trist. iii. 2. 8 *Ustus* ab *assiduo frigore* : so Livy ii. 14 *inopi tum urbe* ab *longinqua obsidione.* For other examples see Draeger, i. p. 623.

271. 'His death, however, painful as it was, was a man's death : Hecuba survived only to yelp as a cur.' For the fate of Hecuba, which was proverbial among the ancients, cf. Eurip. Hecuba 1265; Ovid, Met. xiii. 565.

> *Clade sui Thracum gens irritata tyranni*
> *Troada telorum lapidumque incessere iactu*
> *Coepit : at haec missum rauco cum murmure saxum*
> *Morsibus insequitur : rictuque in verba parato*
> *Latravit, conata loqui : locus exstat, et ex re*
> *Nomen habet.*

The place was called Cynossema, κυνὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα, Eurip. Hec. 1273 : Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 26.

utcunque, in classical Latin used as a conjunction in the sense of 'however,' 'in whatever way,' with a verb, as Livy, Pref. *utcunque erit, iuvabit tamen* ; but in Tac. Agric. 39 *cetera* utcunque *facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse,* where it is used in the sense of 'in any case,' 'at any rate.'

273. Mithradates, king of Pontus, whose death is described by Appian, Mith. 111. For the splendid resistance offered by Mithradates

to the Romans for forty years, see Mommsen's History. He was defeated by the Roman army under Pompeius at Nikopolis, in 66 B.C.; he then fled to the Cimmerian Bosporus (the Crimea), where in his old age he assembled an army and collected a fleet. He showed himself embittered by his reverses, so that his old age was a time of cruelty and bitterness; his son revolted against him; his forces deserted; the king was surrendered to his own son; he poisoned first his whole harem, and finally took poison himself; but it worked so slowly on his iron frame that he ordered a mercenary soldier to kill him. Thus he perished in the 68th year of his age.

274. **Croesum.** Herod. i. 30–32. After the completion of his legislation, Solon, to escape from cavillers, withdrew from Athens during a period of ten years, and visited Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Egypt. During this period Herodotus (i. 26 sqq.) tells us that he had an interview with Croesus, the opulent king of Lydia. As the travels of Solon on this occasion came to an end in 583 B.C., and Croesus only came to the throne in 560 B.C., it is historically impossible that the meeting should have taken place during these travels, though it is not impossible that Solon may have met Croesus in later travels. The story was that Croesus displayed to Solon the royal treasures at Sardis, and then asked the sage who was the happiest man that he knew. Solon replied, 'Tellos of Athens, for he had begotten good sons, who all survived him.' He concluded with the moral that in everything we must look to the end, for God hath shown prosperity to many whom he hath afterwards rooted up. Croesus was defeated by Cyrus and the citadel of Sardis taken in B.C. 546, and the king, with all his treasures, fell into the hands of his conqueror. Weidner quotes a line out of Solon Sol. Eleg. 5, Schneidewin), in which he says, referring to the rulers, *καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν*. This will explain the epithet **iustus.**

276. 'Nor was Marius more fortunate; it was long life which brought him to exile, to prison, and to beg his bread.'

276–282. This passage is entirely copied from Velleius Paterculus, ii. 19. He says that, when Sulla occupied the city in 88, he *exiled* Marius; the latter, to conceal himself from Sulla's cavalry, hid himself in a reed bed by the swamp of Marica; he was cast into the prison of the Minturnenses; he escaped, by the aid of some friends of a German slave sent to kill him, to Africa *inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium alter alteri possent esse solatio.* Cf. Plutarch, Mar. 37 sqq. *Ἄγγελλε τοίνυν ὅτι Γάιον Μάριον ἐν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐρειπίοις φυγάδα καθεζόμενον εἶδες*, employing, says Plutarch, as an example, both the fortune of the city and his own reverse. Cf. Manil. iv. 47; so too Anthologia Latina, *Quo Marium vidit suppar Carthago iacentem.* The passage in Velleius seems also to have suggested some lines to Lucan on the same subject: Phars. ii. 90 sqq. Marius was counselled, according to some, by a familiar genius, like Socrates and Numa Pompilius, Amm. xxi. 14 § 5.

280. In the year 104 B. C. Marius assumed the command of the army with dictatorial powers. He remained in Transalpine Gaul, and busied himself in disciplining his troops. In B.C. 103 the Cimbri, who had been devastating Spain, recrossed the Pyrenees, and marched to the Seine. Here they were repulsed by the Belgae, and this made them resolve to enter Italy. The Cimbri crossed the Eastern Alps: the Teutones directed their course to the Gallic province. Marius let them pass him, and following them up, destroyed the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence); in 101, joining his forces to those of Catulus near Vercellae, on the Campi Raudii, he extirpated the Cimbri. He celebrated a magnificent triumph 101 B. C. The people named him the third founder of their city, and poured libations to him as to their gods at feasts: Plut. Mar. 27. § 8. Ammian, xxxi. 5 § 12, mentions the Gallic invasion as one of the greatest dangers that ever menaced Italy: *Inundarunt Italiam ex abditis oceani partibus Teutones repente cum Cimbris: sed post inflictas rei Romanae clades immensas, ultimis proeliis per* duces amplissimos *superati, quid potestas Martia de habitu prudentiae valeat, radicitus extirpati discriminibus didicere supremis.*

281. opimam, 'in its glory'; *opimus* means properly 'fat,' and Plautus in his Captivi, ii. 2. 31, puns on the double meaning of the words 'renowned' and 'fat.' Cf. τοῦ λιπαρός, and Aristoph. Achar. 639, 640.

283. Juvenal closely fellows Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. § 86 *Pompeio cum graviter aegrotaret Neapoli melius est factum. Coronati Neapolitani fuerunt, nimirum etiam Puteolani, volgo ex oppidis publice gratulabantur. Utrum igitur, si tum esset extinctus, a bonis rebus an a malis discessisset? Certe a miseris.* This was in the year 50 B.C. Plutarch, Vita Pompeii lvii., gives a much fuller account of the rejoicings. Every town and city, great and small, followed the example of the Neapolitans in rejoicing at his recovery: *πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ στεφανηφοροῦντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον ἀνθοβολούμενον, ὥστε τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορείαν θέαμα κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότατον.* Plutarch adds that the confidence inspired in Pompey by this general manifestation of rejoicing was so great that it lessened his caution, and was one of the immediate causes of the Civil War.

285. fortuna ipsius. For the thought cf. Velleius Pat. ii. 48. 2. Cf. also Sen. ad Marc. xx., Dio Cassius 41 § 6, and Lucan, Phars. 27–31. The caprices of Fortune were, however, a commonplace subject. Cf. Ammian xiv. 11 § 30, where Pompeius is cited as one of the great men who have become the objects of her sport, Agathocles, Andriscus, &c.; cf. too id. xxv. 9. 7.

287. Lentulus and **Cethegus,** accomplices of Catiline, were strangled in prison: Sall. Cat. 55. Dio, xxxvii. 40, says that 'Catiline's head was cut off and sent to Rome by Antonius, in order that all might see that Catiline was really dead.' Mutilation was dreaded, lest the marks should be retained in a future state, just as the Hindoos feared being blown off from guns much more than being shot.

289–345. 'Some pray for personal beauty, but the dangers of this are numerous and obvious.' Cf. Montaigne, 'The story of Spurina.' For whispered prayers, cf. Hor. Ep. i. 4. 8, Pers. ii. 31; cf. also Seneca, de Benef. ii. 23 *Quidam furtive agunt gratias et in angulo et ad aurem; non est ista verecundia, sed infitiandi genus.* Cf. too Sen. Cons. ad Marc. § 21 *qui sibi recepit, illud pulcherrimum filii tui corpus, et summa pudoris custodia inter luxuriosae urbis oculos conservatum potuisse ita morbos evadere ut ad senectutem formae illaesum perferret decus?* Cf. too Ep. xcv. § 2. Cf. too Macrob. de Sat. i. § 8 *Sic loquendum cum hominibus tanquam di audiant; sic loquendum cum dis tanquam homines audiant.*

291. ad delicias, 'refinements of fancy.' 'Even to whimsical fancies in her prayers.' Seneca, de Benef. iv. 1 *usque in delicias amamur*, i. e. 'the gods are gracious enough to hearken to our very caprices.'

292. pulchra, a reminiscence of Vergil, Aen. i. 502 *Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus*, itself a copy of Homer, Odyssey vi. 106 γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ.

293. Lucretia, loved with a guilty love by Sextus Tarquinius, as told by Livy i. 57. 10 *cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat.*

294. Verginia: cf. Livy iii. 44 sqq. Appius Claudius, by his guilty love for her, provoked her father Verginius to stab his daughter to save her from further disgrace. Cf. too D. H. xi. 28 sqq.

295. suam, i. e. *faciem.* On the dangers to modesty which beset good looks in Roman society, see Cicero, pro Caelio, cap. iii, 'Accusations of unchastity are freely levelled at all whose beauty and looks have proved attractive.' So Propert. ii. 32. 26 *Semper formosis fabula poena fuit.* Val. Max. iv. 5. ext. 1 describes how a young man called Spurina disfigured himself to escape such charges; so Petron. § 94 *raram facit misturam cum sapientia forma.*

297. habere miseros is 'to *keep* in a state of anxiety'; it differs from *afficere dolore*, which simply means to 'vex' or 'grieve'; see Nägel. Latein. Stil. § 110, 1 quoted by Weidner. Pliny, Ep. iii. 3. 4, complains about a youth of handsome exterior *cui in hoc lubrico aetatis non praeceptor modo sed custos etiam rectorque quaerendus est.*

299. The Sabines and Marsians are often cited as the typical survivors of the ancient simple and hardy Italians. Thus *Haec* (*Italia*) *genus acre virum Marsos pubemque Sabellam . . . Extulit*, Verg. Georg. ii. 167–169. So Ovid, Amor. i. 8. 39 *immundae Sabinae*, i. e. 'uncultivated.'

300. For blushing as a sign of modesty, cf. Seneca, Ep. xi. §§ 1, 2 *Ubi se colligebat, verecundiam, bonum in adulescente signum, vix potuit excutere.* Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 54: Diogenes the Cynic seeing a young man blush said, 'Cheer up! that is Virtue's colour.' Menander has a verse ἐρυθριῶν πᾶς χρηστὸς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ: cf. Ter. Ad. iv. 5. 9.

304. viro, a man in the noblest sense. Cf. Seneca, Contr. 1 pr. § 9 *quis aequalium vestrorum satis* vir *est?* The dative is the usual predicatival dative after *licet*; cf. Cic. pro Flacc. 42 *liceat iis ipsis esse salvis.* See Draeger, Hist. Syntax, i. p. 434–6.

325. **Hippolytus,** son of Theseus, was tempted by his stepmother Phaedra, daughter of Minos, and on rejecting her advances was accused by her to Theseus and slain: the myth has been often treated, as by Euripides, in the Hippolytus; Schiller, in his Phädra; by Racine, &c. Cf. Ovid, Fast. iii. 265 and v. 309 *Hippolyte infelix, velles coluisse Dionen.* He was a typical instance of chastity. Cf. Martial viii. 46 2 *Caste puer, puero castior Hippolyto!* The **grave propositum** is expressed in Schiller's words (Phädra ii. 5)

> '*Hippolyt.* Was hör' ich, Götter! Wie? Vergissest du,
> Dass Theseus dein Gemahl, dass er mein Vater?' &c.

Bellerophon was accused on similar grounds by Stheneboea, wife of Proetus. Cf. Horace, Carm. iii. 7. 13–16. The story is told in Homer, Il. vi. 145 sqq.

326. The reading **haec** would appear to refer *grammatically* to Stheneboea, but in sense obviously refers to Phaedra; the probable explanation is that *haec* is used (like *ille* of Milo in v. 10) of the well-known character about whom there can be no doubt. The meaning then is 'the heroine *haec*, as we know (*nempe*, flushed red like one who had been slighted by a repulse.' Mayor reads *hac . . . repulsa*, adopting Haupt's conjecture of *hac* and Haupt's reading *repulsa*.

327 **Cressa**, because Phaedra was the daughter of Minos king of Crete, Senec. Hipp. 85 sqq.

excanduit, 'glowed with wrath,' 'fell into a white heat from passion.' Cf. Amm. xx. 9 § 2 *hisque recitatis ultra modum solitae indignationis* excanduit *imperator*. For the sentiment cf. *Sed contemptus amor vires habet*, Petr. § 108.

328. **concussere,** 'roused themselves to wrath'; cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 338 *fecundum concute pectus*. The metaphor seems to be from waking a sleeper. **saevissima:** cf. Verg. Aen. v. 6 *notumque furens quid femina possit.*

329. **pudor** is the 'shame' attendant on detection; 'consciousness.'

quidnam for the more usual *utrum*: cf. line 338.

330. Another instance of beauty bringing its owner to ruin. He refers to Messalina, wife of Claudius, the story of whose caprice fatal to Silius is told by Tacitus, Ann. xi. 26 sqq. The empress fell in love with him and married him publicly while her husband Claudius was away from Rome. Narcissus, the emperor's freedman, revealed the facts to Claudius, whereon Silius and Messalina with many others were executed. Juvenal asks, 'Say, what is the advice to give to one with whom Caesar's wife is in love?'

331. **destinat:** cf. Sat. iii. 3 and note.

332. **rapitur.** As if by a storm.

333. Her eyes 'rain influence' which quenches the spark of his life.

334. **flammeolo:** i. e. *flammeo*, the name of the veil which the bride had to put on for her wedding: hence the expression *nubere*, to take the veil.' For the marriage ceremony of the Romans, see Ramsay's

Antiquities, p. 423 sqq. On the head of the bride was placed a yellow net, and a veil of the same colour (*flammeum*). Her feet were covered with yellow shoes (*socci lutei*). For *flammeum*, see Satire ii. 124, and vi. 225; Catull. lxi. 10. 167; Petron. 26. The form *flammeolum* seems only used in this place: it suits the scansion and may have been suggested by the 'reticulum *luteum*,' with which it was closely connected.

genialis, sc. *lectus.*

in hortis, sc. *Luculli*; cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 37. Hither she fled after her crime was discovered, and here she was killed.

335. '1,000,000 sesterces as dower.' It was the bestowal of the dower which was the ancient custom. Lipsius, on Tac. Ann. ii. 86, shows that the *dos* of the daughter of a senator amounted to this sum. For the amount, cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 87 *Caesar, quamvis posthabitam, deciens sestertii dote solatus est*: so Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 12 § 5 *pantomimae deciens sestertio nubunt.*

336. Cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 27 *adhibitis qui obsignarent velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa convenisse.* Cf. also Suet. Claud. 26 *cum comperisset C. Silio nupsisse dote inter auspices consignata supplicio adfecit.* It appears from Cic. de Divinatione, 1 § 28 that the taking of auspices at bridals survived merely in name. The **auspex** merely acted as witness to the signature of the marriage settlement (*tabulae legitimae*): cf. Cicero, pro Cluent. c. 5.

337. tu, addressed to Silanus, like *placeat*, in line 338.

338. quid for the more classical *utrum* of two alternatives: cf. 329. So *quisque* is used for *uterque*, Livy ii. 7. 1 *ut . . . ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos.* So *quis* is used for *uter*. Cf. Cic. ad Att. xvi. 14. 1 *ut* quem *velis nescias*, i. e. *Antonium an Octavianum.* See Draeger i. § 52.

339. 'Death will be his, and that before dark.' Executions ought legally to be performed in the day-time. Cf. Sen. de Ira iii. 19 *Quid tam inauditum quam nocturnum supplicium?*

340. mora parvula. 'A trifling respite.' Dio Cass. lx. 31 §§ 3, 4 states that all the scandalous behaviour of Messalina in giving the marriage feast, heard and seen before by all others, was unknown at least to Claudius. Cf. too Tac. Ann. xi. 30 *matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles.*

342. Cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 25 *isque illi* ⟨*Claudio*⟩ *finis inscitiae erga domum suam fuit: haud multo post flagitia uxoris noscere ac punire adactus.*

345. Mayor shows, by numerous examples, that *praebere cervicem* means to 'offer unresistingly the neck to execution'; and indeed Silius, when brought before the tribunal, only prayed that his death might be hastened.

346. 'I do not wish to forbid prayer to the gods; but look to it that you leave the gods to judge what is best and let the object of your prayers be only that they will grant this.' With this ending should be compared Martial's fine address to Maximus, ii. 53 *Vis fieri liber?* &c. 'The few that pray at all, pray oft amiss.'—Cowper, Task, l. 54.

347. For the sentiment, cf. Horace, Carm. i. 9. 9 *Permitte divis cetera.* Cf. too Val. Max. vii. 2 Extern. § 1 *desine igitur stulta (mortalium mens) futuris malorum tuorum causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhiare et te totum caelestium arbitrio permitte.* Plato has many passages to the same effect, e. g. Legg. iii. 687 e. For the difference between Christian and heathen prayers, see Arnob. adv. Gentes, iv. 36.

350. Cf. Seneca, de Benef. ii. 29. § 5 *carissimos nos habuerunt di immortales, habentque.*

351 Cf. Seneca, Epist. lix. § 1 *Vulgo sic loquimur ut dicamus magnum gaudium nos ex illius consulatu aut ex nuptiis, aut ex partu uxoris percepisse: quae adeo non sunt gaudia, ut saepe initia futurae tristitiae sint.*

352. Cf. Seneca, ad Marc. 17 § 5 *Neminem decipio: tu si filios sustuleris, poteris habere formosos, pueris et deformes; et si fortasse tibi multi nascentur, esse ex illis aliquis tam servator patriae quam proditor poterit.*

354. The entrails, when the victim had been cut up, were examined by the Haruspex, and, if the appearances were favourable, they were thrown upon the flames. Arnobius, vii. 1 sqq., quotes Varro's dictum as to the uselessness of all sacrifices. . . . *aut enim tus datur, et liquefactum carbonibus disperit: aut animalis est hostia . . . aut si aliquid viscus aris fuerit traditum, ratione ardescit pari, et dissolutum in cinerem labitur.*

355. 'The holy sausages of your white little porker.' The language is satirical and the diminutives aid the effect. **tomacula** (from τέμνω), mincemeat or sausages hawked about the streets and served hot to the poor. Cf. Mart. i. 41. 9 *fumantia qui tomacla raucus Circumfert tepidis cocus popinis.*

356. Cf. Plato, Alcib. ii; Senec. Ep. x. § 4 *Votorum tuorum veterum licet dis gratiam facias: alia de integro suspice: roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde tunc corporis.* Cf. too Horace, Carm. i. 31. 17. 19.

357. The whole burden of Lucretius' poem was to prove that death could entail no pains after it had occurred; cf. especially Book i. 103 sqq.; cf. too Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. § 43, Hor. Carm. iii. 3. 1–8, and Verg. Georg. ii. 490–493

> *Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*
> *Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum*
> *Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

Cicero has a long discussion as to whether death is an evil; Tusc. Disp. i. §§ 9–119. Cf. Cic. de Senectute ii. § 5 *In hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam optimam ducem tanquam deum sequimur eique paremus: a qua non verisimile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tanquam ab inerte poeta esse neglectum.*

358. **spatium vitae,** 'length of years,' as *da spatium vitae* above line 188.

359. qui ferre queat quoscumque labores. Like a true Roman of the olden time, whose virtues are set forth in Hor. Carm. iii. 2. 1 sq. as hardiness, courage, virtue, self-dependence.

360. nesciat irasci: for anger is inconsistent with self-control. Cf. Horace, Carm. i. 16. 5 sqq. *Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius . . .* Tristes ut irae, &c.

cupiat: cf. Horace, Epist. i. 6. 9, 10 *Qui timet his adversa fere miratur eodem* Quo cupiens *pacto* : pavor *est utrobique molestus*. The equability of the soul (*καθ' ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει ὑπὸ μηδένος ταραττομένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους*, Diogenes Laert. ix. 45) was insisted upon by Democritus of Abdera, born 460, the chief exponent of the Atomic theory, who also uttered the following aphorism (Fragment ii. in Mullach's collection, see Mayor, Ancient Philosophy, p. 22) : 'Men have invented for themselves the phantom, Fortune, to excuse their own want of prudence' (line 365).

361. Herculis aerumnas: cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 3. 9 sqq., *Hac arte* (i. e. by constancy) *Pollux et vagus Hercules Enisus arces attigit igneas* : where Hercules is quoted as the pattern to be followed by the man who is *iustus et tenax propositi*. Cf. also the comments passed (Tac. Ann. iv. 38) on Tiberius' refusal to accept divine honours, *optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere : sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos*. Cf. too Senec. Constant. Sap. 2 § 1, 'the gods have granted to us in Cato the model of a sage : indeed a more perfect model than they gave in Hercules. *Hoc enim Stoici nostri sapientes pronuntiaverunt.*'

362. pluma, 'the feather bed,' as in Martial ii. 17 *dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro. Plumae* are the body feathers, mostly used for stuffing couches, &c. ; see Bentley, note on Horace, A. P. 2. They are contrasted with *pennae*, the wing feathers. Pliny, H. N. x. 27, speaks of geese being plucked in Germany and the feathers supplied to Roman troops. The officers sent their soldiers to collect as many feathers as they could ; *eoque deliciae processere, ut sine hoc instrumento durare iam ne virorum quidem cervices possint*. The German word 'Flaum,' M. H. G. 'Phlûme,' was borrowed from the Latin *pluma*.

Sardanapalli. Sardanapalus was the Apicius or Lucullus of Oriental civilization. He was the last king of Assyria and is represented as reigning at different dates from the tenth to the seventh century. Cf. Vell. Paterc. bk. i. c. vi. § 2 *Sardanapalum (Assyriorum) regem, mollitiis fluentem, et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricesimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide, qui Babylona condiderant, natum . . . Arbaces imperio vitaque privavit*. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 35. 101 ; he had inscribed on his tomb *Haec habeo quae edi*. Cf. too Ovid, Ibis 313.

363. monstro, 'I prescribe,' a physician's word, Sen. de Benef. iv. 28, § 3 *Medicina etiam sceleratis opem monstrat.*

quod ipse tibi possis dare: cf. Sen. Ep. xxvi, the whole of which deals with the futility of fearing death, the remedy being to wean ourselves from the love of life. Cf. too Cic. de Nat. Deorum, iii. § 86 sqq.,

and Hor. Ep. i. 18. 111, 112 *Sed satis est orare Iovem qui ponit et aufert: Det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo.*

365, 366. The same verses are repeated, xiv. 315, 316. For the thought, cf. *unusquisque facere se beatum potest*, Sen. Cons. ad Helv. v; and again *errant qui aut boni aliquid nobis aut mali iudicant tribuere Fortunam.* On the power of Fortune, see Vell. Pat. i. 9 *Quam sit assidua eminentis Fortunae comes invidia*, &c. Ammian is full of allusions to her power. Cf. xiv. 6 § 3; xxii. 9 § 1; xxvi. 8 § 13. Cf. Quintilian, vi. prooem. *Frustra mala omnia ad crimen Fortunae religamus. Nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet.*

365. nullum. 'You, Fortune, have no power, if only we have foresight: it is we who make you a goddess.' **Sit** for *sit nobis* is Jahn's reading. P reads *abest*, i. e. 'prudence is as good as all the powers of Heaven.' Heinrich reads *si adsit*, which would give the sense required.

SATIRE XI.

ON THE VICE OF GLUTTONY.

This Satire is directed against the vice of gluttony and the expenditure which it entails. It should be compared with Horace, Satires ii. 2. It naturally falls into two parts; the first (1–55) containing general remarks about gluttony: the second consisting of an invitation to a simple country meal, which shall form a contrast to the luxury displayed by the better class of the Romans of Juvenal's day.

Ribbeck holds ll. 1–55 to be the work of an imitator, and thinks that they are probably the work of the same hand that wrote the introduction to Satire iv.

This Satire appears to belong to the later period of Juvenal's life. He speaks of his wrinkled skin; and he is evidently living in the country, for he tells his guest that he may bathe when he likes without regard to fashion, and describes himself as waited on by country boys. In the list of country towns eligible as residences which Juvenal gives in Satire iii. five out of seven are in the way to or near Aquinum. These are Gabii, Praeneste, Sora, Fabrateria, and Frusino. Of the other two Tibur is the place near which he had a farm, and only Volsinii is in quite another direction. The probability is that he was at this time in villeggiatura, in some neighbourhood like that of Praeneste, where he could easily get supplies from his Tiburtine farm and receive the visits of Roman friends.

ARGUMENT.

The whole talk of the town is Rutilus, who, not having measured his gluttony by his means, is about to turn gladiator, though his age would fit him for the army, ll. 1–8. There are hosts of men who live only to eat and who live better than their creditors, though the chinks in their shattered fortunes already let in the light. From pawning their plate and breaking up their mother's silver bust they come down to the arena, ll. 9–19. It is disastrous when a man does not know who he is, what marriage he can aspire to, whose cause he can venture to plead, or how much he can dare to eat, ll. 19–38. For when your belly has swallowed up investments and plate and land and live stock, what remains but an old age more terrible than death? ll. 38–45. The ruin begins with borrowing money; it ends in levanting, which does not cost a blush, and only brings regret because the absconder has to miss the amusements of Rome, ll. 46–55.

You will find out, Persicus, when you come to dine with me to-day and are welcomed as Hercules and Aeneas were by Evander, whether all my praise of simple diet is hypocrisy, ll. 56–63. You will get no city *entrées*, but a sucking kid with mountain asparagus and eggs warm from the hay by the side of the hens that laid them, and grapes kept fresh for months, and apples and pears mellowed by keeping, ll. 64–76.

Such was once a splendid feast for our nobles when Curius supped off pot herbs which a ditcher of to-day with memories of the eating-house would disdain, ll. 77–81. Then a chine of bacon was kept for feast-days, to be supplemented perhaps from a sacrifice, and the ex-consul or dictator would quit his work betimes to go to it with his spade across his shoulder, ll. 82–89. Then, when the nation's foes and even the magistrate's colleagues trembled before him, it was no matter of serious concern to get a large tortoise-shell for a couch, but an ass's head in bronze was the head-piece of the bed. Food and furniture were well matched, ll. 90–99. Then the soldier, with no taste in art, broke up the goblets fashioned by great craftsmen to hammer on an ornament for his horse's trappings or his helmet, and the spoils glittered over the foe's face, ll. 100–107. These men, whom you may be justified in envying, supped off Tuscan pottery; but their earthenware Jupiter watched over them, and the majesty of the holy places surrounded them, ll. 108–116. Then the tables were of native wood, windfalls; but now the broad panels are borne up by carved ivory, and silver is of no account, ll. 117–127. Be warned that at my house you will find only knives with bone-handles, and the slave who carves will not have learned the art on wooden models, and cannot even steal dexterously, ll. 129–144. A country boy, whom you will have to address in honest Latin, will serve you with drink. The boy with his hair cut short and combed straight will be taken from country life and sighing for his mother and her goats; he is no page such as great men love. The wine he hands you will come

from the same hills as himself, ll. 145–161. Expect no dancing girls, such as married women of to-day endure to look at, ll. 162–170. It takes a fortune to excuse these accompaniments, ll. 171–178. But you shall hear recitations from the Iliad or the Aeneid, ll. 179–182.

But now put business aside and prepare for a whole day's idleness, without thought of the money-market or conjugal or household troubles or ungrateful friends, ll. 183–192. To-day the shout of games will go up, and I seem to hear that green has won; for if this shout were not borne on the wind Rome would be wailing. Leave this to the young man and his lady-love, ll. 193–202. Be it ours to sun ourselves and to bathe, enjoying these simple pleasures the more because we so seldom get them, ll. 203–208.

1. **Atticus** may refer to T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, who was very rich. Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus, v. § 14, tells us that he inherited two large fortunes. Nepos says of him that *omnibus optimis rebus usus est* (§ 13). On the other hand he adds that he was *elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus*, so that others have thought of Ti. Claudius Atticus, father of the celebrated rhetorician Herodes Atticus, who discovered a treasure in his house. In any case *Atticus* stands for the typical millionaire.

lautus, 'refined,' joined with *elegans* and *exquisitum*, Cic. Pis. xxvii. § 67.

2. **Rutilus,** a poor but extravagant character of the day: see Sat. xiv. 18.

3. **pauper.** 'A poor man playing Apicius gets laughed at, and a Rutilus is even more the gossip of the town'; for Apicius cf. Sat. iv. 23. He poisoned himself because he had only 10,000,000 sesterces.

4. **convictus.** A general word for 'lounge.' *Convictus* were *réunions* of friends generally; coteries, clubs rather with reference to the *personnel* than to the locality where they met; **stationes** refers rather to the place in which they met: cf. Quintil. vi. 3 § 27 *in convictibus et cotidiano sermone*; so Senec. ad Helv. xv. § 2 *loca gratulationum et convictuum*.

The **thermae** are baths including large gymnasia, after the model of the Greek *thermopolia* or public tap-rooms, where hot drinks were sold: cf. viii. 168. For the *thermae* of Rome see Lanciani, p. 89. At the end of the third century Rome numbered eleven large public *thermae* and 926 smaller ones, conducted under private enterprise. They were huge clubs where every kind of amusement was provided. A programme of the distribution of service in the *thermae* of Caracalla on April 19th, A.D. 226, was discovered in 1881, for which see Lanciani, u. s.

stationes are such places of public resort as the *taberna* of the *tonsor*, the Greek λέσχαι: cf. Plin. Ep. i. 13. 2, id. ii. 9. 5.

5. **de Rutilo.** The ellipse of the verb is common when 'the situation' supplies the context, as in English: cf. 'whereat the maiden petu-

lant (said),' Tennyson, Gareth and Lynette : cf. *Crassus verbum nullum contra gratiam*, Cic. Att. i. 18 § 6.

iuvenalia : this form of the word lays stress on strength and lustiness as incident to youth in contrast to its giddiness and immaturity, which are denoted by *iuvenilis* : cf. Verg. Aen. v. 475 *iuvenali in corpore vires*. The form *iuvenalis* probably owes its origin to the analogy of such forms as *feralis, mortalis*.

6. **sufficiunt galeae :** cf. viii. 170-1, *praestare Neronem Securum valet haec aetas*. 'He might have donned the casque and gone to the front.'

fertur, ''tis the common gossip.'

7. Some editors understand **tribuno** of the emperor, who enjoyed, as one of his honorary functions, the *tribunicia potestas*. It seems more natural to understand it of the tribune who, if a citizen like Rutilus went bankrupt, had the right (*cognitio extraordinaria*) to hear the appeal of the creditors. Indeed it seems likely that he might decide upon the question whether such a bankrupt should lose his freedom or no. In this case it seems the tribune, feeling that the special office of the *tribunicia potestas* was to guard the functions of a Roman citizen, did not indeed let matters go so far, but permitted him graciously to sell himself to the *lanista*. **prohibere** was the technical term of *intercessio* on behalf of a Roman citizen. See Aul. Gell. vi. 19. 5. Cf. Mart. v. 48. 1, 2 *secuit nolente capillos Encolpus domino, nec prohibente tamen*.

8. **scripturus leges.** The technical term for a gladiator's binding himself to a **lanista** is *sese auctorare* ; *leges scribere* is the technical term for signing a contract: see Friedländer ii. 238. The gladiator had to take an oath binding himself to submit *uri vinciri verberari ferroque necari* if his master deemed it right. The drill was very severe ; and refractory slaves sold by their masters to the *lanista* made up a large proportion of the school. Gladiators as such were *infames*. Seneca, who almost alone among Roman philosophers held the gladiatorial games to be wrong, speaks of *lanistae* as the lowest trade imaginable, Ep. lxxxvii § 13. See Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 58, and Ep. i. 18. 36.

10. The creditor goes, where he would most likely find the debtor, to the market, which was surrounded by a barrier. The **macellum** was one of the *stationes* most frequented by loungers ; for a list of these see Plautus, Amphit. iv. 1. 3 *omnes plateas perreptavi gymnasia et myropolia : Apud emporium atque in macello, in palaestra atque in foro. In medicinis, in tonstrinis apud omnes aedes sacras*.

11. Cf. Sen. Ep. lxxxix. § 21 *Ad vos transeo, quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras*.

12. **egregius** is a comparative form, as if formed from *egrex*. See Draeger, vol. i. p. 27 sqq. The sense is *quo quisque horum miserior est et citius casurus, eo melius cenat*.

13. **perlucente.** The metaphor is from a building in such a ruined state that the light shines through its cracks. 'And on the eve of his fall : the day even now looks through the ruin.' **ruina** is here used for the

building ready to fall : as in Plin. Ep. xxxiii. § 4 *flumina ad lavandam hanc ruinam iugis montium ducere.* Its common meaning is 'the fall' of a building. Cf.

'The soul's dark cottage, shattered and decayed,
Lets in new light through chinks that time has made.'

Waller.

14. interea, 'in the short respite.'

gustus is the abstract 'taste' put for the concrete 'tasteful morsels.' Cf. the use of the word in Martial, xi. 32 *Gustu protinus has edes in ipso* : cf. too Iii. 12, Seneca Ep. cxiv. 18 *gustum tibi dare volui.* 'I wished to give you a choice specimen.'

elementa per omnia. 'Through air, earth and water': cf. Sen. Controv. praef. *Quidquid avium volitat, quicquid piscium natat, quidquid ferarum discurrit, nostris sepelitur ventribus.*

16. For the present subj. in the protasis followed by the present indic. in the apodosis cf. Roby § 1574. The expression is really elliptical, 'Were you to look closer (you would find that) the greater price paid, the greater is the pleasure.' For the sentiment cf. Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 19 *non in caro nidore voluptas Summa, sed in te ipso est*; cf. too Petron. 93 *Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis Atque Afrae volucres placent palato Quod non sunt faciles.* Cf. too Sen. ad Helv. ix ; Martial xiii. 76, on a bird called Rusticula (perhaps a rail), *Rustica sim an perdix quid refert, si sapor idem est : Carior est perdix ; sic sapit ille magis.*

17. 'And so,' i. e. since their sole motive for living is their appetite, 'tis a light matter for them to conjure up a sum to waste.' **haud difficile est** means 'they have no scruples' in getting the needful cash in this way. Cf. Sat. iii. 31 *Quis facile est aedes conducere*, &c. **perituram :** cf. i. 18 *perituraе parcere chartae.*

18. oppositis, 'pawned.' Cf. Catullus' well-known pun (xxvi.) on his *villa opposita.* From the meaning of to 'lay down as a stake in a wager' (Plaut. Curc. ii. 3.77 *Pono pallium : ille suum anulum opposuit*) the meaning develops of to 'pawn' or 'pledge'; cf. Terence, Phorm. iv. 3. 56 *ager oppositust pignori ob decem minas.* **imagine.** Pliny, H. N. xxxv. § 2 (ad init.) complains that in his time the preservation of family portraits by painting the *imagines* so as to preserve the likeness had died out : brazen shields are set up as memorials, and silver faces indistinctly recalling features : the picture galleries are stuffed with old pictures, and reverence is paid to the effigies of strangers : they deem that the effigies have no value except their actual worth ; ut frangat heres, *furis detrahat laqueus.*

19. condire, 'to season his extravagant delf,' a satiric oxymoron.

20. miscillanea, 'the hotch-potch of the gladiator's school.' The Scholiast tells us that this was the name given to the gladiator's diet, *ideo, quia omnia quae apponuntur illis miscent et sic manducant*; cf. Pliny xviii. § 72 *gladiatorum cognomine qui* hordearii *vocabantur.* If they became gladiators they would at least get plenty to

eat. *Gladiatorum sagina* seems to have been proverbial ; cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 88 § 2 : cf. also Propert. iv. 8. 25 for the same thought, *vulsi carpenta nepotis . . . Qui dabit immundae venalia fata saginae* ; 'who will sell his whole destiny for the foul pottage of the trainer.'

21-43. 'All depends here, as in other matters, on a man's knowledge of himself.'

21. **refert** ; 'it makes all the difference' : for *refert* in this sense cf. Sen. de Benef. iii. 18 *refert cuius animi sit qui praestat.*

nam and *namque* in classical Latin come first in the se tence : *enim* never stands first except when followed by *vero.*

'In the case of Rutilus, 'tis mere wantonness ; in the case of Ventidius, it assumes a creditable name.'

22. **Ventidius,** see Sat. vii. 199 ; the mule-driver who became consul, A. Gell. xv. 4.

23. The subject to **sumit** is some word like *paratio* understood from *quis haec eadem paret.*

24. **qui scit,** &c. For a similar construction cf. Sen. ad Marciam ii. *Octavia amiserat Marcellum, cui et avunculus et socer incumbere coeperat in quem onus imperii reclinaret* ; cf. too line 130 of this Satire.

For the height of Mount Atlas cf. Pliny, H. N. book v. 1. § 14 *Suetonius Paulinus primus Romanorum ducum transgressus quoque Atlantem aliquot milium spatio, prodidit de* excelsitate *eius quae ceteri.*

25. **hic tamen idem.** The subjunctive shows that *hic tamen ignoret = si tamen idem ignoret.*

26. **arca,** a large money-chest : **sacculus,** a little purse, like that of Catullus, which, on his return from Bithynia (x. 21), was full of cobwebs (xiii. 8).

27. **γνῶθι σεαυτόν.** Such dicta were common in Juvenal's time ; cf. vi. 187 *omnia graece Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire latine.* Cf. Faust, who says to Wagner, 'Ja, was man *so erkennen* heisst' ; where, however, the doctrine, as laid down by Goethe, is different. The words are stated by Xenophon to be the response of the Delphic oracle given to Croesus : Cyr. vii. 2 §§ 20, 25. Cicero refers to it Tusc. Disp. i. § 52, *cum 'nosce te' dicit, hoc dicit, 'nosce animum tuum.' Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum.* Cf. Sen. ad Marc. xi. *Et quae veneraris et quae despicis unus exaequabit cinis. Hoc iubet ille Pythicis oraculis adscripta vox Nosce te.* Cf. Aristot. Rhet. ii. 21. 13. So too Socrates in Plato's Alcibiades i. 124 *b*, &c., and Seneca, Ep. lxxxii. § 5.

28. **figendum,** 'to be taken to heart' ; cf. *primo* fige *loco*, Sat. v. 12.

sive here answers to *vel,* because *sive = vel si. Sive* and *sive* or *seu* express the alternative between two similar conditions : *vel* and *vel* those between two contrasted conditions, as here.

29. **coniugium** : cf. Ovid, Heroid. ix. 32 *Si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari.* **sacri senatus** ; cf. *iura magistratumque legunt* sanctumque *senatum*, Verg. Aen. i. 426.

30. **neque enim,** 'for not even Thersites, with all his brazen impudence.' The sentence from **neque enim . . . Achillis** is parenthetical; a new sentence follows in the indicative.

31. **traducebat,** 'made himself ridiculous.' Cf. viii. 17. *Traducere* is to 'marshal' or 'lead past'; the idea of derision on the part of the spectators seems implied: hence we have *traductio* actually joined with *dedecus*, Seneca, de Ira i. 6. § 1. In the contest between Aiax and Ulixes for the arms of Achilles (cf. vii. 115 and x. 84), Thersites is contrasted with Achilles, as in viii. 269. Seneca, de Ira iii. 23, employs Thersites as the type of a low brawler: in Ovid, Met. xiii. 232–3 his *dicta* are *proterva*.

33. **te consule,** 'examine yourself, tell yourself what sort of a man you are.' So Persius *in sese descendere* and *secum habitare*, iv. 23 and 52.

34. **vehemens,** 'earnest' (δεινός: the idea conveyed by the word seems to be 'producing conviction in the mind of the judge by the expression of earnestness.' Cf. Cicero, de Orat. ii. 43 § 183 *inflammare animum iudicis acri et vehementi incitatione*.

Curtius, possibly the Curtius Montanus who satirised Nero in A. D. 66, Tac. Ann. xvi. 28, and who may be identical with the fat Montanus mentioned in Sat. iv. 107. A *Q. Curtius Rufus* is mentioned in Suetonius' catalogue of rhetoricians; and **Matho** has been mentioned, i. 32 and vii. 129. Martial ridicules him, v. 33. 1, vii. 10. 3, x. 46. 1, xi. 68. 2.

buccae, 'wind-bags,' 'spouters.' See iii. 35. *Bucca* is used for the person, just as *gula*, i. 140, for the greedy person; cf. *bucca loquax*, Mart. i. 42. 13, and *hominem durae buccae*, Petron. 43.

35. 'We must know well our own measure and scan it well in things the greatest as the smallest'; cf. Persius, Sat. vi. 25 and Seneca, de Tr. Anim. v. § 1 *aestimanda sunt deinde ipsa quae aggredimur, et vires nostrae cum rebus quas tentaturi sumus comparandae*.

37. **mullum.** See Sat. iv. 15, note. See Pliny, H. N. ix. 17, who affirms that *binas libras ponderis raro admodum excedit, nec in vivariis piscinisque crescit*. Horace mentions one of three pounds, Sat. ii. 2. 33; Martial x. 31, of four pounds. For the fancy prices given for these fish see Friedländer iii. 1. § 33.

gobio, 'a gudgeon,' Fr. *goujon*: as Dijon from Dibio (M.). The *gobio* stands for 'the price of a gobio,' exactly as in Plautus, Pers. ii. 5. 16. *boves* are said to be in a purse instead of their value: cf. too Plaut. Truc. Act iii. 1. 10 oves in crumena hac *in urbem detuli*, for the price paid for them.

38. **deficiente crumina** seems a remembrance of Horace Ep. i. 4. 11. For the sentiment cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 95, 96 *grandes rhombi patinaeque Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus . . adde Iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum Et frustra mortis cupidum*.

40. The **venter** is spoken of as if it were an all-devouring flood or abyss: cf. Plaut. Curculio i. 2. 29 *age effunde hoc cito in barathrum*, i. e.

in ventrem. So Hor. Ep. i. 15. 31 *Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli.*

41. **argenti gravis,** plate, as in Sen. de Tranq. i. § 4. For the enormous sums lavished on plate under the Empire see Friedländer iii. 1. p. 124. Pliny, xxxiii. 143, says that Pompeius Paullinus, Seneca's step-father, when commanding the army in Lower Germany in 58 A. D., took with him 12,000 lbs. weight of plate.

capacem. Many adjectives signifying 'wealthy' or 'abounding in' take the genitive, after the analogy of *plenus.*

42. **novissimus.** He lost his position in the census; and this implied loss of his position as a citizen. Cf. Martial viii. 5 *Dum donas, Macer, anulos puellis, Desisti, Macer, anulos habere.* The ring is the badge of equestrian or senatorial rank. The form *novissimus* is strictly speaking irregular, according to A. Gellius x. 21. Cicero however uses it. In late Latin unusual superlatives became common, as *extremissimus,* Tertullian, Apol. p. 19; vid. Draeger, vii. § 15.

exit, 'passes away from him'; a law term, as where the owner of a sepulchre states *peto non fundus de familia exeat.*

43. **anulus.** Cf. Mart. ii. 57 *Hic quem videtis . . . oppigneravit Claudii modo ad mensam Vix octo nummis anulum unde cenaret*; Pliny xxxiii. 2 *Constitutum erat ne cui ius anulorum esset nisi cui ingenuo ipsi, patri avoque paterno sestertia* CCCC *census fuisset.*

Pollio. Possibly Creperius Pollio mentioned in ix. 6.

44–55. The miserable state of the spendthrift.

44. **non praematuri.** 'Tis not an early death that the spendthrifts have to fear, but it is old age.'

The metaphor in **acerbum** is from the bitterness of unripe fruits. The word is commonly used of premature deaths, especially of those of infants: cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 429 *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.* Luc. Catapl. § 5 uses the phrase *ὀμφακίαι νεκροί.*

45. **luxuriae** is the dative.

46. **hi plerumque gradus,** 'this is commonly the Rake's progress' (Hardy).

conducta, 'money borrowed at interest.' *Conducere* is seldom used of money: cf. however Hor. Sat. i. 2. 9 *omnia conductis coemens opsonia nummis,* and Plautus uses *locare* in the sense of to 'lend' money, Most. iii. 1, 4.

47. **dominis,** 'the owners' of the money, from whom it is borrowed.

49. 'Those who have perforce given leg-bail go for change of air to some fashionable watering-place, and spend the little that they have left.' **vertere solum** is a technical term for running away to escape punishment or misfortune, as is explained by Cicero, pro Caecina c. 34. Cf. Cic. pro Dom. c. 30 *Qui erant rerum capitalium condemnati, non prius hanc civitatem amittebant quam erant in eam recepti, quo vertendi, hoc est mutandi soli venerant.*

Baias, cf. Sat. iii. 4. For the luxury of Baiae see Becker's Gallus, Scene vii. Cf. Seneca Ep. li. § 4 *videre ebrios per litora errantes et*

comissationes navigantium et symphoniarum cantibus perstrepentes lacus, et alia, quae velut soluta legibus luxuria non tantum peccat sed publicat, quid necesse est? Cf. too Cic. pro Cael. c. 15 and ad Fam. ix. 2. It was the well-known health and pleasure resort of Rome on the coast of Campania.

For the oyster-beds of Italy see Friedländer i. 1. p. 57, Mart. x. 37. 11, 12 *Ostrea Baianis . . . non liventia testis*, Pliny, H. N. ix. 54 *Ostrearum vivaria primus omnium Sergius Orata invenit in Baiano*. Cf. Sat. iv. 140. Ausonius, Ep. vii, gives a list of different kinds of oysters, beginning *Ostrea Baianis certantia*.

50. **cedere foro,** as we might say 'to disappear from 'Change,' ' which is nowadays considered no worse than to migrate to a better quarter of the town.' *Foro cedere* is used also by Sen. de Ben. iv. 39 § 2. Business was transacted here, where the *argentariorum tabernae* were; *in foro versari* was used for to 'appear on 'Change,' or to be solvent.

51. **Esquilias.** Augustus, at the suggestion of Maecenas, suppressed the unhealthy cemetery on the Esquiline, and laid out on the site his magnificent gardens, the *Horti Maecenatiani*. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 8. 14 *Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum*. In Juv. v. 77 they are called *gelidae*.

The Subura lay in the hollow between the Esquiline and the Quirinal, and so caught little fresh air. It was one of the busiest, noisiest, and most thickly peopled quarters of the city. Cf. Mart. v. 22. **fervens** refers to the heat: but the use in Verg. Georg. i. 455 *Omnia tunc vento pariter nimbisque videbis Fervere*, of confusion, was probably also in Juvenal's mind.

52. **ille dolor.** The pronoun which we might expect to be neuter agrees with the predicatival substantive in cases where the conception implied in the subject only receives its significance when the predicate is expressed: thus Livy i. 57 *eaque ipsa causa belli fuit*, and id. xxi. 57 *hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis*. Thus we have here *ille* attracted to *dolor*, and *illa* attracted to *maestitia*.

53. We must always remember that the games were encouraged as a political necessity to divert the thoughts of the people; cf. Sat. iii. 223 and x. 8. Pliny, Ep. ix. 6, expresses his surprise and disgust that so many thousands of men could care to waste their time in watching such childish contests.

54. 'No drop of blood remains to form a blush; there are but few nowadays who give a thought to shame; she is laughed at and has to fly.'

55. Cf. Hesiod, Op. et Dies vv. 199, 200 (Flach) **Αθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους | Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις.**

56–63. 'I now invite you to a simple Roman meal, Persicus. You shall prove to-day, Persicus, if I do not make good these brave sayings in my life, or in my habits, and in truth. The life as a whole is one instance; the habits, and this particular example of them are the other.'

58. **siliquae** are, properly speaking, the pods of peas or beans, and the word is also applied to the contents of these; cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 123 *vivit siliquis et pane secundo*: cf. too Persius iii. 55. It probably means here lentil porridge.

pultes. The simple porridge which was the food of the Romans in the early period of the Republic. Pliny, N. H. xviii. 8. 19 *Pulte non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum.* Cf. Sat. xiv. 171. *Pultes* is borrowed from the Greek πόλτος, as *placenta* from the Greek πλακοῦντα. See Hehn p. 456.

59. **dictare** in the sense of 'to order' is post-classical. **in aure:** cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 9, 10 *in aurem Dicere nescio quid puero.* Cf. Mart. iii. 63. 8 and Friedländer's note. Cf. too Ap. Met. v. § 28 *in auribus Veneris ganniebat.*

placentas, cakes made of fine flour mixed with honey and cheese: Cato, de Re Rust. 76 gives full directions for the preparation of these.

60. 'You shall find in me a good host like Evander, and I will treat you as he treated Hercules, or Aeneas only a little less than he, and like himself sprung from Heaven.' Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 52 sq.

61. **Tirynthius:** from Tiryns, a town in Argolis: the epithet is constantly applied to Hercules, as in Verg. Aen. viii. 228. His mother, Alcmena, is called Tirynthia, Ov. Met. 6, 112.

62. **contingens.** *Contingo* is the regular word for 'to trace descent back to'; cf. Sat. viii. 7 and Sen. Apol. 9 *cum divus Claudius et divum Augustum sanguine contingat nec minus divam Augustam aviam suam,* &c. So Ammian xxii. 9. § 4 *quem genere longius contingebat.* Cf. too Sen. ad Helv. iv. § i.

63. Aeneas was said to have been drowned in the Numicius, Liv. i. 2. Hercules burnt himself to death on the pyre on Mount Oeta (Soph. Trach. 1191 sqq.). Juvenal speaks as if the two heroes had alike been purified before being admitted into heaven; the one by water, the other by fire. Cf. Tibull. ii. 5. 43

Illic sanctus eris, cum te, venerande, Numici
Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem.

flammis: cf. Minucius Felix xxi. § 16 *Hercules ut hominem exuat* (i. e. that he may be fit *induere deum*) *Oeteis ignibus conrematur.* So Clemens Alex. Protrept. § 30. p. 26 speaks of Hercules as διὰ τῆς ἐν Οἴτῃ πυρᾶς κεκηδευμένος. Cf. too Lucian Hermotimus c. 7.

64–76. The dishes of the simple meal.

64. **fercula.** Ironically applied to the simple dishes. Cf. Verg. Georg. iv. 133 *dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis*, and Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 120 *bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis Sed pullo atque haedo.* Cf. too Mart. x. 48, which affords another instance of the similarity of thought suggesting co-operation between the two poets.

65. **Tiburtino.** It would seem that Juvenal had a farm in the *Tiburtinus ager.* See the Introduction to this Satire.

66. inscius herbae, 'as yet unweaned.'

67. Cf. *Palmite debueras abstinuisse caper,* Ov. Fast. i. 354, and Verg. Georg. ii. 380.

68. A spondaic ending, as in vv. 71, 138.

69. asparagi. Hehn, p. 405, remarks that the name 'Spargel' shows that this vegetable came into Germany from the Romans.

vilica, the wife of the *vilicus*, who, among his other duties, had the charge of the garden. So in Sen. Ep. xii. § 2 the *vilicus* has to attend to the *platani*. There is no classical Latin word for a gardener as such. Note the picture of simple industry presented by the bailiff's wife passing from spinning to vegetable gathering.

70. The *vilica* had improvised a basket out of wisps of hay in which to bring the eggs fresh from the nest: cf. Mart. iii. 47. 14. The eggs are large, as laid by well-fed fowls.

71. **servatae.** Grapes were preserved in different ways, and those thus preserved were called *cilares* and *pensiles*. Pliny, H. N. xv. § 62 sqq., describes one method of keeping them in an air-tight cask; cf. too Colum. xii. 43, Varro R. R. i. 54.

72. **parte anni,** i. e. 'half the year'; for we find, from verse 193, that the meal was in April. At the period when Juvenal wrote, the ablative was commonly used to express duration of time. The ablative of time is a natural extension of the ablative of place. Such expressions as *hieme*, *aestate*, &c., are naturally formed after the analogy of expressions like *acie constiterunt*. Cf. Roby, § 1184, who quotes from Caesar, B. C. i. 47 *nostri quinque horis proelium sustinuerunt*; cf. too Sen. Ep. xciii. § 3, and Pliny H. N. xiv. § 145 *duabus noctibus perpotationem continuavit.*

73. Pears from Signia in Latium are mentioned as healthy by Celsus ii. 24. Syrian pears grew luxuriantly at Tarentum. For the variety of fruits on which the Romans prided themselves see Varro, R. R. i. 2. 6 *Nunc arboribus consita Italia est ut tota pomarium videatur.* Cf. also Lucretius v. 1376. For the whole question of the introduction of foreign fruits into Italy see Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere, p. 392.

74. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 70 *Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco.*

75. They have been stored all the winter so as to get rid of their 'autumn,' i. e. their fresh juices.

postquam, causal, is followed by the indicative, as in Plaut. Captivi 3. 1, 27 *Abeo ab illis postquam video sic me ludificarier.*

77. **iam.** '*Already* luxurious as compared with the fare of M'. Curius Dentatus.'

78. **Curius,** Sat. ii. 3. The model of old Roman bravery and simplicity: cf. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. x. § 8 *Scilicet minus beate vivebat dictator noster, qui Samnitium legatos audiit, cum vilissimum cibum in foco ipse manu sua versaret, illa, qua iam saepe hostem percusserat, quam Apicius*; cf. id. de Prov. iii; cf. too Ammian xxix. 5 § 22 *Curionis acerrimi eius ducis,* and Horace, Carm. i. 12. 41 *incomptis Curium capillis*

In 290 B. C. he defeated the Sabines and Samnites and triumphed. His garden, his hearth and his vegetables were all scanty.

77–119. Simplicity of the good old Roman times.

80. 'A dirty slave fetched from the *ergastulum* would not touch them nowadays if he could get his tripe.'

For **fossor** cf. Pers. v. 122 *cum sis cetera fossor* ; also Ovid, Trist. iv. 1. 5, Tib. ii. 6. 25, Colum. i. 8. 16 *ergastulum mancipia vincta compedibus*. Cf. also Sat. viii. 180. For the punishment of slaves cf. Becker's Gallus, Excursus iii, Scene 1.

For *latifundia*, worked by gangs of slaves, see Sen. de Ben. vii. 10. The *ergastularii* often had to work in chains : cf. Ovid, ex Ponto i. 6. 31 *Haec facit, ut vivat vinctus quoque compede fossor, Liberaque a ferro crura futura putet.* The connection of *compede* with *fossor* in so many places seems to imply that only this class of workmen habitually worked in chains, probably because they were so scattered over the country. In South Carolina it was found after the war that the only work which the liberated slaves would not do was clearing out the ditches of the rice plantations.

81. quid sapiat : cf. v. 121 *Nil rhombus sapit. Sapere* is used also for 'to yield a smell' : cf. *mella herbam sapiunt* (Plin. H. N. xi. 8).

vulva, 'a sow's matrix,' was considered a great delicacy in Italy : cf. Horace, Ep. i. 15. 41 *nil vulva pulchrius ampla,* and Mart. vii. 20. 11. It was more costly than any other kind of meat commonly eaten, as Keller shows, from Diocletian's Edict of 301 A. D. *de pretiis venalium* (c. iv. 3, ed. Mommsen); cf. Wilkins, Epistles of Horace, ad loc. : cf. also Apicius, de Re Culinaria vii. 1. It was prepared with spices and vinegar, and eaten as a relish with wine : see Athen. iii. 59 *ἐμπίνοντι δέ σοι φερέτω τοιόνδε τράγημα | γαστέρα καὶ μήτραν ἐφθὴν ὑός, ἔν τε κυμίνῳ | ἐν τ' ὀξεῖ δριμεῖ καὶ σιλφίῳ ἐμβεβαῶσαν.*

popinae : cf. viii. 172. They were low eating-houses, frequented by slaves and gamblers. Their host was called the *popa* : cf. Cic. pro Milone c. 24 § 65 *Quin etiam audiendus sit popa Licinius nescio quis de Circo maximo : servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse : . . . mirabar tamen credi popae* ; Hor. Ep. i. 14. 21 uncta *popina* : Cic. in Pis. c. vi. § 13 and Appul. Met. viii. ad init. Cf. Becker's Gallus, Scene iv, Excursus ii.

82. sicci. Casaubon, on Athen. i. 10. p. 13 (quoted in Lemaire's edition), remarks that the ancients used salt meat more than fresh, and that the use of an extensive meat diet is of late introduction.

rara. 'On a rack with wide bars,' so that it should not get musty. *Rarus* means 'with spaces between.'

83. moris erat. Genitive of quality, or adjectival genitive. The oldest form of the phrase seems to occur in cases like Caes. Bell. Gall. iv. 5 (quoted by Hardy) *est hoc Gallicae consuetudinis.*

84. natalicium. *Only* on birthdays, when a feast was made to the *genius,* and *then* the only extravagance was bacon.

On the birthday, relations and friends were asked to *dapes natalicíae*: cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 13. 13. *Natales celebrare* is to keep one's birthday: cf. Pliny, Ep. vi. 30. 1.

85. For the offerer ate what he did not burn. The flesh of the victim was not consumed entirely upon the altar, but in the case of private sacrifices was reserved for a family feast; on public occasions it was reserved for a priestly banquet (*polluctum*): cf. *immolatarum ab his hostiarum exta ad quaestores aerarii delata vehebant: sacrificiisque populi Romani tum deorum immortalium cultus tum etiam hominum continentia inerat*, Valer. Maxim. ii. 2. 8. Hence it would appear that a part was occasionally sold. Cf. Amm. xxii. 12 § 6, who states that Julianus used to offer up so many victims—sheep, cattle, and even rare birds—that his soldiers became ill through eating a surfeit of meat.

87. **castrorum imperiis functus,** who had been *tribunus* of the legion; or *legatus*, an unattached lieutenant-general, who exercised a general superintendence under the orders of the general or provincial governor.

88. He would not have departed from the common custom but for a special occasion.

89. **erectum.** Bringing home his shouldered spade from the hill-side he has reclaimed. **domare terram,** 'to reclaim,' and also 'to turn up' or 'dig'—so common that it was probably a popular word like ἡμεροῦν in Greek: cf. Mart. iv. 64. 33

> *Vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis*
> *Centeno gelidum ligone Tibur*
> *Vel Praeneste domate.*

Cf. *Terra aratro domefacta nitet*, Petron. 99 § 3.

90–119. 'But in times of old, when men revered their censors, none cared to rifle the seas for tortoiseshell—a brass bedstead was good enough for the best. The simple soldier in those days broke up Greek masterpieces of carving to make trappings for his horse. And yet Jupiter was nearer to the men of that day than to those of this.'

90. **cum tremerent.** 'But when men trembled at the Fabii and at iron Cato.' The nominative is suppressed, as in *dicunt, ferunt*, &c. *Tremo* governs an accusative, like *stupere, ardere, demori, horrere, deperire*, &c., after the analogy of *metuere*, of which it shares the meaning.

Fabios. The Fabian *gens* gave to the Romans a long series of brilliant commanders. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 3, says that they took their name from an ancestor who *in faba serenda excellebat*. The three hundred who sacrificed themselves at the Allia (*totum reipublicae bellum in unam domum transferentes*, Sen. Ep. lxxxii. 20) gave the example to those who followed. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus was the colleague of P. Decius, B. C. 304, in the censorship. He ordered Decius to reform the luxurious manners of the time, and coerced him into doing so.

Cato. M. Porcius Cato, commonly called *Censorius, Sapiens*,

and *Cato Maior*, the adversary of the nobility and stock example of frugality: Plut. Vit. Catonis, cc. 2, 3, 17, 21. Cf. Mart. xi. 2, 1 *Triste supercilium durique severa Catonis Frons.*

91. The most celebrated of the **Scauri** (cf. Hor. Carm. i. 12. 37) was M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul 115 B. C.; he passed a sumptuary law against imported gamebirds. As censor in B. C. 109, he constructed the Via Aemilia.

Fabricios. C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul B. C. 282 and 278, was censor 275 B. C. He removed from the senate P. Cornelius Rufinus for possessing ten pounds of silver plate: Sen. Vit. Beat. xxi. § 3.

92. 'When one censor actually dreaded the authority of another,' as M. Livius Salinator did that of C. Claudius Nero. See Livy xxix. 37 and Valer. Max. ii. 9. 6.

94. **testudo.** When the use of round tables, the costly *orbes citrei*, became common, the *triclinia* were exchanged for semicircular sofas, called from their form *sigmata*. These were inlaid with tortoiseshell: cf. Mart. xiv. 87 *Accipe lunata scriptum testudine sigma.* Verg. Georg. ii. 463 speaks of door-posts as inlaid with it, *Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.* Tiberius brought *triclinia* of tortoiseshell into fashion; cf. Pliny, H.N. ix. 10 sqq. *in Phoenicio mari testudines haud ulla difficultate capiuntur*; cf. too xxxii. § 4. The bedsteads were made of bronze or citron-wood and overlaid with ivory and tortoiseshell: Pliny, H. N. xvi cc. 16 and 44 § 1, x. c. 11, Mart. xii. 64. 5.

95. The **fulcra** were stout props to beds adorned with representations of quaint monsters, such as griffins and sphinxes: cf. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 2; Propert. ii. 13. 21 *Nec mihi tunc fulcro sternatur lectus eburno.*

96. **nudo latere.** In prose we should expect *sed parvus lectus nudo latere ostendebat fronte aerea vile caput.*

nudum latus and **frons aerea** are both parts of the **lectus**, but as special attention is to be paid to the *frons aerea*, the poet makes it the nominative, and connects *nudo latere* and *parvis lectis* with it as ablatives of quality; 'but on beds of plain unornamented sides and small, there was a brass headpiece, which displayed a cheap ass's head, crowned with vines, at which the wanton country boys were laughing.'

97. The ass is crowned with vine-leaves to commemorate, it is said, the invention of pruning vines from watching its browsing. This reason is given by Hyginus, Fab. 274, and by Pausanias, ii. 38. Cf. Hehn, p. 108 *Mit der Wein- und Oel-Kultur ging auch der Esel nach Norden*, 'the ass followed the vine and olive to the north,' &c.

98. Some understand the **ruris alumni** to be the guests; but it seems better to take the word of the children playing round the bed in the *atrium*. Cf. xiv. 168 *infantes ludebant quattuor, unus Vernula, tres domini.*

100. Juvenal is here tempted, by his wish to give a distinct picture, into a description of the barbarity, rather than the simplicity, of the Romans of whom he speaks.

Cf. Livy xxv. 40. § 1: in B. C. 212 Marcellus transported the statues

and pictures captured at Syracuse to Rome, *inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera* ; see too Vell. Pat. i. 13 §§ 4, 5, who says that Mummius at the capture of Corinth (B. C. 146) ordered that those who lost or broke the masterpieces of Grecian sculpture would have to replace them. Polybius was present at the taking of the city, and he says that he was told of those who had seen *ἐρριμμένους πίνακας ἀπ' ἐδάφους, πεττεύοντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τούτων*, xl. 7.

For **rudis,** as applied to one ignorant of Greek civilisation, cf. Hor. Sat. i. 10. 66 *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*.

102. **artificum pocula**. Genitive of the author; a variety of the genitive of possession.

103. **phaleris:** see Rich, s. v.: cf. Livy xxii. 52 *argenti plurimum in phaleris equorum erat*: cf. too Claudian, Epigr. xx. 3 *Dumque auro phialae, gemmis dum frena renident*, cf. too Verg. Aen. v. 310.

cassis. The helmet on which the *caelatura* represented exploits of their family or national history: see Sil. i. 407.

104. Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 630–4, which Servius says came from Ennius, in describing the shield made by Vulcan, *Fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam : geminos huic ubera circum Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem Impavidos ; illam tereti cervice reflexam Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua*. Near the Lupercal (the den of the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus) the aediles Cn. and Q. Ogulnius, in 296 B. C., dedicated the bronze statue of the wolf suckling the twins (Livy x. 23), this is probably the statue, of Etruscan style, which is now in the Capitoline Museum; the infants are modern (see Middleton, p. 57).

105. 'By the promise of empire,' which foretold universal rule to Rome.

geminos Quirinos, i. e. *Romulum et Remum* ; just as *Castores* = 'Castor and Pollux.' So Horace's *geminus Pollux* (Carm. iii. 29. 64). We sometimes hear the Romans spoken of as the descendants of Romulus, sometimes of Remus; vid. Sat. x. 73, note.

sub rupe, as in Verg. Aen. viii. 630 *in antro*.

106. **clipeo venientis et hasta.** For the omission of *cum* we may compare Verg. Ec. x. 24 *Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore*: as however *venire* is almost a technical term for the charging of soldiers (cf. 113 *Gallis venientibus*), the construction may be after the analogy of *pugnanti Gorgone Maura* (xii. 4), *venientis* practically meaning 'attacking,' so that *clipeo* and *hasta* seem thought of as instrumental ablatives.

107. **pendentis,** 'hovering in the air.' Was there a second group or not? Addison, Bohn's edition, pl. 8. ser. iv, assumes the affirmative; the *pendens deus* would be Mars descending upon the priestess Ilia. The criticism of Lessing in the Laocoon, chap. vii. ad init., on the shield of Aeneas, should be referred to. He assumes, with more probability, that one group only is referred to; had the priestess been intended, she would have been mentioned, and the descent would have occurred

before the nursing; moreover *-que* commonly denotes a close connection.

108. **Tusco catino.** The Tuscan pottery, especially that of Arretium, was famous. Cf. Pers. ii. 60. So Mart. xiv. 98 *Arretina nimis ne spernas vasa monemus: Lautus erat* Tuscis *Porsena fictilibus.* For the use of *fictilia* as a sign of simplicity cf. Val. Max. iv. 3 § 7. The Aetolians offered Q. Aelius Tubero silver vases: the messengers charged with the care of their transport announced *fictilia se in eius mensa vasa vidisse.* The same story is told in Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 50. For *catinus*, cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 115.

farrata. The *far* of which it was composed was the genuine Italian grain: Hehn, p. 457, points out that the names for grain generally are different in Greek and Latin, as *σῖτος, πυρός, ζειά*, &c., as against *triticum, ador, far*, &c. Out of *far* or 'spelt' was made the sacred cake *('farreus panis')* which gave its name to the ceremony of *confarreatio,* the genuine sacramental Roman marriage. Cf. Ovid, Fast. vi. 170 *Mixtaque cum calido sit faba farre, rogas?* The whole passage on the simplicity of ancient Roman diet should be read. *Farrata*, i.e. *pultes ex farre*: thus *porrata*, from *porrum*, was a Low-Latin word for 'leek broth' (Ducange).

110. Ironical: 'everything then was of a nature that you must envy if you have ever so little a turn for envy.'

111. **praesentior.** Especially used of the gracious presence of a divinity. So Verg. Ec. i. 42 *Nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos,* and Hor. Carm. i. 35. 1 *O diva . . .praesens.* Cf. *Et erant qui crederent sonitum tubae collibus circum editis planctusque e tumulo matris audiri,* Tac. Ann. xiv. 10. Juv. refers to the story told in Livy v. 32; M. Caedicius announced to the tribunes *se vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare,* B.C. 391. Abstract divinities called *Aii locutii* are mentioned by Arnobius i. 28 ad init. Cf. also Verg. Georg. i. 476.

114. 'When the gods in person did duty for their speaker.' For *vates* see Nettleship, Essays p. 53. The root *va* probably means 'to cry' or 'speak' (cf. *φημί, φήμη*); Varro, ap. Gell. xvi. 17. 2 *Vaticanus deus nominatur penes quem essent vocis humanae initia*: cf. *va-gitus. Vates* then will mean originally the inspired utterer of the behests of a deity.

116. **fictilis.** Cf. Propertius iv. 1. 5 *Fictilibus crevere deis haec aurea templa.* Cf. Seneca for the sentiment, Ep. xxxi. § 11 *cogita illos (deos cum propitii essent fictiles fuisse.* Cf. also Appuleius, Apologia 434 *Eadem paupertas etiam populo Romano imperium a primordio fundavit: proque eo in hodiernum Diis immortalibus simpulo et catino fictili sacrificat.* Cf. too Plin. H. N. xxxv. 45.

violatus, 'outraged.' Cf. Sat. iii. 20 *nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum.* Cf. Lucan ix. 519 sq.

117. **nostra ex arbore,** 'trees of home growth,' not the imported Grecian *κέδρος*. This name was applied to the several species of fra-

grant and durable coniferae; popular etymology changed its name to *citrus*, as it changed *κυδωνία* into *mala cotonea*. Hehn, p. 362, says that the species in question was the *Thuja articulata, das aus Africa seit alter Zeit eingeführte Holz des Lebensbaums, aus dessen Masern in der späteren Epoche des Luxus und Reichthums kostbare Tischplatten gefertigt wurden.*

120–129. 'Think of the luxury of our furniture! the rarest viands, the freshest flowers have no charm for us unless they be supported on a table propped by tusks from a foreign beast.'

121. Cf. Claudian in Eutrop. ii. 329 sqq. *Sic ventrem invitant pretio*: and the whole of the verses in Petronius 119 should be read in connection with this passage; cf. 32 sqq. *Siculo scarus aequore mersus Ad mensam vivus perducitur, atque Lucrinis Eruta litoribus vendunt conchylia cenas* Ut renovent per damna famem.

rhombus: see Sat. iv. 39.

damma. It would appear to have been imported from Libya, Aelian, H. A. xiv. 14.

122. **unguenta atque rosae:** cf. Becker's Gallus Exc. i. Sc. x. The *locus classicus* on chaplets is Pliny, H. N. xxi. i. 4. Cf. Ovid, Fast. v. 335

> *Tempora sutilibus cinguntur tota coronis,*
> *Et latet iniecta splendida mensa rosa.*
> *Ebrius incinctis philyra conviva capillis*
> *Saltat.*

Cf. too Fasti ii. 739; Hor. Carm. i. 5. 1, 38. 3, ii. 3. 13 sq., 7. 24, iii. 14. 17.

orbes. The word *orbis* is the regular term for round tables of the costly citrus resting on one leg—being sections of the whole trunk, *monopodia*; also called *mensae citreae*; cf. Cicero, Verr. ii. 4. c. 17 § 37, Martial ix. 60. 10, Pers. i. 53.

123. **ebur.** The ivory column upon which the *orbis* rested. See Livy xxxix. c. 6; Mart. ii. 43. 9, 10 *tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes*: cf. too Lucan x. 119–121 *ebur atria vestit Et suffecta manu foribus testudinis Indae Terga sedent crebro maculas distincta smaragdo.* The price of these tables was enormous; cf. Sen. de Ben. vii. 9 *Mensas et aestimatum lignum senatoris censu.*

sublimis, 'rampant.'

124. **porta Syenes.** Syene was a town on the Nile on the borders of Ethiopia, now Assouan. It is called *porta* because the Nile narrows in that part and forms as it were the gate to Ethiopia. *Syene, in qua solstitii tempore, quo sol aestivum cursum ostendit, recta omnia ambientes radii excedere ipsis corporibus umbras non sinunt*, Amm. xxii. 15 § 31. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 61. 5 *exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen*, claustra *olim Romani imperii.* Strabo, xvii. 1. 12 (797), says that three Roman cohorts were stationed there.

125. Juvenal distinguishes between the African and the Indian elephant: cf. Plin. H. N. viii. 11 § 32 *Elephantos fert Africa ultra Syrticas soli-*

tudines et in Mauritania : ferunt et Aethiopes et Troglodytes : sed maximos India. The Indian elephant (*Euelephas Indicus*) has the following characteristics : forehead concave ; ears small ; five hoofs on toes of fore-foot and four on those of the hind-foot ; enamel folds of molar teeth narrow and parallel ; incisor teeth of upper jaw form large tusks in the male only. The African elephant (*Loxodon Africanus*) : forehead concave ; large flapping ears ; four hoofs on toes of fore-foot and three on those of the hind-foot ; enamel folds of molar teeth lozenge-shaped ; incisor tecth form tusks in both sexes. The thought of the colour of the Moor may be suggested by the Gk. ἀμαυρός = 'dark' ; Lucan iv. 678 speaks of *concolor Indo Maurus.*

126. **deposuit.** The story of the shedding tusks is a fable. There are 'milk' or deciduous incisors in the upper jaw of the elephant, which form small tusks and are then shed before the permanent tusks appear. The molar teeth behind develop in succession. There are altogether six on each side of each jaw, but never more than two out of the six are present at one time, the first being lost when the third appears, and so on (Professor Herdman). Plin. H. N. viii. 3 (*dentes*) *deciduos casu aliquo vel senecta defodiunt . . . circumventique a venantibus impactos arbori frangunt, praedaeque se redimunt.* The idea is 'the Romans now-a-days import at great price the barbarian monster's refuse.'

Nabataeo. Napata was the capital of the kingdom of Ethiopia. It was built at the foot of a steep sandstone mountain on the right bank of the river. See Sharpe's Egypt, chap. iii. 19.

127. **capitique graves.** The positive degree where the comparative would be more usual. The sense of the word in itself implying excess of weight renders the formal comparative less necessary. For similar examples cf. *piger ferre* Hor. Sat. i. 4. 12 ; sometimes the comparative and positive are combined in construction, as *quanto inopina, tanto maiora* Tac. Ann. i. 68.

orexis, ὄρεξις, from ὀρέγομαι, 'to reach after,' used in Sat. vi. 428 ; cf. Lampridius, Heliogabalus 29 (ad fin.) *amabat sibi pretia maiora dici earum rerum quae mensae parabantur*, orexin convivio *hanc esse asserens.*

128. **hinc stomacho vires.** The thought of the price acts as a tonic ; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 154 *ingens stomacho* fultura *ruenti.*

pes argenteus. 'They would think as little of a mere silver foot to their table as they would think of an iron ring' ; the legs of their tables must be inlaid. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. § 9, expressly tells us that the ancient Romans used to wear *iron* rings ; cf. too § 11.

129–161. Juvenal now describes his own table-ware, and contrasts it with the expensive ware of the day.

130. **comparet . . . despicit :** for the construction cf. lines 24 and 25 of this Satire.

131. 'So true is it that I have not even an ounce.' For **nulla uncia** cf. Mart. Ep. ix. 49. 12 *nulla De nostro nobis uncia venit apro.*

132. **tessellae,** 'dice.' *Tessellae* = *tesserae* or κύβοι, with six regular

marked sides. The *tesserae* were just like our dice; the sides were numbered one to six, and the two opposite sides always counted together seven (Isid. xviii. 63 sqq.). See Gallus, Excursus ii. Scene x, page 501. Cf. Martial xiv. 14. The **calculus** was used for playing the two board games in vogue at Rome, the *ludus latrunculorum*, and the game *duodecim scriptorum*, which somewhat resembled our backgammon. The *calculi* seem to have had different values, like the pieces in our chess. They were generally made of glass, but, as we see from the present passage, often of more costly materials.

133. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. § 54, devotes a chapter to the increasing luxury displayed in the passion for silver; *et quid haec attinet colligere, cum capuli militum, ebore etiam fastidito, caelentur argento, vaginae catillis, baltei lamminis crepitent? . . . Videret haec Fabricius!*

134. **his**, i.e. because the hafts are made of bone, they do not therefore taint the food.

136–141. 'I have no carver, the champion of the carving school, a disciple of the great professor Trypherus' (as we might say M. Le Gourmand), 'who teaches carving on wooden models till the Subura rings with the clatter.'

137. **pergula** is properly a balcony running round the fore part of the house; from *pergo* (as *regula* from *rego*) as *advancing* towards the street. Here silversmiths had their shops, Plin. H. N. xxi. 3, and painters their studios, ib. xxxv. 10. Masters also taught their pupils here, Suet. Aug. 94. Here a carving school also was held in a *pergula*.

138. **sumine.** A sow's breast cut away when full of milk, considered a great delicacy. Cf. Mart. xiii. 44, Pers. i. 53, Plin. H. N. viii. § 209.

pygargus = *antilopa pygargus*. The *pygargus* and *oryx* are both mentioned by Pliny, H. N. viii. 53. The *boutebok* (*Gazella Pygarga*), a gazelle allied to the spring-bok, may be meant. It inhabits the southern part of Africa. The **oryx** is the name of an antelope found in the north of Africa.

139. **Scythicae volucres,** *impiorum phasiana Colchorum*, Mart. iii. 58. 16; *Phasides volucres*, id. 13. 45. Athenaeus 14 p. 654 quotes a passage from the writings of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Euergetes II; 'these birds, called τέτραοι (the same word as *tetrao*), were not merely acclimatised from Media, but artificially bred for the table.' An edict of Diocletian prescribes the market price alike of the wild and of the tame birds. For the history of the pheasant see Hehn p. 297. It seems to have been known to Aristophanes, Nub. 109. Pliny speaks of these birds as expensive table luxuries among the Romans, xxi. 43, and xix. § 52; cf. too Petron. 93 and 119 *Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis*.

phoenicopterus ingens. 'The tall flamingo': their tongues were chiefly prized; *phoenicopteri linguam praecipui saporis esse Apicius* (cf. l. 3) *docuit, nepotum omnium altissimus gurges*, Plin. H.N. x. c. 48. So Mart. xiii. 71, Suet. Vitell. 13.

141. 'The dinner of elm wood' refers to the wooden models whereby the pupils were taught to carve: Petronius, § 94, refers to the practice.

142–161. 'My waiter knows not how to carve in the fashionable style; himself a novice, I have not yet cured him from filching occasional scraps of meat; he is a genuine son of Roman soil and ever longs for his simple home in the mountains.'

142. Afrae avis, the guinea-fowl (*Numida meleagris*), very common in North-West Africa, as is attested by Speke and Niebuhr. Varro calls them *gallinae Africanae*, R. R. iii. 9. 18. With the decay of the Roman empire these birds went out of fashion, and were heard of no more till the Portuguese introduced them afresh from Africa. Cf. Hehn, p. 294. Cf. Hor. Epod. ii. 53 *Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum*, and Petron. 93 *atque Afrae volucres placent palato Quod non sunt faciles*. Pliny speaks of them as *Numidicae*, H. N. x. 67. They have been acclimatised in Australia.

144. inbutus. 'He is only just initiated into petty larcenies.' For *inbutus* cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 541 *ubi sanguine bellum Imbuit*.

ofellae. *Offa* means commonly a corn-cake, though it is used of a piece of meat as well. The diminutive *ofella* seems only used of a scrap of meat. Cf. Mart. x. 48. 15 *Et quae non egeant ferro structoris ofellae*. Horace's rustic speaker in Hor. Sat. ii. 2 is called *Ofella*.

145. Cf. Sat. v. 29 sqq. and Martial xiv. 93–96, especially 94. 1 *Non sumus audacis* plebeia *toreumata vitri*.

146. 'A rough boy well clad in home-spun; not dressed up like an Asiatic Ganymede.' Cf. Sen. de Brevitate Vit. 12 § 5 *quam diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant*.

147. non Phryx aut Lycius. Like the *flos Asiae* v. 56. For the enormous sums spent on such slaves see Friedländer iii. 1, Martial i. 59, iii. 62, xi. 70, Plin. H. N. vii. 12. Pliny tells us that M. Antonius gave 200,000 sesterces for a pair of boys, well matched and represented, though falsely, to be twins. See Ramsay's Antiquities, p. 96.

non a mangone petitus. Ribbeck holds these and the following words to be spurious, down to *magno*.

mangone. Cf. Martial i. 59 *Milia pro puero centum me mango poposcit*. Under the empire these *mangones* or *venalicii* collected slaves from all quarters, and sold the least valuable portion of their stock in the open market, and the more precious in private shops, *tabernae*. The word comes from the root *mag*, found in μαγγανεύω, 'to deceive or cajole by magical arts,' and so 'to adulterate or put off bad wares.' The word is connected with the English 'monger,' German *menger* in *Fischmenger*. Slave-dealers were proverbially tricky. Cf. Cic. de Offic. iii. § 51.

148. 'He is no Greek, so you must talk to him in good Latin.' Cf. *J'aime qu'un Français soit français* (Béranger).

149. idem habitus. The slaves are in no classes or *decuriones*, but all wear the same simple costume; their hair is close cut and uncurled; they are no dandies like those described by Cicero, Cat. ii. 10.

§ 22 *pexo capillo nitidi*, in contradistinction to the different costumes of the numerous retinue of slaves among the Roman millionaires, and especially orientals; cf. the description of Cleopatra's court, Lucan, Phars. x. 126 sqq. *Tum famulae numerus turbae, populusque minister* [*admirationem Caesaris excitabant*]. *Discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat aetas. Haec Libycos, pars tam flavos gerit altera crines . . . pars* refugos gerens a fronte capillos (cf. line 150). Cf. also Sen. Ep. lxvi. § 22, *ex servorum habitu dominum aestimare.*

tonsi. Not like the 'curled favourites,' or *criniti*, mentioned by Sen. Ep. cxix. § 14 *si pertinere ad te iudicas quam crinitus puer, et quam perlucidum tibi poculum porrigat, non sitis.* Cf. Sen. Ep. xcv. § 24 *Transeo agmina exoletorum, per nationes coloresque descripta ut eadem omnibus laevitas sit : . . . ne quis, cui rectior est coma, crispulis misceatur.* The dress of slaves did not differ from that of humble freemen.

150. Cf. Ovid, Met. iv. 311 *Saepe Cytoriaco deducit pectine crines*, of artificial adornment: on the other hand cf. Tacitus, Dial. de Or. 20 *antiquitas tristis et impexa.*

151. Columella speaks of the superiority of a country slave over one bred in the town, *eligendus est rusticis operibus ab infante duratus*; cf. too Mart. iii. 44, 58, x. 98 10. 'I am disgusted with your dainty slaves': *praesta de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes, pusillos Hircosi mihi filios subulci.*

152. suspirat, used transitively, is post-classical. It is constructed after the analogy of such words as *inhio, ardeo*, &c.

153. Cf. ix. 60, 61 *rusticus infans Cum matre et casulis et collusore catello.*

154. Cf. Cic. Phil. 10, 9 § 18 *ad servitutem propulsandam ingenuo dolore excitari.* Cf. Martial iii. 33 *Ingenuam malo: sed si tamen illa negetur, Libertina mihi proxima condicio est: Extremo est ancilla loco, sed vicit utramque Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua.* Our word 'frank' points to the same straightforwardness and absence of servility.

Macleane rightly remarks that there is a play upon *ingenuus* here; the boy has a frank modesty such as the boys of an *ingenuus* should have.

155. quos ardens purpura, i.e. the *praetextati*, or sons of free citizens. Boys, until they attained to manhood, and girls, until they were married, wore a *toga praetexta*, i.e. a cloak with a narrow scarlet border: it, like the wearing of the *bulla* (Sat. v. 164), was of Etruscan origin: both were at first confined to the offspring of patricians, but before the close of the Republic were assumed by all *ingenui*. Cf. Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 44 § 113 *Eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam? detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam* ingenuitatis? Cf. Persius v. 30 *Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit.*

159. diffusa, 'racked off' from the *dolium* into the *amphora* or jar, which was then sealed up and labelled with the date of the year. *Defundere* is to pour out from the crater or mixing-bowl into the cups. The wines are the wines of the country, not expensive wines from South Italy or Greece.

162–182. 'Now contrast the simplicity of a meal like this with the prodigality of the *symposia* in town.'

171. capit, 'our lowly home admits not vanities like these': cf. Pliny, H. N. xix. 54 *Caule in tantum saginato ut pauperis mensa non capiat.*

172. testarum, 'castanets.' Vergil's *copa Syrisca* produces the same effect *ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos* (l. 4.). They were also called *crotala*, *κρέμβαλα*. They were used then as now by Spanish and Oriental dancing-girls: cf. Mart. vi. 71. 1 *Edere lascivos ad Bactica crusmata gestus Et Gaditanis ludere docta modis*, and Aristoph. Ranae 1305. Cf. Pliny's letter on the subject of his invitation to a simple dinner, i. 15 § 2 *audisses comoedum vel lectorem vel lyristen . . . at tu apud nescio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos*, Gaditana *maluisti.* The dancers in the pantomimes wore on their feet the *scabillum*, Cic. Cael. 27 § 65, which consisted of two thin wooden laths which struck together and marked the time: cf. Friedländer i. p. 453.

175. 'Who messes his fine Spartan pavement by spitting out his wine.' The fashion was set in Augustus' time of inlaying the walls of houses with variegated marble. Seneca speaks of the walls as glittering with variously-coloured stones. Animals were thus represented; and two specimens of walls thus inlaid have been found on the Palatine. The green Laconian so-called Serpentine was especially used to serve as a margin for the white and violet-streaked Synnadic (Pavonazzetto). Only gourmets could afford the wine and the pavement. For the *pavimentum sectile* here described see Becker's Gallus, Excursus i. Scene ii.

The *lapis* **Lacedaemonius** is named from its quarries in Mt. Taygetus, near the city of Sparta: Pausan. Lacon. lib. iii. and viii; Plin. H. N. xxxvi. § 11. It is really a rich green porphyry. It was used for pavements and wall linings. It occurs in the pavement of the *triclinium* of the Flavian palace: see Middleton, p. 18: cf. App. Met. v. 89 *pavimenta lapide pretioso caesim diminuto in varia picturae genera discriminantur.*

Pytisare is to take the wine into the mouth to get its flavour and then to eject it, *πυτίζειν*: cf. Terence, Heaut. Tim. iii. 1. 48 *Nam ut alia omittam* pytisando *modo mihi Quid vini absumpsit, sic hoc dicens, asperum, Pater, hoc est, aliud lenius sodes vide.*

orbem, 'the floor,' as explained by the Scholiast.

176. ibi, 'in the rich man's house.'

alea turpis. *Turpis* is a predicate. On the passion of the Romans for gambling see Friedl. i. 4. p. 423. He quotes Galen xvi. 310, who says that many Romans would suffer hunger and thirst and incur illness in the pursuit of their favourite gambling. The *aleatores* had a regular committee, which made rules by which the players must abide: see Ambrosius de Tobia, c. xi. 38. Cf. *ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit Claudius*, Suet. Claud. v; Sen. Cons. ad Polyb. xvii. § 4. Caligula consoled himself by gambling for the death of his sister Drusilla.

178. **hilares,** 'are called gay and sprightly.'

180. **cantabitur,** instead of the *cantus* of the singing girls. Cf. *cenanti mihi sic cum uxore vel paucis liber legitur*, Plin. Ep. ix. 36.

So Ben Jonson, Epigram No. CI, on inviting a friend to supper:

> 'Howsoever, my man
> Shall read a piece of Virgil, Tacitus,
> Livy, or of some better book, to us,
> Of which we'll speak our minds amidst our meat.'

It was customary at meal times to listen to recitations. Cf. Pliny, Ep. i. 15; ix. 17. 40. Martial v. 78. 24 sqq. makes a promise that there shall be no reading at his simple meal, and no dancing girls: *Sed finges nihil, audiesve fictum, Et vultu placidus tuo recumbes.* Vergil and Homer seem to have been the two authors most commonly recited. A certain Ti. Claudius Tiberinus, a freedman under the empire, boasts in an inscription composed by himself for his own tomb, that any feasts at which he had taken part had been enlivened by his company, and further that he had special skill in reciting the works of the poets, and especially of the Epic writers, C. I. L. vi. 2. 10,097. It seems too that scenes from Homer were regularly performed by the so-called 'Homerists,' and this probably at meal time: cf. Athen. xiv. 620 B *τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὁμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς.* Cf. too Petron. § 59 *Cum Homeristae Graecis versibus colloquerentur, ut insolenter solent*: Fried. i. 4. p. 423; cf. too Juv. Satire v. 157, and especially vi. 434-7, where a learned lady is objected to, who cites Homer and Vergil at meal time, and compares the two poets; cf. too Persius, i. 30: and Corn. Nep., Atticus, xiv. *Nemo in convivio eius aliud acroama audivit, quam anagnosten: quod nos quidem iucundissimum arbitramur. Neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est; ut non minus animo, quam ventre, convivae delectarentur.*

181. A genuine piece of Roman criticism. Vergil entered the lists with Homer and nearly beat him on his own ground, by making the fame of the Trojugenae rival that of the Greeks.

The comparison between Greeks and Romans was common: cf. Propert. ii. 34. 65, 66 *Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii, Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*: and Quintil. Or. x. 1. 86, who quotes with approval a saying of Domitius Afer, *Secundus (Homero) est Vergilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio.* Cf. too Juv. vi 436 7; A. Gell. iii. 11; ix. 9; xvii. 10.

182. 'It needs no airs and graces to make these verses welcome, for they have an intrinsic merit of their own.'

It is curious that Juvenal should express himself as comparatively indifferent to the way in which verses should be read at a time when recitation was so universal. He feels probably a reaction of disgust at the universal prevalence of these recitations.

183–192. 'Take, then, for once, a holiday; away with thoughts of

money for the nonce! away with thoughts of the petty worries of life! dismiss from your mind even the ingratitude of friends!'

184. 'You will be allowed to rest all day, and not merely *partem solido demere de die*,' Hor. Carm. i. 1. 21.

191. **quidquid frangitur illis.** As a rule, after passive verbs the agent is put in the ablative with *ab* (as *laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*, Hor. Sat. i. 2. 11); and the presence of *ab* to some extent personifies things or qualities, as *ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro*, Sat. x. 270. But the agent is sometimes put in the *dative* instead of the ablative with *ab*, as *qui tibi ad caedem constituti fuerunt*, Cic. Catil. i. 7. In many cases it is hard to affirm whether the case employed is really the dative or the ablative, as *carmina Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus*, Hor. Ep. i. 19. 3. In the present case it is possible that the slave may be regarded as a chattel or thing, and that the thought may have affected the syntax, as it certainly has conversely in the case of *ab ingrato aratro*, cited above. For the sentiment cf. *Et signo laeso non insanire lagonae*, Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 134.

193–202. 'Meantime, while you are enjoying real rest, free from care, all Rome is wild with excitement at the Circus games: this is no sight for modest youths. Meantime take holiday while you can; a holiday at times sweetens life.'

193. The **Megalesian** games in honour of the Magna Mater, or Mater Idaea, Cybele, were held in April, and lasted several days in succession: cf. Liv. xxix. 14. She was brought to Rome B. C. 204. The games consisted of *ludi scenici* and *Circenses*, and concluded with chariot racing. The signal for starting was given by the praetor, who under the empire presided. Under the republic the *Megalesia*, together with certain other of the more important games, such as the *ludi Romani*, were under the charge of the curule aediles. For the *Megalesia* cf. Amm. Mar. xxiii. 3 § 7 *Diem sextum Kalendas Apriles, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur, sacrorum sollemnitate prisco more completa*: cf. Ovid, Fast. iv. 357 sqq., Mart. iii. 47. 2, Prudentius, in Martyr. S. Romani. Arnobius ridicules the ceremony of washing the goddess in the Almo, vii. 32.

spectacula is commonly taken to mean *spectatores*, as *servitium* stands for *servus*; but it seems simpler to take **colunt** as 'they (the people) are keeping the fine show of the Megalesian towel.' **mappa,** properly a table-napkin, is stated by Quint. i. 57 to be a Punic word and to be a regular term of the circus: Suet. Nero, 22 *aliquo liberto mittente mappam, unde magistratus solent*. Mart. xii. 29. 9, 10, *Cretatam praetor cum vellet mittere mappam, Praetori mappam surpuit Hermogenes*. A picture of the praetor dropping the *mappa* is given in Guhl and Koner, p. 679.

194. **Triumpho,** a short expression for *triumphanti*. For a similar use cf. *uno equo per urbem verum* triumphum *vehi*, Livy xxviii. 9 § 15, i. e. *vere triumphantem*, just as we use 'the court' for 'the judge.'

195. praeda caballorum. Instead of his displaying captured horses, the horses have a hold on him, i. e. he has ruined himself by the expense of providing for them. The words may however merely mean 'compassed round by horses,' as a captive king led in triumph was surrounded by his conquerors.

In Tac. Ann. i. 15 we find that the tribunes of the plebs who undertook the charge of the Augustales Ludi were aided out of the public treasury. For the enormous prices paid to the charioteers see Friedländer, ii. 3. pp. 306–328 sqq. Vopiscus, quoted by Friedl., says that in the consulship of Furius Placidus (343 A. D.) there were given to the charioteers, not indeed rewards, but possessions: cf. Sat. vii. 114, Mart. xi. 1. 16, and v. 25. 9

Quam non sensuro dare quadringenta caballo,
Aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet?

referring to the numerous bronze statues erected in honour of the jockeys.

praeda . . . praetor, an instance of alliteration known to rhetoricians as *annominatio*. Auct. ad Herenn. iv. 21 § 29 gives as examples *ut venit a te antequam Romam venit; utrum homini navo an vano credere malitis*: cf. Quintil. ix. 3. 66.

pace: cf. Catull. lxvi. 71, Ov. Amor. iii. 2. 60 *pace loquar Veneris.*

196. Ribbeck assumes that a verse containing the *dictum* has here fallen out: it seems more likely that 197 *is* the *dictum*: 'if the overgrown plebs—who are of course everything—will allow me to say so, all Rome is in the circus.' It is as much as if we were to say—'If the few millions whom I pass over will allow me to say so, all London was present at the festival.'

immensae. Friedländer (i. p. 58) computes the population of Rome at the beginning of the empire at a million; it grew to double the size. The modern literature bearing upon the subject is there cited. The whole note should be carefully read.

Even in Cicero's time all Italy flocked to Rome to see the games: Verr. i. 18 § 54 *frequentia totius Italiae comitiorum, ludorum, consendive causa.* After Rome became the capital of the world strangers poured in from every country then known: cf. Dio, lxxviii. § 26 *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· . . . ὑφ' ἧς ἀεί ποτε τὸ θέατρον ἐπληροῦτο.* At the triumphal games given by Julius Caesar (Sueton. Caesar, § 39) the crowd of strangers was so immense that they had to live in tents: see Fried. vol. iii. p. 149. The Circus Maximus was restored and enlarged by Claudius; Tac. Ann. vi. 45, Suet. Claud. 21. After this restoration the Circus held 250,000 spectators: Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24. In the fourth century it had been increased so as to contain 385,000 people: see Middleton, p. 286.

197. fragor. For the din in the Circus and the excitement of the spectators, shown by cries, gesticulations, &c. see Fried. ii. p. 357; Sen. Ep. lxxxiii. 7; Rutil. Namat. It. 201 sq.

198. 'From which I gather that the green rag has won the day.' The

green 'faction'; four chariots ran, each being distinguished by its own colour. For the passion displayed at these contests Gibbon should be consulted, chap. xl. The 'green' was also called *prasinus*.

The spectators in Rome under the empire did not concentrate their interest on the combatants on account of their country, as in Greece, nor on the horses or their riders or drivers from personal interest, as in England; but the whole interest was bound up in the success of the *Factiones*, or parties in the Circus. As there was no room for political interest or political ambition under the empire, this was the one object of interest which could safely engross the attention of the whole population of Rome, from emperor to slave. Different emperors espoused different factions: Vitellius and Caracalla, the Blue; Caligula, Nero, Domitian, L. Verus, Commodus, Elagabalus, the Green—which was also the faction patronised by Martial, vi. 46 and xi. 33. The student should read carefully Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 328 sqq., on the whole question of the *Factiones*; he cites all the literature, including the inscriptions, bearing upon the subject.

viridis. Caligula actually dined in the green stable: Suet. Cal. 55.

panni. Plin. Ep. ix. 6: 'If the spectators were attracted by the speed of the horses or by the skill of the men, there would be some reason in their interest: *nunc favent panno, pannum amant.*'

199. **si deficeret,** sc. *viridis* or *prasinus*. The Scholiast explains 'deficeret,' *si vinceretur prasinus*. This meaning is unusual, and seems to be derived from such expressions as *deficere viribus*, &c. For the fact cf. Cassiod. Ep. iii. 51 *Transit prasinus: pars populi maeret: precedit venetus, et potior pars civitatis affligitur*; cf. Sen. ad Pol. xxxiv. § 5 *totum exercitum non solum maestum sed etiam attonitum.*

200. A great wind rose at Cannae and blew the dust in the faces of the Romans: cf. Livy xxii. 43 ad fin. *Prope cum vicum* (*Cannas*) *Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento* (S. E.), *qui campis torridis siccitate nubes* pulveris *vehit.* The panic at Rome after Cannae was proverbial: cf. *timor qui Hannibale post Cannas moenia circumsidente lectoris percutit animum*, Sen. de Ira, ii. 2 § 25; and again v. § 3.

201. 216 B. C., L. Aemilius Paullus, who fell at Cannae, and C. Terentius Varro, who survived and was publicly thanked by the senate for not having despaired of the State.

202. **sponsio** and **adsedisse**, being placed co-ordinately, show how intimately the infinitive is connected with a substantive: cf. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 25–28. *Sponsio* is properly a law term, Cic. pro Quinct. 8 § 30. The litigant parties deposited a sum, and he who was cast (*cadebat*) in the suit lost the money to the winner; it was then used generally of a bet, as in Mart. xi. 1. 15, 16 *cum* sponsio *fabulaeque lassae De Scorpo fuerint et Incitato.* The term for 'to propose a bet to' is *sponsionem provocare*: cf. Petron. lxx. ad fin., Ovid, Art. Am. i. 168, and Tertull. de Spectac. § 16.

203. The Italians have a proverb, 'when the sun does not come in the doctor does.' **contracta cuticula,** as already shrunk with years. 'Let my shrunk skin absorb the vernal sun': cf. Mart. x. 12. 7 *I precor et totos avida cute combibe soles.* It was thought healthy for all, especially for the old, to bask in the morning sun, after rubbing the body with oil: cf. Cic. ad Att. vii. 11. 1 *Unam mehercule tecum apricationem in illo Lucretino tuo sole malim quam omnia istiusmodi regna*; cf. too de Senect. xvi. 57 *Ubi potest illa aetas* (*senectus*) *calescere apricatione melius? Cutīcula,* with long *i*, as in *canīcula.*

204. 'Here you may go to the bath as early as 11 o'clock, instead of at 2 p. m.': cf. Martial xi. 52. 3.

effugiatque togam. For the *toga* was regarded as a necessary garb for the games; cf. Lampridius, Vita Commodi § 16 *Iussit spectatores non togatos ad munus convenire contra consuetudinem.* It was troublesome, heavy, hot, and in some cases expensive; constantly complained of as one of the plagues of life at Rome, especially as affecting the *clientes.* For the expense cf. Mart. ix. 101. 1, 2 *Denariis tribus invitas, et mane* togatum *Observare iubes atria, Basse, tua.* It was the robe of ceremony of every kind, and though under the empire its use came to be more and more restricted to the *clientes*, the *toga* was still spoken of as the ordinary dress of a Roman citizen; so Mart. advises Crispinus to try and look like one of his fellow-citizens, *qua possis melius fallere, sumc* togam, viii. 48; so Seneca, Ep. cxiv. 12, 'Any two crowds in Rome of rich and poor respectively have an equal amount of human nature: togis *enim inter se isti, non iudiciis, distant.*'

balnea: cf. Lanciani, p. 91, and Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire, pp. 648 sqq., especially 663. As a general rule the public baths were opened about the eighth or ninth hour, and closed at sunset. Plin. Ep. iii. 1. 8 *Hieme nona, aestate octava*; Vitruv. v. 11 *tempus lavandi a meridiano ad vesperum.* In private houses the hours for bathing varied; thus there were some who bathed as early as the fifth hour (from 9 to 10 a. m.) before the *prandium*: Epictet. Diss. i. 20, Galen, vi. p. 332 Kuhn. Others again stayed in the bath till after the tenth hour: Mart. x. 48. 1, x. 70. 13, Marq. v. 1. p. 278.

205. **fronte,** 'shame,' as *nasus*, for sense of smell, Mart. i. 42. 68: cf. Persius, v. 104.

208. ''Tis sparing use which makes pleasure sweet.' Cf. Goethe, Wilhelm Meister i. 4 *Er behauptete, nur ein seltenes Vergnügen könne bei den Menschen einen Werth haben.*

commendat, 'sets off,' 'is the foil to': cf. Mart. iv. 29. 3 *Rara iuvant.* 5 commendat *fastus amicam*; *Nulla est voluptas quae non adsiduitate sui fastidium pariat* Plin. H. N. xii. 17 (40); Macrob. Sat. vii. 7; Cic. de Orat. iii. 25 § 98.

SATIRE XII.

TO CORVINUS, ON CATULLUS' ESCAPE FROM SHIPWRECK.

THE only passage in this Satire from which its date can be conjectured is the allusion, in ll. 75–82, to the security of the port of Ostia, which probably refers to the improvement of that harbour by Trajan. The precise date of the enlargement of Ostia is unknown, but Pliny describes Trajan as *parens aedificandi*, in the Panegyric 51, which refers to the early part of the reign. The parenthesis about the elephant, ll. 101–110, is in Juvenal's worst style. The last eight lines seem dragged in forcibly, and have no merit of their own to plead as an excuse. On the other hand, the passages describing how Corvinus will be welcomed, ll. 1–9 and 83–92, but especially the latter, are very charming.

The *viola*, l. 90, is generally translated as 'violet,' or 'wall-flower.' Mr. Lewis adds the pansy and the harebell, Mr. Mayor the stock. It seems to have been applied to a great many flowers, into the colouring of which *viola* enters, and not to have been confined to spring flowers. The 'iris' would best meet the requirement of many colours. See, however, Hehn, p. 210.

Ben Jonson, in his 'Volpone, or the Fox,' has many reminiscences of Juvenal. The comedy is an exceedingly well constructed play upon the artifices of *captatores*, and the malicious glee of the old millionaire who gulls and baffles them. The Argument is appended :—

> 'Volpone, childless, rich, feigns sick, despairs,
> Offers his state to hopes of several heirs;
> Lies languishing; his parasite receives
> Presents of all, assures, deludes; then weaves
> Other cross plots, which ope themselves, are told.
> New tricks for safety are sought; they thrive: when bold,
> Each tempts the other again, and all are sold.'

ARGUMENT.

Juvenal's friend Catullus having been saved from imminent danger when menaced by a shipwreck, the poet writes to inform Corvinus that he intends to celebrate a sacrifice in honour of his friend's return. Not that he has anything to gain by doing so, he adds: his friend has three children, and consequently there is no good in courting him, save for his own friendship.

I am celebrating this day, Corvinus, with greater honour to Ceres, Minerva, and Jupiter than if it were my birthday, with the sacrifice of two white lambs and a young steer, for Catullus has escaped with life beyond expectation; ll. 1–16. The storm was such as poets love to de-

scribe; the ship struck by lightning, as well as in danger of foundering under a black sky. Hear and pity, though such incidents are told everywhere in certain tablets in the temples of Isis; ll. 17–29. The storm was so violent that the master of the ship began to throw his cargo overboard, and Catullus sacrificed his purple robes and silver plate, goblets and dishes; ll. 30–47. Conceive a man having the courage to prefer his life to his property! ll. 48 51. Last of all the mast had to be cut away. Go to sea now, if you will, when hatchets may be as necessary as provisions; ll. 52–61. Then, when the storm ceased, they had to rig up a jury-mast and use clothes for sails, as only the foresail was left; ll. 62–69. As the sun came out they discovered the heights of Alba, and presently passed between the moles of Ostia into the safe anchorage, where sailors who have escaped the storm can talk over the perils of the sea; ll. 69–82.

Go now, boys, and build up the altars of green turf. I will go home, where the thin effigies of my ancestors are garlanded, to burn frankincense and scatter all the colours of the iris. The very door is wreathed with boughs and gay with lamps; ll. 83–92.

Nor are these airs of friendship mercenary. Catullus has three children. How many persons would waste a sick hen on so barren a friend! ll. 93–97. Even a father does not merit a quail. But let childless Gallitta or Pacius have a touch of fever, and the temples are covered with votive tablets, and men will be found to promise a hecatomb of oxen in default of elephants, ll. 97–110; though were the elephant found in Italy he would be sacrificed; ll. 111–114. Why, such an one would offer up a slave or even a daughter, and not unwisely, for if the sick man recover, he will alter his will to the benefit of so devoted a friend. An estate is more than an equivalent for an Iphigenia; ll. 115–127.

Long may Pacuvius live, estated and rich, unloving and unloved; ll. 128–130.

1. **natali die.** The birthday was kept as a festival among the Romans. On this day sacrifices were made to the Genius or guardian spirit, the source of man's bliss and goodness; cf. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 94 with Wilkins' note, and Ep. ii. 2. 187. Friends and relations were also invited to the *nataliciae dapes*: cf. Horace of Maecenas' birthday *Iure solemnis mihi sanctiorque paene natali proprio*, Carm. iv. 11. 17, 18, Varro Censorin. ii, Ovid, Trist. iii. 13. 13, and iv. 10. 11, and Tib. ii. 2. 8 *Atque satur libo sit* (*Genius*) *madeatque mero.*

2. **cespes.** The altar was of turf, as in Hor. Carm. iii. 8. 4 *positusque carbo in cespite vivo*: cf. also ibid. 6, 7 Voveram (*promissa*) *dulces epulas et* album *Libero caprum*; cf. especially Ov. Met. iv. 752 sqq.

3. **niveam,** cf. Aen. iv. 61. White victims were offered to the gods of Heaven: cf. Livy xxvii. 37, B. C. 207 the temple of Juno Regina was struck by lightning, and two white cows were led out (*ductae*) to sacrifice. Each god had his special victim: thus the bull was sacrificed to Jupiter, the goat to Bacchus, the sow to Ceres, the ass to Priapus,

and it was important to make no mistake in this respect; see Cic. de Legg. ii. c. 12. *Ducere* (cf. Sat. x. 65) is the technical term for leading to sacrifice.

reginae. Juno, queen of the gods (Verg. Aen. i. 46) was expressly called Regina in the Etruscan form of her cult. Camillus built a temple to her on the Aventine and M. Aemilius B. C. 176; cf. Livy v. 22.

4. **vellus.** The use of *vellus* is simply an attempt to substitute a conceit for the tame expression *par animal* or *hostia*. There may be a slight tone of contempt in the expression as well. **pugnanti Gorgone Maura** seems to be a satirical way of speaking of Minerva, who carried on the aegis she bore the head of the Gorgon Medusa, which turned its beholders into stone. The three Phorcides or Graiae were the daughters of Phorcus; but Medusa was *κατ' ἐξοχήν* called the Gorgo; Maura because killed in Mauretania by Perseus; Ovid, Met. iv. 771 *gelido sub Atlante iacentem*. The whole story is told in Ov. loc. citat. *Gorgo* is used absolutely for the shield, on which the Gorgon's head is depicted. Pallas is represented as employing Jove's lightning in Verg. Aen. i. 42. For Domitian's special worship of Minerva see Suet. Dom. 15.

5. The animal goes willingly, for the rope is trailing at length, and he needs not to be dragged, which would have been a bad omen. Pliny, H. N. viii. 70 § 7. Cf. Macrob. Sat. iii. 5 *observatum est a sacrificantibus, ut si hostia quae ad aras duceretur fuisset vehementius reluctata, ostendissetque se invitam altaribus amoveri, amoveretur, quia invito deo offerri eam putabant*. Julianus, who, on account of his passion for sacrificing, was called victimarius, *complures hostias Marti parabat ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti voluntate sua novem procubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit*, Amm. xxiv. 6 § 17. Cf. also Hor. Carm. iii. 23. 3. sqq.

petulans, from *peto* (cf. *hoedi petulci*, Verg. Georg. iv. 10), is the regular word for 'butting'; *κορύπτειν* Theoc. iii. 5. Cf. Verg. Ec. iii. 87 *Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat arenam*, and *hostia petulans* Petron. Sat. 92.

6. Cf. Ov. Met. iv. 754, 5 *Ara Iovis media est: . . . taurus tibi summe deorum!* The Capitoline temple contained a cella divided into three chambers sacred to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; cf. Middleton, p. 227. The *Capitolium* was in early times known as the *Mons Tarpeius*, so called from the legend of the treachery of Tarpeia, told by Propertius, iv. 4.

7. **quippe,** like *quare* and *cur* in occasional uses, has developed from a mere interrogative into a causal conjunction; but its meaning is not so decided as that of *enim*.

8. **spargendus mero,** 'ready for his baptism of wine,' which was poured on the head of the victim before it was killed. Cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 61, Ov. Met. vii. 594, and Georg. iii. 486. Juvenal seems to have in mind Horace, Carm. iv. 2. 54 *relicta matre*, &c.

9. 'Who gores the oaks with his budding horn.' Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 232 *irasci in cornua discit.*

10. **similis** = *par*. The word **adfectus** in the plural is stronger than the same word in the singular, which is itself a strong word for 'love.' It denotes 'an imperious bent of the soul, sometimes as strong as *amor*, but not generally as lasting and acknowledged,' but the word, in this sense, seems confined to silver Latinity: cf. Sen. ad Marc. § 23 *Liberiora omnia sunt iis quorum* adfectus *tegi possunt.* See Abel, 'The conception of Love in some ancient and modern Languages,' p. 62.

11. **Hispulla,** some stout lady. The word is formed from the secondary suffix *-lo-*, which was almost entirely confined in Latin to a diminutive function, e. g. *par-vo-lus*, from *parvos*, *homullus* = *hom-on-los*, *agellus* = *ager-lo-s*, whence the diminutive suffixes *-ula*, *-ulla*, *-ella*, which became exceedingly common. Thus *Hispulla* is formed from *Hispo*. Cf. Henry, Comp. Gr. § 157. For the name cf. vi. 74. Juvenal cannot refrain from a jest at the popular religion, though he has no desire to see that religion abolished; in fact, he is always ready to carry out the formalities prescribed by the old religion under which Rome grew to greatness; his invective is reserved for the new innovations from the East.

13. The **Clitumnus** in Umbria was supposed to have the power of turning the cattle which browsed on its banks white, and white cattle were most prized for sacrifice. Cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 146 and Propertius, ii. 19. 25 *Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco Integit et niveos abluit unda boves,* and Pliny, H. N. ii. 103, who describes the water in the ager Faliscus as having the same property. Cf. also Claudian, VI. Cons. Hon. 506 *Quin et Clitumni sacras victoribus undas Candida quae Latiis praebent armenta triumphis Visere cura fuit.*

sanguis. Surely *sanguis* does not here mean 'the high-bred one,' as is commonly assumed. *Taurus* seems to be the nominative to *traheretur* and *iret*; and *sanguis* and *cervix* simply repeat the idea of *taurus*, specialising, however, the features in the bull which would naturally present themselves to the *popa* or priest's servant. Thus we might translate, 'there should be a bull to drag along, whose very fatness made him slow; a bull reared in no neighbouring fields, but he should go, his blood giving proof of Clitumnus' rich pastures—he should go blood and all, his neck challenging the blow of a tall sacrificer.' The *popa* must be tall to bring down such a victim. *Sanguis* is to be joined with *ostendens*; the word might be paralleled by the dealer's expression 'a bit of blood.'

14. The use of *ab* and the ablative is uncommon after the gerundive, which requires the dative of the agent. The use of prepositions was, however, commoner in the language of the people than in classical Latin; and this use became common in late Latin.

16. 'Wondering even yet that he was saved,' like Don Juan, who, after his shipwreck,

'gazed as one who is awoke
By a distant organ, doubting if he be
Not yet a dreamer.'

19. nube una. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 88. Juvenal seems to have the passage in mind, as he parodies *nimborum in patriam* (ib. 51) in Sat. x. 50, *vervecum in patria.*

22. **velis ardentibus,** a condensed expression, characteristic of Juvenal, for 'a shipwreck in a ship with burning sails.' Any shipwreck, they said, was dreadful, but to be shipwrecked by the sails catching fire was shipwreck of the worst kind.

23. A sneer at the poets. 'Everything occurs as regularly and as dreadfully as the poets could describe.' Cf. Luk. Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν (chap. 45); Δεήσει γὰρ τότε ποιητικοῦ τινος ἀνέμου ἐπουριάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια καὶ συνδιοίσοντος ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἐπ' ἄκραν τῶν κυμάτων τὴν ναῦν. Cf. Vell. Pat. i. 3 *Quod cum alii faciant, tum tragici frequentissime faciunt,* &c.

24. 'But there is one phase of danger which he incurred, not generally mentioned by the poets, i. e. he sacrificed his goods and chattels to save his life; most men sacrifice their life to their fortune.'

25. **quamquam** arises from the addition of the indefinite *quam* to the interrogative use of the word 'in what way?' so that the word strictly speaking means 'in what way soever.' It thus answers to the so-called general relatives, and, like these, is commonly used with the indicative; though, like these, it was very commonly used with the subjunctive in later writers, and always in Juvenal; in fact, the subjunctive after *quamquam* is a characteristic of the Latinity of the Silver age and is common in Pliny and Tacitus.

28. In the Imperial epoch, Isis, the queen and sister of Osiris, was very much worshipped at Rome, and, like other Oriental importations, is sneered at by Juvenal. On the cult of Oriental deities at Rome see Boissier, vol. i. p. 350, Friedländer, vol. iii. p. 533. It was the policy of Augustus and Tiberius to discourage this cult; but after the death of the latter it was allowed an equal liberty with the national religion. Vows were made to Isis, as by Delia for Tibullus i. 3. 23, sqq. *Quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia? . . . Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse mederi Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.* A bust of Isis dating from Roman times was found built into the St. Ursula's church, at Cologne. Even in the Tyrol festivals of Serapis and Isis were observed. Cf. for the Christian view, Arnob. ii. 73 *vos Aegyptiaca numina, quibus Serapis atque Isis est nomen, non post Pisonem et Gabinium consules in numerum vestrorum retulistis deorum?* Tertullian Apol. vi. *Serapidem et Isidem Piso Gabinius consules* (B. C. 58) *eversis etiam aris eorum abdicaverunt. His vos restitutis summam maiestatem contulistis.* Octavianus, Antonius and Lepidus erected a temple to them, Dio xlvii. § 15. See too Botticher's Sabina, p. 199 sqq. As Isis was especially invoked by travellers by sea (Luk. Dialog. Deorum § 3), painters are said to get their living from the commissions which she procures for them to paint

pictures of shipwrecks. Men who had escaped from shipwreck hung up in the temples of their favourite divinity pictures representing the danger which they had escaped. Cf. Hor. Carm. i. 5. 13 and Sat. ii. 1. 33. For the worship of Isis at Rome see Sat. vi. 489; ix. 22; xiii. 93.

30. alveus, 'the hold,' as in Livy xxiii. 34.

31. alternum. The waves threatened to break now one side, now the other; they made the poop where the steersman stood roll now to this side, now to that.

32. arboris. Lachmann's emendation *arbori* presents an obvious difficulty in the hiatus, which is unexampled in Juvenal. Another reading puts a comma at *undis, arboris interitu nullam prudentia cani Rectoris cum ferret opem.* So Weidner. Heinrich reads *marmoris incerti*; cf. Ribbeck 60 sq. *Arboris* is the reading of P.

33. decidere, 'to compromise,' a law term; cf. Mart. ix. 4. 6 *Conturbabit Atlas* (Sat. vii. 129 *et non erit uncia tota* Decidat *tecum qua pater ipse deum.* Cf. too Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. c. 48 § 114 *in iugera singula ternis medimnis* decidere. **iactu,** sc. *iactura,* 'by throwing cargo overboard.'

37. fundite: cf. Acts xxvii. 38.

38. vestem: collective for *vestes*: cf. Apul. Met. xi. 28.

39. In i. 66 he speaks of Maecenas as 'the model lounger.' In Martial x. 73. 3, 4 Maecenas is classed with Apicius as a dandy. Seneca often refers to his fastidiousness, and for his wantonness cf. de Provid. iii. § 9, Ep. xcii. § 35, cxiv. § 4; cf. also Ep. ci. § 10 for his *turpissimum votum.*

41. quarum goes closely with **pecus**; the garments are said to own the animals that produced the wool. 'Other garments whose producers the virtue of the generous herbage dyed bright, though the rare and mysterious efficacy of the water and the climate of the Baetis aided as well.' The Baetis was supposed to have the virtue of giving a tinge of purple to the wool which was grown on its banks; cf. Mart. viii. 28, &c. The pastures are on the banks of the Baetis, Guadalquivir, corrupted from the Arabic, Wadi al Kebir. Cf. Verg. Ec. iv. 42 sqq.; Plin. H.N. viii. 48 *quas* nativas *oves appellant, aliquot modis Hispania, item Baetica*; Mart. viii. 28. 5, 6, ix. 62. 1–4 *Vellera* nativo *pallent ubi flava metallo.* Beckman, Hist. of Inventions, Art. Madder (Bohn), supposes that the *sandyx* referred to in Verg. Ec. iv. 45 was madder. The wool became red by the sheep eating the madder which grew in the fields; the wool could thus be immediately manufactured without dyeing it artificially. Similarly, under *luteum,* he comes to the conclusion that the poetical account according to which the pasture dyed the wool is not without foundation. Cf. on Clitumnus, l. 13.

43. The **lances** were the **argentum**; they were silvered over. For the large sums spent on silver plate see Pliny H. N. xxxiii. 52 sqq. (the *locus classicus*); cf. Petronius 52 *In argento plane studiosus sum: habeo scyphos urnales plus minus C,* &c.

44. **Parthenio.** Unknown. Notice the dative of the agent.

urnae. The *urna* was half an *amphora* or *quadrantal*, which contained rather more than 5 gallons and 2 quarts.

45. **Pholus** was a centaur who was represented in different passages as wielding a crater against the Lapithae. Cf. Val. Flacc. i. 337, Verg. Georg. ii. 456, Stat. Theb. ii. 563. A passage of Stesichorus, preserved in Athenaeus xi. 499 A (Fragment vii. Bergk), represents Pholus as draining a huge goblet and handing it to Hercules.

coniuge Fusci, possibly Saufeia, mentioned Sat. ix. 117.

46. **bascaudas,** a Gaulish word, noted by Martial xiv. 99 *Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis. Bascauda* (which is glossed by Pape *concha aerea, genus vasorum*) is formed from a stem *basc-*, by a suffix frequent in Gaulish words (cf. *avis gallico vocabulo alauda* Pliny); *basc* may be cognate with the Welsh *basg*, 'plaiting.' It is certainly not identical with Welsh *basged* = English 'basket,' the ending being different (K. M.). It may refer to some brass vessels decorated with plaits of twisted metal, possibly to flasks covered with plaited work round them, like those which we see in Italy at the present day.

multum caelati: cf. *plurimum animalium interemit,* Jul. Cap. Vit. M. Ant. Phil. § 8.

47. As in Verg. Georg. ii. 506 *ut* gemma *bibat*, and *fictilibus bibere* Sat. x. 25, 26.

callidus. Philip who, according to Horace. Carm. iii. 16. 13 *auro diffidit urbium Portas vir Macedo.* The story was that he bribed Euthycrates and Lasthenes, in B.C. 348, to let him in: indeed *Lasthenem emere* seems to have passed into a proverb: see Sen. Contr. v. 34, Cic. ad Att. i. xvi. § 12. Their names must have been well known, as Demosthenes de Corona was such a commonplace in the schools of the Rhetoricians. Cf. Seneca, Ep. xciv. § 62 *Alexander non contentus tot civitatum strage quas aut vicerat Philippus aut emerat*; cf. too Q. N. iii. Praef. 5. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 50, speaks of *Philippum regem dormire solitum poculo aureo pulvinis subdito.* **quo** stands for *ex quo*; Weidner needlessly assumes the meaning to be that he had been able to defray the expense of his revels by the value of his silver plate.

48. Satirical; 'Catullus threw away his silver and treasures to save his life: most people throw away their lives for treasure': *addiximus animum voluptati, cui indulgere initium omnium malorum est,* Sen. Ep. cx. § 10.

50, 51. These lines are regarded as spurious by Bentley and Markland. Bentley's objection is that **quidam** is out of place when Juvenal had already condemned *all* in lines 48, 49; that **facere patrimonia** is a *scabies locutionis*; and that **vitio caeci** is *alienum et pannosum.* But these sententious lines are quite in Juvenal's manner and would be very effective in recitations. Cf. Sat. xiii. 186–188. *Facere rem* is used in Horace for 'to make your fortune,' Hor. Ep. i. 1. 65.

52. **utilium:** there is probably a touch of satire in the employment

of the word *utilia*, to describe the luxuries thrown overboard: but the word *utensilium* occurs in Tac. Ann. iii. 52 § 3 in the sense of 'luxuries of diet,' *vetita utensilium pretia augeri in dies.*

sed nec damna levant. 'But not even do these jettisons give relief to the ship': nor was it likely they would, Juvenal means.

54. reccidit = *rececidit*, as *rettulit* for *retetulit*. 'It came to this, that he had to lower the mast by the axe, and so he gives his cramped self room. Sure 'tis the farthest that danger can go when the very succour we bring will make one's ocean prison narrower.' The nom. to *reccidit* is *rector*: lit. 'he came down to this.' The thought is the same as that in Sat. iii. 193, where the poet complains that the shoring which saves you from death cramps you.

57. i nunc, 'go to now'; cf. Sat. x. 166. Cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 634 *i, verbis virtutem illude superbis.* So Sen. ad Polyb. xx. eat nunc *aliquis et singulas comploret animas.*

ventis animam committe. The horrors of the sea are constantly dwelt upon by the ancients: cf. Hor. Carm. i. 3. 10 *qui fragilem truci Commisit pelago ratem*, Seneca, Med. 304 *animam levibus credidit auris*, Propert. iii. 7. 29.

58. digitis: the *digitus* was the sixteenth part of a foot.

59. Possibly Juvenal has in his mind a passage of Anacharsis, quoted by Diog. Laert. i. § 103 *μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν.* Cf. Dio Chrys. Orat. lxiv. 2. 331 R, who calls Fortune's ship *τριδάκτυλον ξύλον πεύκινον.* Cf. also Arat. Phaen. 300 *ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ ξύλον ἄϊδ' ἐρύκει*: so Sen. Med. 306 sqq. *Potuit tenui fidere ligno Inter vitae mortisque vias Nimium gracili limite ducto.* There is a very life-like description of a storm in the letters of Synesius (No. 4). He had a Jewish pilot who would not take the helm on the Sabbath unless the ship was in urgent danger.

taeda. The pinewood plank.

60. reticulis. *Reticulum* was a network bag used for carrying loaves when on a journey: so used Hor. Sat. i. 1. 47.

ventre lagonae, mock heroic: a reminiscence of iv. 107 *Montani venter.*

61. aspice, 'look out for.' For this use of *aspice* cf. Sat. viii. 96, note. 'Besides the ordinary stock of provisions, henceforth you should remember to take axes to be wielded during a storm.'

62-63. 'After the traveller's weather has become fortunate and his star has carried him through the squall and the main.'

62. Notice the rhetorical amplification of the circumstances of the calm. Such amplification is highly characteristic of Juvenal; cf. Sat. vii. 53, 56. 'After all the skill of man availed not: the welcome change was brought about by a combination of chance and of the will of the Gods.'

63. vector, properly 'a carrier,' and so used in classical and post-classical Latinity: but more ordinarily used of one who is carried,

probably from the use of such phrases as *equo vehi*. Cf. the use of 'scholar' (one who is taught) in English.

64. **Parcae,** see iii. 27, x. 252, and Catull. lxiii. 307. The white threads were a mark of good intent; cf. Catull. ibid. 319 *ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanae Vellera*, as *stamina pulla* or *atra* were of bad presage. Cf. Mart. vi. 58. 7, 8 *si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores Stamina.*

66. **lanificae** *staminis albi = carpentes lanam staminis albi*, and thus the phrase need not be explained as a Grecism.

68. **vestibus extentis.** Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 24 § 4 *naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus revertere*: cf. too id. Hist. v. 23. 1.

69. The use of **prora,** as the part of the ship to which attention is prominently called, is like *sanguis* and *cervix* above, lines 13 and 14.

velo prora suo. The prow with its own sail,—i. e. the *dolon*. This ship would seem to have had but one mast, with a small foresail capable of being set on the prow; *prora* is used in the sense of 'a ship' as nominative to *cucurrit*, and special stress is laid on it as 'the prow' in line 69.

70. So in the charming letter (No. 4) of Synesius, *φθάνει δὲ ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁρῶμεν τὸν ἥλιον ὡς οὐκ οἶδα εἴ ποτε ἥδιον.*

71. **sedes.** 'Mons Albanus,' which Iulus preferred to Lavinium, the home of his step-mother Lavinia, which he left to her when he founded Alba Longa. The **sublimis apex** is the Mons Albanus, Monte Cavo, on which he founded Alba Longa. Aeneas is warned by Helenus, Aen. iii. 389, that a white sow will give the sign where the town should be founded: *Cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam Triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati. Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.* Cf. Dio Cass. Frag. 3, § 4 (Melber) *χοίρου λευκῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου αὐτοῦ ἀποσκιρτησάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠνομασμένον Ἀλβανὸν ὄρος, καὶ τριάκοντα τεκούσας.* Cf. Varro. de Re Rust. ii. 4 § 18, who says that brazen effigies of the pigs were to be seen, and the body of the mother sow was shown preserved in brine. **atque** connects *gratus* and *sublimis*, and *sedes novercali Lavinio praelata* is a parenthetical qualification.

72. **sublimis** gives the reason of his choice.

73. **mirabile.** The reading of P is *miserabile*. We have, however, kept the common reading as attested by Verg. Aen. viii. 81, of which this line seems to be a reminiscence.

Phrygibus. Cf. Verg. Aen. xii. 75, where Aeneas is called *Phrygius tyrannus*: and vii. 358 *Phrygii hymenaei*, i. e. the nuptials of Aeneas and Lavinia.

74. **numquam visis,** a *double entente*, 'which they had never seen, and which no one else has ever seen.' Cf. *ignotus* for 'hitherto unknown,' xiv. 187, and *aper immanis atque* invisitatus, i. e. never seen before; cf. Lewis' note on Sat. ix. 34.

75. The mouth of the Tiber became gradually choked up with sand in the course of time, so that the harbour of Ostia became useless.

Claudius had a new channel excavated a little to the north of the disused harbour of Ostia, and, with the aid of two jetties running out into the sea, and each sloping inwards (*porrecta bracchia rursum*), made an artificial harbour. Cf. Suet. Claud. xx, Dio lx. 11. Between these two jetties lay an artificial breakwater or island with a lighthouse upon it, and the harbour thus formed was known as the Portus Augusti. To this harbour Trajan added an inner basin or dock, of a hexagonal form, surrounded with quays and extensive ranges of buildings for magazines Bunbury, cited by M.). The Scholiast states the fact that Trajan made the new basin, so that this Satire could not have been written before the date of his reign. Ostia was a favourite health resort: Minuc. Felix calls it *amoenissimam civitatem*, i. 3; see too A. Gell. xviii. 1. The Pharos, or lighthouse, was so called from the island of Pharos opposite Alexandria, from which place the French have adopted their word for lighthouse, 'phare.'

positas moles. The moles laid down amidst enclosed seas, i.e. the inner arms of the moles which bent in towards the land: the sea would be kept off by the other side of the horseshoe on either side.

78. The point is, that there are many good natural harbours, but none of them is so wonderful as the artificial one which runs actually out to sea.

80. He makes for the inner basin made by Trajan, 'where even a skiff of Baiae would be safe.'

81. Shipwrecked people vowed to dedicate their hair to some deity, *naufragorum ultimum votum* Petron. 103. But it appears from Lukian, de Merc. Cond. 1, that they also sought by the process to attract notice and pity, and Berenice's lock is vowed to the gods as a chief sacrifice in Catull. lxvi. So Lukian, Hermotimus 86: 'and it seems to me that I might reasonably have shaved my head, like those who have got off safe from a shipwreck.' St. Paul shaved his head in Cenchrea, 'for he had a vow.'

82. **garrula**, a transferred epithet, like *irato* in the line *irato feriat mea lumina sistro* xiii. 93. Cf. also xiii. 32. For the sentiment cf. *Quod acerbum fuit rettulisse iucundum est: naturale est, mali sui fine gaudere . . . Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*, Sen. Ep. lxxviii. § 13. Cf. too Cic. ad Fam. v. 12.

83–93. 'Prepare then, my slaves, to make the sacrifice right welcome.'

83. **faventes**, εὐφημεῖτε, 'preserve a religious silence: let heart and tongue be silent.' Cf. Ov. Met. xv. 677, Ibis 96. So Hor. Carm. iii. 1. 2 *Favete linguis*, and Verg. Aen. v. 71 *ore favete omnes*, before a sacrifice. So Sen. Vit. Beat. 26 *quotiens mentio sacrarum litterarum intervenerit, favete linguis. Hoc verbum non a favore trahitur, sed imperatur silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum, nulla voce mala obstrepente.*

84. **farra**, i. e. the *mola salsa*, with which the sacrificial knives were sprinkled. The *far* was a coarse kind of wheat (*triticum spelta*) said to have been cultivated in Italy before any other kind of grain, and there-

fore sacred from its antiquity. The flour of *far*, mixed with salt, was sprinkled on the head of the victim with the words *macte hoc vino et ture esto*, and a few hairs were cut off its head and thrown on the altar (Aen. vi. 245). Pliny, H. N. xviii. 2, traces the practice of appeasing the gods with *far* back to Numa.

85. molles, of turf.

86. sacro quod praestat, i. e. the chief offering made to the Capitoline Jove.

88. fragili, because the wax would tend to scale off.

89. The **Lares** were small statuettes of marble or of wood, with a coating of wax. Cf. Hor. Epod. ii. 66, who calls them *renidentes*. They were the departed spirits of ancestors who watched over their descendants. There was a special chapel or *lararium* in the houses of the wealthy for these gods; in the houses of the poor the household gods remained at the hearth; see Becker's Gallus, Excursus i. scene ii. p. 263. They were crowned on festive occasions; cf. Plautus, Aulularia, Prologue 23, where the *Lar*, who recites the prologue, says *Huic filia una est: ea mihi cotidie Aut ture aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat: Dat mihi* coronas. Cf. too Cato, R. R. c. 143, Plaut. Trin. i. 2. 1, Juv. ix. 137. The Lares and Penates received no blood offerings.

nostrum Iovem. 'Our own special Jove': the special god of the house or of the district.

90. viola is a diminutive from **viom*, cognate with Greek (*F*) ἴον, which signified in Greek any dark flower. In Latin too the name *viola* seems to have been applied to the pink and the cheiranthus, cf. Hehn p. 210. The *locus classicus* is Plin. H. N. xxi. 14 *Violis honos proximus* (*post lilia*) *earumque plura genera, purpureae, luteae, albae*; cf. ib. § 11 *Postea quae ion appellatur et purpurea, proxime flammea, quae et phlox vocatur*. Cf. Verg. Ec. ii. 47 *Pallentes violas*, and Ec. x. 39 *nigrae*, Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 207 *Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno*. See Hor. Carm. iii. 10. 14 and Wickham's note.

91. 'My doors are festooned with greenery for this happy event': cf. Ovid, Met. iv. 759 *sertaque dependent tectis*, Lucan, Pharsal. ii. 354 *Festa coronato nec pendent limine serta*, Arnob. vii. 32 *Etiamne di sertis, coronis afficiuntur et floribus?* Cf. too Sat. vi. 51, 52, 78, 79, ix. 85.

92. operatur, 'is busy in the sacred rites,' 'keeps festal holiday with its display of morning lamps.' Even before daybreak the lamps were kindled. Cf. Tert. Apol. 35 *Cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus? Non lucernis diem infringimus? Operari*, like ῥέζειν, is specially used of sacrifices. Cf. Verg. Georg. i. 339 *laetis operatus in herbis*: so Tac. Ann. ii. 14 § 1 (Germanicus) *vidit se operatum*. The word came to be used absolutely from such expressions as *operari sacris*, Hor. Carm. iii. 14. 6, Liv. i. 31. 8.

95. 'Catullus has three children to inherit his property, so that my joy is not one of the *artes* of the professional legacy-hunter'; cf. Sat. iii. 129, v. 98. Pliny, Ep. i. § 5, says that he would like to be excused from granting a request *locupleti et orbo* on the ground that it might look

suspicious. In Mart. Ep. xii. 91 Maro vows, in the presence of his aged friend, that should his fever leave him, a victim should fall to Jupiter. Cf. Lukian, Dialog. Mort. vi. 3. 'You have hit upon a new art (cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 26) in attaching yourselves to old women and old men, and especially those who are childless, while those who have children remain unloved.' For a full description of the art of legacy-hunting under the Empire, cf. Fried. i. 4. (p. 414).

tres habet heredes. Cf. Sat. v. 137 sqq., ix. 87-90 *Iura parentis habes, propter me scriberis heres. Legatum omne capis, nec non et dulce caducum, Commoda praeterea iungentur multa caducis Si numerum, si tres implevero.*

96. **gallinam.** See the chapters in Arnobius vii. 16, 17 in which he ridicules the pagan idea of appeasing the gods by sacrifices. In chap. xviii. he asks *si enim honoris et reverentiae causa mactantur dis hostiae, quid refert aut interest cuius animalis e capite luatur hoc debitum, cuius ira offensioque ponatur?*

97. **sterili.** Martial x. 18 has an epigram upon a mean patron who would not ask his clients to dinner or benefit them in any way: 3 *Turba tamen non deest sterilem quae curet amicum.*

verum, 'nay truly.'

coturnix. Pliny, N. H. x. 33, says that quails were not looked on as fit for human food, because they fed on poison and were subject to epilepsy. The same story is repeated in Didymus, Geop. Book xiv 'Quails live on *hellebore*, which affects those who eat them with distension and vertigo.'

98. **pro patre,** much less for a stranger.

sentire calorem, 'to have a touch of fever.' Cf. Tibull. iv. 11. 2 *Dum mea nunc vexat corpora fessa calor.*

99. The termination *-itta* seems to have been a non-Latin termination adopted into Latin for the formation of feminine diminutives. Schuchardt thinks that it was Etruscan. The French language forms numerous words in *-ette*, as *tablette* (*tablitta*).

100. **legitime fixis,** 'fastened up in the prescribed way'; according to the Roman religion, where the ritual was everything. Cf. Suet. Calig. xiv. *ut vero in adversam valetudinem incidit, non defuerunt qui depugnaturos se armis pro salute aegri, quique capita sua* titulo proposito *voverent.*

libellis, on which their vows were inscribed. Cf. Suet. Aug. 97.

101. **hecatomben,** 'a hecatomb'; not of ordinary beasts, but, if it were possible, of elephants. Under *hecatombe* Juvenal seems to understand a hundred *oxen* as contrasted with the elephants, of which he is going to speak.

102. 'Not indeed elephants, but only because they are not found in this continent, and so are all the rarer; nay, they are only now found in Caesar's preserves, the spot where Turnus fought it out with Aeneas.' It would seem that the emperor kept a herd of them for the shows.

As to the construction, it would appear as if Juvenal had intended

to write *quatenus hic non sunt venales elephanti, neque indigenae*; but he has changed the construction in the concluding clause into a direct statement. For *neque—nec* following the negative *nullus* cf. Verg. Ecl. v. 25–26 *nulla neque amnem Libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam*; and for *nec* followed by *aut* cf. Verg. Aen. xii. 135 *Tunc neque nomen erat nec honos aut gloria monti.* **quatenus,** 'since.' Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 24. 30 *quatenus heu nefas Virtutem incolumem odimus.*

elephanti. Cf. Arnob. vii. 16 *cur non eis et mulos et elephantos mactatis, et asinos?* Julianus used to offer up such numbers of victims that *victimarius pro sacricola dicebatur*; Amm. iv. 6 § 17, xxii. 12 § 6. Domitian, on the other hand, at the outset of his career was so merciful, *ut edicere destinarit ne boves immolarentur*, Suet. Dom. 9.

107. **privato.** Cf. vi. 114. *Privatus* meant, originally, 'a man in no public office'; under the emperors it came to be used of any one not a member of the imperial household; so that the idea is 'the elephants decline to serve anything less than an emperor, and indeed their ancestors served a Hannibal and our own Scipio: but *then* they were the chief means of attack in Roman wars: *now* they are the chief object in Roman shows!' Elephants were regarded as the private property of the emperor, and no one might hunt them without his express permission; see Friedländer ii. 3. p. 398.

Tyrio, as Tyre was a colony of Carthage.

108. **regi Molosso.** Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in which the Molossi formed a tribe.

110. **partem aliquam belli,** i. e. a part, and that no small part, of the war; cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 3, 4 *Ossaque nomen Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.*

111. **Novius** and **Hister** are the two *captatores* mentioned in line 114.

mora nulla, cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 14. 23 *Si per invisum mora ianitorem Fiet, abito.*

112. **ebur,** the valuable part put for the whole; cf. l. 13.

114. Compare the story in Pliny, Epist. ii. 20, how Regulus went to a dying woman, made a sacrifice for her, and got himself inscribed for a legacy.

115. **alter,** i. e. Pacuvius. He would sacrifice not merely an elephant, but the pick of his slaves: nay, he would give his own daughter to get a legacy, like another Agamemnon, even though he did not expect her to be miraculously rescued, as was Iphigenia in the legend.

119. Agamemnon boasted that he could shoot better than Artemis. The goddess, to punish him, detained the fleet windbound at Aulis. Kalchas declared that Iphigenia must be sacrificed to appease her. As she was placed on the altar, Artemis substituted a fawn for the maiden. The Pseudo-Euripides, I. A. 1587, follows this legend.

121. 'I commend my citizen's wisdom, and deem his inheritance a greater thing than a thousand ships: for if our sick patient shall once

give the slip to the goddess of funerals, he will destroy his will—a prisoner in the toils,—in consideration of a sacrifice truly singular, and maybe will make over everything to Pacuvius with a stroke of the pen.'

122. **mille rates,** στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν Aesch. Ag. 45.

123. *Ex nassa exire* was a proverbial expression for 'to escape danger': cf. Plaut. Mil. ii. 6. 98; Cic. ad Att. xv. 20 § 2. The **nassa** was an osier basket shaped like a modern crab-pot.

126. **incedere,** 'to walk proudly,' 'strut'; cf. Verg. Aen. i. 146 *divum incedo regina*: cf. Hor. Epod. xv. 18 *superbus incedis malo.*

ergo. 'And so you see how very well worth his while it were to kill the lady of Mycenae. How well, in his opinion, it would pay to sacrifice one's daughter!'

128. **vivere Nestora.** Many of these half cognate accusatives are thus used adverbially: thus *vincere Olympia, Cyclops moveri,* &c. For the sentiment cf. Mart. x. 24. 11 *Post hunc Nestora, nec diem, rogabo.*

130. **nec amet.** Juv. may have had in mind Horace, Sat. i. 1. 86 *Miraris cum tu argento post omnia ponas, Si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?*

SATIRE XIII.

TO CALVINUS ON REVENGE.

THE thirteenth Satire is generally ascribed to A. D. 120 or 127—preferably the former—on the strength of the allusion (l. 17) to the Consul Fonteius as marking a date sixty years back. C. Fonteius Capito was consul A. D. 59; Lucius Fonteius Capito, A. D. 67. There was another Gaius Fonteius Capito who was consul A. D. 12: but this would throw back the Satire to the time of Vespasian. The mention in line 157 of *custos Gallicus urbis* seems indeed to belong to the time of Domitian, when Gallicus was prefect of the city, but it may be reasonably explained as an allusion to a line of Statius celebrating Gallicus as the man

Quem penes intrepidae mitis custodia Romae.

Gallicus had then taken his place in poetry as a representative *custos urbis.*

Ribbeck conjures up rather a fanciful difficulty about the remark that Socrates would not have given part of his hemlock to his accusers, and supposes it to be compounded of the statement in Phaedo (i. 66) that the hemlock brought him was not enough to allow of a libation to the gods, and the story that Theramenes pledged his accuser Kritias in his last draught. It is difficult to find any foundation for Juvenal's statement in these stories, and the health drunk by Theramenes was a scoffing

imprecation, which, as Cicero says, was fulfilled by the death of Kritias long afterwards. Juvenal seems really to have had a passage of the Krito (49 C.) in his mind. 'Is it right,' says Socrates, 'for a man who suffers wrong to do wrong in return, as most people affirm?' K. 'By no means.' S. 'Then the doing harm to men is in no respect different from wronging them?' K. 'It is so.' S. 'Whatever, then, a man may suffer at the hands of others, you must neither wrong them in return nor harm them.'

ARGUMENT.

As no guilty man absolves himself, much less is he acquitted by public opinion. Happily the loss of a small sum will not ruin you, and the disaster is no unusual one, ll. 1–10. You must not let your grief be unmanly or more than the wound warrants. Sixty years old, do you profess to be astonished that a friend does not give you back a trust sum? ll. 11–18. Truly, the sagacity that guards against losses is profitable, but they too are blessed who have learned not to toss the yoke when they are galled, ll. 19–22. What day is not marked by a villainy! The age of iron is upon us, and are we to deafen heaven with shouts such as hirelings raise when their patron pleads? ll. 23–33. Old man with a child's mind, do you know how tempting strange money is, and how foolish you seem when you expect any one to keep from lying? ll. 33–37. That was all very well in the youth of the gods, when Hades did not even exist as an institution, ll. 38–52. Honesty and reverence for old age went together hand in hand in those days, ll. 53–59. Now if a man is commonly honest, I think it a memorable act to be ranked with portents and miracles, ll. 60–70.

Others have lost more than you, ll. 71–74. It is so easy to defraud when it costs nothing but false oaths sworn by all that is most sacred, ll. 75–85. Some men forswear themselves fearlessly, because they are atheists, ll. 86–89. Others, because they think it worth while to be rich at the price of such penalties as Heaven inflicts. Would not the runner give up his fleetness for wealth and the gout? ll. 90 99. Besides, the mills of God grind slowly, and Heaven is merciful and lets some offenders slip through, ll. 100–105. Reassured by these arguments, the cheat is the first to challenge you to an oath, while you are thunderstruck that Jupiter does not intervene, and doubt if it be worth while to sacrifice to him, ll. 106–119.

Your case is so simple that, though I am no philosopher, I can attempt to cure it, ll. 120–125. I admit that money gone is more sincerely grieved for than dead friends, and I say nothing against your sorrow if your case is exceptional, ll. 126–134. But if every Exchange is ringing to complaints like yours and thronged with debtors who deny their signatures and seals, why are you to think that you should be exempt from the common lot? ll. 135–142. Look at the burglar and the man who plunders the temples, at the poisoner and the parricide, ll. 143–156. Even this catalogue exhausts but a portion of the sum of human misery.

Look at the disorders of any single family, and then say if your misfortune is more exceptional than a goître in the Alps or small stature among the pigmies, ll. 157–172.

Is crime then to remain unpunished? Your defrauder's death would not bring back your money, ll. 173–177. But revenge is sweet. So say the vulgar and women, not the moralist, even when he is drinking hemlock, ll. 180–192. And why do you think a man has escaped who carries the Furies in his breast? ll. 192–198. Remember the man who was cut off with all his race, merely because he wished to be dishonest, though he stopped short of crime through fear, ll. 199–207. So much for the penalties on guilty thoughts; but if no crime has been committed, it is not followed by perpetual anxiety, and restless nights in which the guilty wretch sees the desecrated altars and your menacing presence, forcing him to make confession, ll. 208–222. These are the men who fear every storm as if it were big with vengeance, every fever as if its pangs were the darts of heaven, ll. 222–232; by what sacrifice can they hope to expiate their offence? ll. 233–235; with no steady principle of life they pass from the vicious impulse to repentance and again to sin, the more readily because they have lost shame, ll. 236–242. Sooner or later your scoundrel will find his way into prison or exile, and you will be assured that there is a divine government of the world, ll. 243–249.

This Satire is, as will be seen from the above analysis, on the power of conscience and its revenge. Juvenal unites his teachings on revenge with the advice tendered to his friend Calvinus.

It has been imitated by Oldham in a powerful composition beginning

> 'There is not one bad act which men commit
> But carries this ill sting along with it,' etc.

The philosophy is expressed in 'Othello'—

> 'To mourn a mischief which is past and gone
> Is the next way to draw new mischief on.'

1–22. 'Evil deeds are punished by conscience, Calvinus, even though a wicked judge may fail to punish them. This may be one consolation to you. Another is that what has happened to you has happened to many, and you can afford it. Do not fret; it is unmanly. The teachings of philosophy are good; but even common sense without philosophy might teach you to bear such a loss as this.'

1. **exemplum** (from *eximere* for **exemlum*, cf. *eximius*) signifies properly what stands out prominently in a series of events, and signifies (1) a specimen, (2) a model or pattern, as *illud exemplum disciplinae* Ter. Adelph. v. 1. 5. Thus *exemplum malum* means a model or precedent for harm; cf. *quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant* Nepos Agesil. 4.

2. **displiceo,** often used in the sense of 'to give pain.' Cf. Cic. Att.

ii. 18 § 3 *displiceo mihi nec sine summo scribo dolore*; so Sen. Ep. xlii. § 2 *Nec ulla maior poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi et suis displicet.*

3, 4. 'However much barefaced influence may have carried the day by the cheating urn of the presiding magistrate.' The list of *iudices* for each year was drawn up, and those who composed the list were called *iudices selecti.* Out of this number a certain number in the case of criminal trials were appointed by *sortitio*; the *praetor* or president of the *quaestio* drew out of an urn containing the names of all the *iudices* a number sufficient for the trial; and here the *praetor* had opportunities of using influence. The foul play attributed to the *praetor* might possibly have taken place on the occasion of the process of voting on the part of the jurors. These voted secretly by means of tablets of wood, on one side of which was inscribed the letter C for *condemno*: on the other A (*absolvo*), Cic. pro Clu. c. 27 §§ 73,74. The *iudex* deleted one letter and bore the tablet with his arm bared to the voting urn (*sitella* or *urna*), Cic. Divin. in Caec. 24 (see Das Gerichtswesen, Schiller § 57 in Ivan Müller's series). The presiding officer might obviously tamper with justice in this process. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 47 *Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam.*

3. Cf. Sen. de Ira iii. 26. § 2 *maxima est factae iniuriae poena, fecisse: nec quisquam gravius adficitur quam qui ad supplicium paenitentiae traditur.*

5. The present tense is often used in asking a question when the interrogator has little doubt of what the answer will be, as Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. *Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in re vera fuisse facturos?* Cf. iv. 130 n. The meaning therefore here is 'Surely you must feel that the universal sentiment is one of indignation at your loss.'

7, 8. The technical sense of **iactura** as jettison thrown overboard to lighten the ship has disappeared, and the word means nothing more than *a loss*, as in Vergil, Aen. ii. 646 *facilis iactura sepulcri*, else the metaphor would be extremely confused. As it is, it seems to be taken from an over-weighted swimmer. Cf. Sat. x. 57 *mergit longa atque insignis honorum Pagina.*

8. nec rara videmus. Cf. Hamlet, Act. I. Sc. ii. 72

> *Queen.* Thou knowst 'tis common: all that lives must die,
> Passing through nature to eternity.
> *Ham.* Ay, madam, it is common.—*Queen.* If it be,
> Why seems it so particular with thee?

10. et e medio. 'And drawn at random from Fortune's pile (of chances)'. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 15 § 45; 'a happy life ought to be made up of morsels of happiness as a pile of grain is made up of grains.'

11. Cf. Sen. de Constantia Sapientis iii. § 5 *Sic tu sapientem melioris scito esse naturae si nullius illi iniuria nocet, quam si nulla sit; et illum fortem virum dicam, quem bella non subigunt,* &c.

13. quamvis, to be taken closely with **levium**: 'however light they may be.'

Minima and *exigua* seem commonly joined, 'small and trifling,' as in Cic. Acad. ii. 41 § 127 *exigua et minima*.

15. **viscera** are the larger organs of the body, such as the heart, the lungs, and the liver, in which the ancients placed the seat of anger; cf. i. 45 *siccum iecur ardeat ira*. Cf. vi. 648, Sen. Oed. 362 *viscera spumant*.

sacrum depositum. It was a peculiarly heinous crime among the Romans to tamper with property entrusted to a person's care. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 94-5 *Quid faciam, si furtum fecerit, aut si Prodiderit commissa fide, sponsumve negarit?* The Christians, according to Pliny, Ep. x. 96, took an oath *ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*.

16. **stupet haec.** See Satire iv. 119, note.

qui reliquit. These words surely refer to Calvinus: the sense is, 'can a man like yourself, who is over sixty, be amazed at such a thing?' and line 18 means: 'or does the manifold experience of life serve to advance you so little in knowledge?' Merivale supposes that *stupet* refers to Juvenal, in which case *Fonteio consule natus* would fix his age, as it would that of the Satire, if we only knew which Fonteius was intended. One C. Fonteius Capito was consul in A.D. 59, Tac. Ann. xiv. 1, C. Vipsanius Apronianus being his senior colleague. In the year 67 A.D. a Fonteius Capito was consul, who the next year was put to death in Lower Germany with the connivance of Galba, Tac. Hist. i. 7. It seems probable that this is the Fonteius intended, as the name of the senior consul, where only one was employed, was used to fix dates. The date of this Satire would then be 127 A.D., the tenth year of Hadrian's reign.

19. **magna,** with *sapientia*. 'Great indeed is philosophy: she can conquer fortune; but not less happy than philosophers are those who have learnt to bear life's discomforts, and have seen in life a wise trainer.' *Sapientiae praecepta pauca tenenda sed ita ut in promptu sint* Sen. Ben. vii. 1. 3. Cf. too Sen. Ep. lxxi. § 29 *sapiens quidem vincit virtute fortunam*. The whole of Seneca's de Constantia Sapientis is based upon this thought. Thus Manilius calls Cato *Fortunae victor* i. 802.

21. It may be remarked, as characteristic of Juvenal's later philosophy, that the **felix** here is the *sapiens*; in Sat. vii. 190 sqq. it is the man who is *pulcher et acer*, besides being *sapiens*.

23–37. 'There is evil enough in the world as we see it: 'tis a pretty fancy to believe there was none in the good old times.'

22. Cf. *nec Forte coisse magistra* Manil. i. 492, though here there seems a reference, as has been pointed out see Con. in Mayor), to the trainer of a gladiators' school. In Ov. Heroid. xv. 83 *artes* are called *magistrae*.

23. It was unusual to punish criminals on *dies festae*: cf. Suet. Tib. 61 *Nullus a poena hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer*: id. Aug. 57, whenever Augustus entered the city, *observatum est ne supplicium de quoquam sumeretur*. **cesset,** 'is slow to,' used poetically for 'refuses.' The transition in sense is seen in such passages as Ter. Heaut. iii. 11. 1 *Cesso pultare ostium vicini?*

25. **pxyis,** properly 'a medicine chest,' made of box-wood; here

used for a poison box: cf. Cic. pro Cael. 25 § 61 *veneni pyxidem*, and Suet. Nero 47 *Sumpto a Locusta veneno et in auream pyxidem condito.*

26. Boissier, vol. ii. p. 157, points out that we must beware of accepting all Juvenal's indignant utterances as literally true without comparing them with the evidence of contemporary historians: cf. Tac. Hist. i. 3 *Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona* exempla (cf. l. 1) *prodiderit*: cf. too Plin. Ep. vii. 28; Seneca, Ep. xlii. § 1 *mediocria, et in turbam nascentia, saepe fortuna producit. Eximia vero* (*Fortuna*) *ipsa raritate commendat.*

27. Thebarum portae. The gates of Thebes *in Boeotia* were seven in number. Hence Thebes is called ἑπτάπυλος by Hom. Il. iv. 406; cf. too Hesiod, Works and Days, 162. Thebes in Egypt had a hundred gates, *hecatompylos enim Thebas nemo ignorat*, Amm. xxii. 16. 2. The mouths of the Nile were also seven: Ovid, Met. xv. 753 *septemflua flumina Nili*: cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 800; *septem* (*alvei Nilo*) *navigabiles sunt* Amm. xxii. 15 § 10.

28. Professor G. G. Ramsay sends us the following note on this line: —'This passage is capable of a more satisfactory explanation than appears as yet to have been given to it by the commentators. The reading *nunc* (P. Jahn) is not only vapid, as Mr. Mayor remarks, but altogether unnecessary. The poets mention variously *five* ages (Hesiod), *three* (Aratus), *four* (Ovid), &c.; but Juvenal evidently, while taking advantage of the poetic associations connected with the idea of a series of metallic ages, had no doubt a more practical point in view. He doubtless referred to the idea common amongst the Greeks, that there were in all eight metals, namely: Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Tin, Lead, Bronze, and Mercury (see Prof. Dittmar's article upon 'Metals' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica). The same set of metals without addition seems to have formed the list known to the Arabian chemists of the 8th, and the Western chemists of the 13th centuries. This view is confirmed by Pliny, xxxiii and xxxiv. The account of the metals there given is based upon the idea that there were eight metals in all. These are: *Aurum, Argentum, Aes, Electrum, Aurichalcum, Stannum, Plumbum, Ferrum.* In the above list, *Aurichalcum* corresponds to *copper* in the Greek list of metals, whilst *Electrum* takes the place of *mercury*.'

It is thus obvious that the idea of eight metals was a settled axiom in Juvenal's mind. The point of his words—*Nona aetas agitur*, and *a nullo . . . metallo*—is thus perfect, and is, perhaps, as fine a point as occurs in the whole of his Satires.

Accordingly, **nona**, the text of P, has been retained here as against *nunc*, Bücheler's reading. Mayor takes *nona aetas* as the ninth century of the city. According to him, Juvenal is thinking of the different ages named by different poets after different metals: *Vario faciem distincta metallo saecula* (Claudian, de Laud. Stil. ii. 446); and the ninth age of the city is the worst, and no metal has been found base enough to give it a name. Hesiod, Works and Days, 109–201, mentions five ages; Aratus, Phaenom. 100–133, three; Ovid, Met. i. 89 sqq., four. In the last (l. 128) *Protinus*

irrumpit venae peioris in aevum omne nefas. Others have thought that Juvenal has in mind the four ages of the Sibyl (Verg. Ec. iv. 4), and these, when they had expired, were repeated (παλιγγενεσία). Vergil places his iron age first; Ovid places his last; so Juvenal may mean that we are in the third *aetas ferri*; but it is so bad that iron is too good a name for it. Servius, on the place quoted from Ecl. iv, says that the Sibyl prophesied that the tenth century should be that of the sun.

31. The formula *pro deum atque hominum fidem* was common.

32. 'The noisy dole-baskets applaud Faesidius': the dole is eloquent in the mouth of the hungry retainers of the *causidicus*, who hired a *claque*: so Mart. vi. 48 *Quod tam grande* sophos *clamat tibi turba togata, Non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est*: cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 14 § 4.

33. I. e. 'old man in your second childhood'; for the **bulla** (Sat. v. 164, n.) was laid aside on the assumption of the *toga virilis*. Schol. δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες.

34. **veneres,** 'charms,' 'graces': cf. Quint. x. 1 § 79 *Isocrates omnes dicendi Veneres sectatus est.*

37. For men, it seems, continue to sacrifice, even when they have lost their faith. For the Christian view cf. Arnob. vii. 15 *Quod est honoris genus deum invitare ad sanguinem, quem cum canibus videas eum sumere?*

38–59. 'Our forefathers, when the gods were in their infancy, may have lived in such simplicity: dishonesty was a portent in the days when the young respected the old.'

38. **indigenae** = αὐτόχθονες, αὐθιγενεῖς: cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 314 *Haec nemora* indigenae *Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant*; cf. too ib. 319, 320 *Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo, Arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis,* &c.; so Ov. Her. iv. 131–3 *Ista vetus pietas, aevo moritura futuro Rustica Saturno regna tenente, fuit*; cf. too Marq. iv. 10. 15.

40. **fugiens,** i. e. 'banished' by Jupiter; he fled to Latium, and taught the people agriculture; hence he is represented with a sickle: Verg. Georg. ii. 406; Arnob. vi. 12. 25, iii. 29. The name is probably derived from *Saëturnus*, 'the seed-giver.'

virguncula, satirical, 'a little maiden.' The word is only found in silver Latinity. The primary suffix, *-culo*, found in *saeclum, saeculum*, seems to have been confused with the secondary suffix *-lo*, which was practically confined to the expression of diminutive functions; so such forms as *parvolus* associated themselves with such forms as *saeculum*; then the suffix *-culus*, added to the syllable *-on-* of the nouns in *tiō, oratiuncula*, produced the suffix *-uncula-* of *avunculus, virguncula*, &c. See Henry, § 157, and cf. Sat. xii. 11. Arnobius, ii. 70, scoffs similarly from a Christian point of view: 'If Juno was born, there must have been a time when she never existed': ib. 71, 'Your gods are at the most a couple of thousand years old.'

41. **privatus,** ἰδιώτης, under the Republic signified any one who was not a magistrate or in any public office: cf. Phil. xi. c. 10. Magistrates

were *publici*. Under the Empire all were *privati* except the emperor himself: cf. Tacit. Agr. § 39 *Id sibi (Domitiano) maxime formidolosum privati hominis (Agricola) nomen supra principis attolli.* The word is used satirically here—his father being yet alive, he had not yet come in for divine honours, was not, in fact, the imperial master of the gods.

Idaeis. Ida in Crete—not the mountain of the same name in Phrygia. Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deorum iii. 21 § 53 sqq.: 'The theologians affirm that there are three different Joves . . . *tertium Cretensem, Saturni filium: cuius in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur.*'

43. **puer Iliacus,** Ganymede: cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 26 § 65 *Ganymedem a dis raptum propter formam*: cf. Mart. ii. 43. 13 *grex tuus Iliaco poterat certare cinaedo*; *at mihi succurrit pro Ganymede manus.* He was carried away from Ida by an eagle at the command of Jove; Hor. Carm. iv. 4. 4, Verg. Aen. v. 252 sqq. Arnobius refers (Adversus Gentes vii. 33) to the Ganymede dance. **Herculis uxor,** Hebe. Hom. Odyssey xi. 602, 603; cf. Ovid, Trist. ii. 405 *huc Herculis uxor, Huc accedat Hylas, Iliadesque puer*, and Ovid, ex Ponto i. 10. 11, 12 *Nectar et ambrosiam latices epulasque Deorum Det mihi formosa nata* Iuventa *manu* (Iuventa was a name of Hebe).

44. **ad cyathos** seems a reminiscence of Hor. Carm. i. 29. 7, 8 *Puer quis ex aula capillis* Ad cyathum *statuetur unctis?*

siccato nectare. 'Then there was no Vulcan wiping his arms black with the soot of the workshop of Lipara after a draught of nectar.' Munro, in M., explains these words as 'after he has first racked off or cleared the dregs of the nectar'; and this is the view taken by the Scholiast: *Exsiccato faeculento aut liquefacto.* But it seems more likely that Juvenal has employed the word like Horace, Sat. ii. 6. 68 siccat *inaequales calices conviva solutus*: and cf. Hor. C. i. 35. 26, 27 *Cadis siccatis*; in which case the picture will be of the god returning thirsty from his forge and refreshing himself with a draught of nectar. Others have explained *siccare* as to 'empty' the wine from the *crater* into the *cyathus*. In any case Vulcan is thought of as the clumsy, ugly waiter, and is the foil to the handsome cup-bearers, as were the *nani* and *pumiliones* to the *flos Asiae* among the Romans. For Hephaestus as cup-bearer see Hom. Il. i. 597 sqq. This passage should be compared with Luk. Dial. Deorum v. 4, where Zeus twits Here with her dirty, soot-begrimed son: *ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσβόλου κατηθαλωμένον τὸ πρόσωπον.* Again, Dial. xv. 1 of Hephaestus, *ἱδρῶτι ῥεόμενον, εἰς τὴν κάμινον ἐπικεκυφότα πολλὴν αἰθάλην ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ἔχοντα.* For the workshop of Vulcan and the Cyclops see Aen. viii. 416 sqq.

46. **prandebat sibi,** 'dined early and apart.' The *prandium* is the early midday meal: they did not partake of the fashionable *cena*. For this use of *sibi* cf. Quint. vi. 3 § 16 *Quae nunc iuvenum vel* sibi *ludentium exercitatio est.* The dative is a variety of the ethical dative; the model upon which the expression is founded is probably *vivere sibi*, 'to live for one's self,' selfishly, isolated.

turba deorum: cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 30 § 84 *Numerus . . deorum . . innumerabilis.* So Petron. xvii *Nostra regio tam praesentibus*

plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire. Cf. Arnob. iii. 5 *Neque enim sciri est facile definita et certa sit eorum* numeri multitudo . . . *Fingamus enim vos deos mille percolere, vel milia potius quinque; at in rerum natura potest forsitan fieri ut deorum milia centum sint.* The similarity of the polytheism of ancient Greece and Rome with that of modern Hinduism, and the enormous and increasing number of deities in both, are noted by Lyell, 'Divine Myths in India,' in Asiatic Researches: 'The popular polytheism (in the Hindu religion) is constantly developing out of the worship of holy or famous men who have actually existed.' See too Boissier, vol. i. p. 345, and vol. ii. c. ii, and especially Friedländer, iii. 4 § 501, who explains the multiplicity of deities to have arisen partly from the power inherent in the godhead to assume the role of any deity; partly from the tendency observable from the very outset for the Greeks and Romans to identify foreign deities with their own. Special deities became the fashion to worship at different times. Thus Augustus originated or brought into vogue the worship of Venus Genetrix, of Mars Ultor, and of Apollo Palatinus.

47. **talis** properly followed by *qualis*, and Juvenal employs *tales . . . quales* in Sat. x. 193, 194; in xv. 65 he writes *hunc lapidem quales et Turnus et Aias.*

48. **Atlanta,** viii. 32, n.; cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 247 *Atlantis duri caelum qui vertice fulcit*: id. vi. 797: Ov. Met. iv. 652 *quis par esset Atlanti Viribus?* Hyginus 150.

49. We should have expected *quisquam*; in classical Latin, *aliquis* when used negatively preserves the affirmative meaning of the word, as in Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 36 *cum aliquid non habeas et non habere te sentias*, 'if there is anything that you have not and feel that you have it not.' But in late Latin *aliquis* is more constantly used in negative sentences; cf. Draeger i. § 46.

triste, 'stormy,' as *tristes Hyadas*, Hor. Carm. i. 3. 14.

profundi, the deep, the sea; so the Scholiast.

50. **cum coniuge.** Proserpina, carried off from Henna in Sicily, Ovid, Fast. iv. 421 sqq.; cf. Arnob. v. 24 *in Siciliae pratulis . . . legeret flores virgo Proserpina . . . rex prosiliens Manium raptam secum vehit.*

51. 'Ixion's wheel, Sisyphus's stone, Tityus' vulture were not as yet.'

52. **regibus,** the regal pair; as a brother and sister were called *fratres.*

54. For the reverence paid to old age in antiquity cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 31 § 6 *memorabantur exempla maiorum qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent*: cf. Cic. de Senec. xviii. 63, and the rule laid down, de Inv. i. 30 § 48, *ut maioribus natu adsurgatur.* Rising was the regular sign of respect, cf. Sall. Fragm. Historic. v. 9; Gerl. p. 967, (Cort.) *Quibus de causis Sullam dictatorem uni sibi . . . assurgere sella . . . solitum*; cf. too Aul. Gell. N. A. ii. 15.

55. As the *iuvenis* had to rise before the *vetulus*, so had the *puer* to rise before the *iuvenis barbatus.*

56. 'Even though the junior could feast his eyes on a larger store of the primitive food, their only treasure.'

licet in classical Latin retains commonly something of its verbal meaning, Madvig, § 361 ; in silver Latinity it has passed into the category of mere conjunctions like *quamvis*. The history of our words 'supposing,' 'granting' &c. is similar.

videret. *Videre* is properly used of looking upon a treasure ; cf. Sen. de Ben. ii. 27 *Cn. Lentulus augur divitiarum maximum exemplum : hic qui quater milies sestertium suum* vidit *proprie dixi* vidit, *nihil enim amplius quam* vidit). For man's primitive food see Lucr. v. 1415 and Verg. Georg. i. 148.

59. 'And *so entirely equal* was youth's first down to the sanctity of age.'

60–70. 'But different times, different manners : we now regard it as a miracle if we meet with an honest man.'

60. si depositum, &c., cf. Ter. Phorm. i. 2. 5, 6 *Praesertim ut nunc mores ; adeo res redit Si quis quid reddit magna habendast gratia.*

61. 'The old money-bag with its rust and all.' *Follis* is used again in Sat. xiv. 281, where he is speaking scornfully of money.

62. prodigiosa fides : 'the honesty is miraculous, and, like other miracles, needs expiations such as those laid down in the sacred Etruscan books.' The Romans derived most of their ceremonies, and especially those relating to expiations, from the Etruscans : cf. Livy i. 34 § 9 of Tanaquil, *perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum mulier.*

The **libelli** were the *Libri Etruscorum* or *Etruscae disciplinae volumina,* Cic. Harusp. Resp. c. 12 § 25 and Plin. ii. 83. See Preller, Röm. Myth. pp. 13–70. Cf. also Cic. de Div. i. 2 *omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam praebebant.*

63. coronata agna, xii. 118, n.

65. See the list of prodigies in Livy xxvii. 11, amongst which is *cum elephanti capite puerum natum.*

sub aratro, such as the fish ploughed up in the *Gallicus ager*, Livy xlii. 2 § 5, Plin. H. N. ix. §§ 175–178.

66. Pliny viii. § 173 *observatum est mulas non parere est in annalibus nostris peperisse saepe, verum prodigii loco habitum.* Suet. Galba § 4 mentions that the prodigy of a mule having cast a foal encouraged Galba to aim at the Empire.

67. Cf. Amm. xxii. 8 § 5 *Aegospotamos, in quo loco lapides casuros ex caelo praedixit Anaxagoras.*

68. Juvenal sometimes uses *que* for *ve*, as iv. 147, viii. 51, 155, x. 20, 100.

uva, the grape-like cluster of bees, *βοτρυδόν*, Il. ii. 89. Cf. Verg. Georg. iv. 558 ; Aen. vii. 64 sqq. ; Cic. de Div. ii. c. 31 *apes quas dixisti consedisse in labris Platonis pueri.* Cf. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie § 84, and Lecky, Hist. of Rationalism in Europe, vol. i. p. 140 sqq.

70. lactis. Cf. Plin. ii. § 147 *relatum est lacte et sanguine pluisse ;* Livy xxvii. 11 § 5.

Ben Jonson, Volpone, Act ii. Sc. 1, cites a list of prodigies, believed in his time, such as 'a whale discovered in the Thames as high as Woolwich, that had waited there, few knew how many months, for the subversion of the Stode fleet.'

71–85. 'You complain bitterly that you have lost—what? ten *sestertia*. Many have lost much more, for fraud and trickery now shrink from nothing, not even from sacrilege.'

72. Seneca, de Ira ii. 9, complains that *infitiatores* (men guilty of abusing a trust) are so common at Rome, *quibus trina non sufficiunt fora*.

73. **arcana,** 'stowed away even as yours.' Juvenal seems to be thinking of *arca*, which occurs in the next line, from which indeed the word is derived.

74. 'For which no vacant corner could be found in his spacious money-box.' For **arca** cf. i. 90, xi 26. It was always large and square; numerous illustrations are given by Dar. and Saglio, s. v.

77. **quae sit ficti.** 'How set the expression of that lying face!'

78. **Tarpeia.** Of Jupiter Capitolinus or Tarpeius, Sat. xii. 6.

79. **frameam,** after Isidor. Orig. xviii. 6 § 3 a sword; but Tac. Germ. 6 says *hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo* frameas *gerunt*. It is the German 'Pfriem,' English 'preen'; see Kluge s. v., who identifies Mars with Teutates, Caes. B. G. vii. 17.

Cirraei vatis. Apollo; see Sat. vii. 64. Cirra was the port of Delphi: hence *Cirraeus* = *Delphicus*.

80. **venatricis puellae.** Diana, Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα. Tibull. i. 4. 25, 26 *Perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas Affirmes crines perque Minerva suos*: Arnob. iv. 22 *silvarum agitatrix Diana*.

81. **pater Aegaei.** The palace of Poseidon, who was identified with Neptunus, was in the depths of the sea near Aegae in Euboea, Hom. Il. xiii. 21; cf. *Neptuno Aegaeo* Verg. Aen. iii. 74.

82. **Herculeos arcus.** The fatal bow and arrows of Hercules, which he gave to Philoctetes, and without which Troy could not be taken.

84. 'If, however, he is a father besides,' he will make some wider vow still.

flebile, proleptic, 'to my sorrow.'

85. **sinciput** = *semi-caput*: usually the fore-part of the head. He will, like Thyestes, not merely swear upon the head of his son, but will swear to kill and cook him first. In Aen. ix. 300 Iulus says, *per caput hoc iuro per quod pater ante solebat*: cf. too Pliny, Ep. ii. 20 §§ 5, 6 *clamat moriens hominem nequam perfidum ac plus etiam quam periurum, qui sibi per salutem filii peierasset*.

Phario aceto. Egyptian vinegar, by Athenaeus, 67 c, said to be very fine; cf. Mart. xiii. 122, who says it was better than the wine it was made from. On the disappearance of the vine from Mohammedan countries see Hehn, p. 72 sqq.

86–119. 'Some deny that there are gods; all is ruled, they say, by

chance; they may forswear themselves with impunity. Others believe that there are gods, but they are slow to strike, or deaf: you in indignation call aloud on the king of the gods to strike, but he makes no sign.'

86. Pliny, H. N. ii. 5 § 6 should be read as a commentary on this passage, *alii in Capitolio fallunt, ac fulminantem peierant Iovem: et hos iuvant scelera, illos sacra sua poenis agunt.* This was the whole doctrine of Lucretius vi. 445, 446 *sunt nobis nulla profecto Numina*, &c. See Friedländer iii. 4. p. 513 on Pliny's identification of the Deity with Nature, and cf. Plin. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 8, &c.

89. altaria tangunt, as Hannibal swore upon the altar, Corn. Nep. Hann. ii. §§ 3, 4. Arnob. vii. 15 calls *altaria... rogi, et busticeta in opus structa foedissimum.*

91. putat esse deos. Cf. Ennius in Cic. de Div. ii. 50 § 104 *Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.*

93. On the worship of **Isis** at Rome cf. Friedländer, iii. 4. p. 538 and especially Boissier, vol. i. p. 361 sqq. She was identified with Io the mistress of Jupiter: hence lovers made vows to her. Cf. too Juvenal Sat. vi. 489, and Arnob. ii. 73 *vos Aegyptiaca numina quibus Serapis atque Isis est nomen, non post Pisonem et Gabinium consules in numerum vestrorum retulistis deorum?*

The **sistrum** (σείω) was a kind of rattle in the shape of an elongated horse-shoe, with cross bars of wood inserted. Several such rattles were found in the treasury of the temple of Isis at Pompeii, and are now in the Museum at Naples. See Rich s. v.: Apuleius describes one Metam. xi. 33. Cf. Ov. Am. ii. 13, 11 *Per tua sistra, precor, per Anubidis ora verendi.* Mart. xii. 29. 19 calls the worshippers of Isis *Linigeri, calvi, sistrataque turba.*

95. 'Consumption, festering ulcers, a mutilated leg cf. *Curios iam dimidios* Sat. viii. 4) are worth the price'; i. e. are worth having on condition of having the money too.

96. For **tanti** cf. iii. 54 note. Its use here comes from such uses as that of Tibullus. ii. 7. 24 *non ego sum tanti ploret ut illa semel*, in which the word *tanti* becomes isolated and is used in the meaning of 'are worth the price.'

locupletem podagram, 'the gout with riches'; for the epithet cf. *gulosum fictile* xi. 19. The gout is the rich man's disease: cf. Aristoph. Plutus 560, where the Scholiast says that the rich get the gout; also Mart. xii. 17.

97. si non eget, 'if he does not need to be cured for madness.' Hellebore grew at Anticyra in Phocis, a town on a small peninsula to the east of the Crisaean gulf. Cf. Hor. A. P. 300, and Wilkins' note.

nec=*ne quidem* (Roby 2230 b), 'not even though he were a prize-runner, a second **Ladas**.' There were two celebrated runners of this name. The more celebrated was a Spartan whose statue was sculptured at Corinth, Paus. ii. 19 § 7. Catullus uses the name as proverbial lv. 24, 25 *non si Pegaseo ferar volatu Non Ladas si ego, pinni-*

pesve Perseus. Cf. too Mart. x. 100. 5 and ii. 86. 8; and Anthologia Graeca Pal. xvi. 53

Λάδας τὸ στάδιον εἴθ' ἥλατο εἴτε διέπτη
δαιμόνιον τὸ τάχος οὐδὲ φράσαι δυνατόν.

98. Archigenes, a celebrated mad doctor, a Syrian by birth; cf. vi. 236, xiv. 252. For the extent to which specialism in medicine ruled at Rome see Friedländer i. 3 § 302 (p. 340).

99. esuriens, 'that leaves us starving,' in contradistinction to the *podagra*, which is *locuples*.

Pisaeae olivae: the Olympic games. Pisa lay in Elis to the east of the Olympian plain, and hence Pisa is identified with Olympia. Olive crowns were the reward of the victors in these games; cf. Pausanias, v. 15. 3.

100. ut, 'even though,' as in x. 240. 'Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.' Cf. χρόνια μὲν τὰ τῶν θεῶν πως, εἰς τέλος δ' οὐκ ἀσθενῆ, Eurip. Ion 1615; Hor. Carm. iii. 2. 33, 34 *Raro antecedentem scelestum Deseruit* pede poena claudo; Sen. Contr. V. praef. *Sunt di immortales lenti quidem sed certi vindices generis humani.*

103. his, 'men of the present day': some take it as 'crimes like this'; but the former rendering seems the more pointed.

104. diverso fato, 'with opposite results.'

105. The one gets crucified (the slave's punishment, vi. 219, Plaut. Mil. ii. 4. 6; Tac. Ann. xiv. 42, who mentions that 400 slaves were crucified at once, in consequence of the murder of their master); the other gets a diadem (see Rich, s. v.).

108. 'Aye, he is actually ready to drag you there and goad you on': the difference in usage between *ultro* and *sponte* may be instanced by ultro *facit non rogatus*; sponte *facit non coactus.*

109. 'For when effrontery backs up a bad case, many mistake it for genuine confidence in a good cause.' A. Gell. i. 22, in discussing the meanings of *superesse*, expressly states that it was used as a term of law = *adesse*, 'to champion.' Cf. line 237. Suetonius, Augustus 56, makes Augustus employ the word in this sense.

110. mimum agit. He is playing a farce all the while, playing it as well as the runaway slave, the buffoon of the witty Catullus, the *mimographus* of viii. 186, *urbanus scurra* Plaut. Most. i. 15. For **urbanus** cf. Sat. ix. 11 *salibus vehemens intra pomoeria natis*, as contrasted with *rusticus.*

112. Cf. Il. v. 785, 849; Stentor could call as loud as fifty other men, but Ares as loud as nine or ten thousand.

113. Gradivus, as the solemn title of Mars, Livy i. 20 § 4. The quantity of the first syllable forbids us to derive the word from *grădior*. Vaníček regards it as contracted from *gravi-divus*, 'the terrible god.'

115. 'Though you ought to give some reply, whether you be marble or brazen: otherwise why should we sacrifice to you?' The adjectives seem to be a parody upon the titles by which it was deemed that

different deities preferred to be addressed. Cf. such cases as Horace's *Matutine pater seu Iane libentius audis* Sat. ii. 6. 20, and Carm. Saec. 15 *Sive tu Lucina probas vocari Seu genitalis*.. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 160 sqq.

116. Satirical. 'In thy censer we lay our dutiful offer of frankincense wrapped in waste-paper'; poems that would not sell were used for such purposes, Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 269 sq., Persius i. 43 *nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus*. The minute description of the gods' titbits is also satirical.

119. Vagellius, the type of a nobody; cf. xvi. 23 *mulino corde Vagelli*. He was a *declamator* who probably had a statue of himself erected in his house.

120–142. 'Now hear plain words of common sense. Your case is common, only too common: you cannot then hope for exemption from the common lot as one of Fortune's aristocrats.'

121. et qui nec legit : 'even one who has read no philosophers.'

cynicos nec stoica dogmata. 'Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic and indirectly of the Stoic school, was the caricature of the ascetic and unconventional side of Socrates. Nothing is good but virtue, and nothing evil but vice. Virtue is wisdom, and the wise man is always perfectly happy because he is self-sufficient and has no wants, no ties and no weaknesses.' See Mayor, Ancient Philosophy p. 35. He flourished about 380 B. C. Zeno of Citium in Cyprus came to Athens about 320 B. C. and began to teach in the *στοὰ ποικίλη* about 308 B. C. For the similarity in the dogmas of the two sects cf. Cic. de Fin. iii. 20 § 68 *Cynicorum rationem atque vitam alii cadere in sapientem dicunt*. So Diog. Laert. vii. 121 expressly mentions *κυνιεῖν σοφόν* as a Stoic maxim. The Cynics were more careless of the *convenances* of life than the Stoics.

122. The Cynics used no *tunica*, cf. Luk. Cynic. 1, but wore a large cloak called *διπλοΐς*, or *τρίβων* (*abolla*) worn doubled, so as to serve as a *χιτών* (*tunica*) and *χλαμύς* (*pallium*). Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 17. 25 *quem duplici velat patientia panno*, and Wilkins' note.

Epicurum. Epicurus, 341–270 B. C., was born in Samos: he founded his school at Athens about 306 B. C., teaching in his own gardens, which became as famous as the Stoic Porch. See Mayor, Ancient Phil. p. 181. Cf. Sat. xiv. 319. Plin. H. N. xix. 9 § 2 speaks of him as the first to lay out a garden at Athens.

123. suspicit, 'looks up to': it occurs in its literal sense Sat. ix. 57. Cf. Cic. Orat. c. 28 of *eloquentia, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur*. *Respicere* is the word properly used of a superior looking with favour upon an inferior. Cf. Ter. Phorm. v. 3. 34 *Di nos respiciunt*.

124. 'Great diseases call for great doctors: yours is so simple that an apprentice could cure it.' For the abl. **medicis** cf. xi. 191.

125. Philippus. Some inferior doctor of the day, who may have adopted the name of the celebrated doctor who attended Alexander the Great (Sen. de Ira ii. 23 § 3). For bleeding cf. vi. 46.

126. For the statement cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 41, 42 *hoc si erit in te Solo, nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.*

127. 'You may smite your breast as you please': cf. Claudian, de Bello Gild. 135, where the face is smitten, *et contusa genas* : cf. Lucan, ii. 335 : so Ovid, Met. vi. 248 *laniataque pectora plangens.*

129. 'You must close the doors as if a death had occurred.' Tac. Ann. ii. 82 *vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit, ut anti edictum magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio desererentur fora, clauderentur domus.*

132. 'Satisfied with rending in twain the hem of his garment': for the use of **summus** as the 'outermost edge,' cf. Sat. i. 5 summi *margine libri.*

133. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 196 *lacrimis* coactis : cf. Mart. i. 34

Amissum non flet, cum sola est Gellia, patrem
Si quis adest, iussae prosiliunt lacrimae.

Cf. too Juv. Sat. vi. 273 sqq.

134. The *sententia* contained in a single line at the close of a subject is quite in Juvenal's style; cf. x. 187.

135. Cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 9 § 1 *circumscriptiones, furta, fraudes, infitiationes, quibus trina non sufficiunt fora*; i. e. there is enough rascality to give employment to all the lawyers. Cf. Mart. Ep. viii. 44. 6 *foroque triplici*, &c. They were the *forum Romanum, Caesaris, Augusti*, and *Traiani*. See Middleton, p. 252.

136, 137. 'If after their notes of hand have been perused half a score of times by the other side they (the *infitiatores*) still pronounce the signature worthless, and the tablets bad.' The creditors' advocate would of course scrutinize the document most critically. **lignum** is the thin wooden tablet coated with wax. *Chirographus* or **chirographum** is the signature in one's own handwriting. Verse 137 is repeated Sat. xvi. 41. Cf. Ov. ex Ponto ii. 9. 69, 70.

Nec mea subiecta convicta est gemma tabella
Mendacem linis imposuisse notam.

138. 'As their own signature proves, and their own seal; the seal of monied men, made of precious stones, and kept in an ivory case, convicts them, and still they deny it!' In early Roman times it was a question if the seal was not more important as being less easy to forge. There is a story of some Norfolk serfs who, having bought their liberty, were again enslaved because they destroyed the deed of enfranchisement. Wright's Early Mysteries, p. 95.

139. Cf. Pliny xxxvii. 23 § 85 (of sardonyxes) *solae prope gemmarum scalptae ceram non auferrent.* So Isidor. Orig. xvi. 8 *de sardonyche. Haec sola in signando nihil cerae evellit.*

140. o delicias, 'my fine friend!' Cf. vi. 47 *delicias hominis!*

141. gallinae filius albae; *le fils de la poule blanche* : white was a sign of good luck. Others have thought that Juvenal had in his mind the idea of Columella, de R. R. viii. 2. 7, who says that white fowls were delicate and not prolific: hence their progeny would be rare.

143–173. 'Think of the different crimes in our daily calendar, and then dare to say that your grievance is rare! No rarer than *goître* in the Alps or battles between dwarfs and pygmies in the land of pygmies.'

144. si flectas. The subjunctive prefers a request. 'If you would just turn your eyes,' &c.

maiora ad crimina. For the insecurity of Rome see Friedländer i. 1 § 24, and the numerous passages cited there.

146. Cf. Sat. ix. 98 *candelam apponere valvis*. The fact of the door being fired proved that the arson was designed so that no one should escape.

147. Such as Nero (Suet. Nero 32) *Ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit simulacraque ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit : in his Penatium Deorum.* Cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 45 *per Asiam atque Achaiam non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur.*

149. dona. The gifts of some king of old : not necessarily of the kings of Rome, but of Attalus, Gelo, and other foreign kings and tyrants who used to send gifts to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

150. 'If these costly things are not there to steal, you have a sacrilegious thief on a smaller scale :—Why should he hesitate? 'tis a light thing to scrape statues for the gilding, for the thief who has more than once put the Thunderer in the melting-pot,' i. e. he has been a *maior sacrilegus* ; and therefore he may easily become a *minor sacrilegus*. This may be a reference to some case of sacrilege notorious at the time, like that referred to in the note on 152.

151. inaurati. Cf. Mart. v. 25. 10 *Aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet.*

152. bratteolam (for *bracteolam*), a thin leaf of gold. Cf. Arnob. vi. 21 *Antiochum Cyzicenum ferunt quindecim cubitorum Iovem ex delubro aureum sustulisse, et ex aere bracteolis substitutisse fucatum . . . Dionysius ille, sed iunior, cum velamine aureo spoliaret Iovem*, &c.

154. artifices veneni, cf. viii. 17. They were often apothecaries.

155. The parricide. See viii. 214. **deducendum,** good for nothing but to be launched into the sea like a ship. *Deducere* is the proper word for 'launching' : cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 69.

156. innoxia : innocent as the ape is, it is its hard fate to drown.

157. quota pars. *Quotus* is commonly used to express 'how few,' in fact as the correlative of *quantus* ; cf. Lucr. vi. 652 *Nec tota pars homo terrai quota totius unus.*

The **custos urbis** is the *praefectus urbi*, Stat. Silv. i. 4. 16 *Quem penes intrepidae mitis custodia Romae.* Under the empire the praetors formed the regular tribunal for the civil cases in Rome (Gaius i. 6) ; but their jurisdiction was gradually invaded by that of the *praefectus urbi*. The new imperial *praefecti*, viz. the *praefectus urbis*, *praefectus annonae*, and *praefectus vigilum*, only enjoyed the right of administering justice in civil cases when civil claims were connected with matters which were of their competence. Tacitus, Ann. vi. 10 (A.D. 32), observes that the office had recently been made permanent. He traces the history of the

office in the next chapter : Augustus chose an officer as *praefectus urbi* out of the *consulares, qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum*. C. Rutilius Gallicus was *praefectus urbi* under Domitian, A.D. 85, so that if we assume this Satire to have been written many years after the above date, we must suppose 'Gallicus' as the type of a class.

160. **una domus** : that of Gallicus : 'spend a few days in his court and then venture to call yourself wretched.'

consume et aude. A hypothesis expressed by the imperative sometimes takes the future, and does not always take the copula ; cf. Sen. ad Marc. xx. *computa . . . videbis*. For the present construction cf. Sen. de Ira iii. 37 § 2 *recede longius et ride* : 'if you retire then you may laugh,' &c. ; except that in this case *aude* is used satirically.

162. This passage seems a reminiscence of Sen. de Ira iii. 26 §§ 2, 3 *Denique ad condicionem rerum humanarum respiciendum est, ut omnium accidentium aequi iudices simus : iniquus autem est qui commune vitium singulis obiecit. Non est Aethiopis inter suos insignitus* (i. e. *infamis*) *color : nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos, utrumque decet.*

tumidum guttur, *goître*, still common among the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys ; cf. Vitruv. iii. 3. 20 *Aequiculis autem in Italia et in Alpibus natione Medullorum est genus aquae quam qui bibunt efficiuntur turgidis gutturibus*. Cf. Plin. H. N. xi. 68 *Guttur homini tantum et suibus intumescit aquarum quae potantur plerumque vitio*. Cf. Shakspere, Tempest iii. 3. 43 sqq.

163. **Meroe** (vi. 528), the large island in the Nile in Ethiopia, now called *Atbar*. Cf. Synesius (Ep. iv. § 166) of the Libyan women, *αὗται γὰρ ὑπερμαστῶσι καὶ ἀσυμμέτρως ἔχουσι τῶν στέρνων, ὥστε τὰ βρέφη μὴ διὰ μάλης ἀλλὰ δι' ὤμων σπᾶν τῆς θηλῆς ἀναβεβημένης*. Cf. Plin. vi. §§ 184, 186 : the trait described is common among the South Sea islanders at the present day.

164. **caerula Germani lumina.** Light eyes were attributed alike to the Germans and the Britons : cf. Tac. Germania iv. *habitus corporum idem omnibus : truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae*. Cf. too Hor. Epod. xvi. 7, and Mart. Epigr. xi. 53 *Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis Edita*.

flavam caesariem : cf. Mart. v. 68 *Arctoa de gente comam tibi, Lesbia, misi Ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis*. Ct. Ovid, Amor. i. 14. 45 *Nunc tibi captivos mittit Germania crines*. So Silius iii. 608 *auricomus Batavus*.

165. **torquentem** may mean 'the man who twists his yellow hair and the horns of his greasy curls' ; but it seems more likely that the *caesaries* itself is spoken of as twisting the curls, so that the translation will be 'Who has found occasion to marvel at the blue eyes of the German ; at his yellow hair twisting the curls of its greasy locks ?' Among the Germans the hair was dyed by means of a kind of soap (see Pliny xxviii. § 191 ; Mart. viii. 33. 20 *Et mutat Latias spuma*

Batava comas; see too Sil. iv. 200 sqq.). It was also their custom to bind up their long locks into monstrous curls to give them a more menacing appearance: *Insigne gentis* (the Suevi) *obliquare crinem nodoque substringere*; . . . *horrentem quoque capillum retro sequuntur ac saepe in vertio religant: in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem adituri bella ornantur*, Tac. Germ. 38. Ammianus xv. 12 § 1 attributes light hair similar to that of the Germans to the *Galli*: *Candidi paene Galli sunt omnes et* rutili *luminumque torvitate terribiles.*

167, 168. 'The pygmies fight with the cranes in the country of the pygmies. Were you to see a crane carry off a pygmy you would laugh till you were convulsed; but there, though such fights are common, no one ever laughs, because the spectators are no taller than the captive pygmy.' The story is from Homer Il. iii. 3–6. The legend of the cranes waging incessant war against them by rifling their fields was proverbial. Cf. Ovid, Met. vi. 90. Aristotle, Hist. An. viii. 12 § 3, accepts these legends as facts. **Pygmaeus** came to be used proverbially for, as we should say, a Lilliputian; cf. Amm. xxii. 12 § 4 *Pygmaei* (*circumlatrantes*) *Herculem.* On the legend of the Cranes and Pygmies see Sayce, Introduction to the Science of Language, vol. ii. p. 266. The actual discovery of pygmies by Mr. Stanley in Africa lends fresh interest to the ancient legend. Cf. Milton, P. L. i. 575 'that small infantry warred on by cranes.'

174–198. 'Well, then, is perjury to go wholly unpunished? Surely I have a right to claim revenge?' 'This is the doctrine of the unenlightened; the sage would not agree with you; in any case conscience is the surest and most ruthless of avengers.

174. 'Shall there then be no penalty for a perjured man and wicked fraud? Suppose that he were haled off to jail and heavily fettered, and even executed (you could not surely wish worse), at our request, yet the loss is yours still; and the least drop of blood, should he lose his head, will set people against you.' 'Still, Revenge is sweet.' Cf. Sen. de Ira iii. 26 §§ 1, 2 *Non possum, inquis, pati: grave est iniuriam sustinere . . . Quid ergo? impune illi erit? Puta te velle, tamen non erit,* &c.

175. *Abripi in catenas* is a common phrase: cf. Cic. Verr. II. iv. 10, § 24. Here the chain is made the instrument which drags off the criminal to judgment.

180. vindicta, a word used for *ultio* in silver Latinity. For the sentiment cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 32 § 1 *At enim ira habet aliquem voluptatem, et dulce est dolorem reddere! Minime: non enim ut in beneficiis honestum et merita meritis repensare, ita iniurias iniuriis*: cf. Il. xviii. 108. For the doctrine that revenge is wicked cf. Pindar, Pyth. ix. 169. Cf. too Plato, Crito, c. 10, p. 49 C οὔτε ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν δεῖ, οὔτε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐδένα ἀνθρωπον, οὐδ' ἂν ὁτιωῦν πάσχῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Montaigne, in his essay on Diversion (iv.), maintains the doctrine which Juvenal denies.

181, 182. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 84, 85 *paullum deliquit amicus: Quod nisi concedas habeare insuavis, acerbus*: cf. also ibid. ll. 92 sqq.

indocti, in contrast to the *sapientes*, or enlightened philosophers. 'A rooted hatred, an inveterate thirst of revenge, is a sort of madness,

and still eddies round its favourite object' (Coleridge, Sibylline Leaves). Seneca, de Ira ii. 19 and 25 § 1, should be read in connection with this passage.

184. 'No Stoic like Chrysippus, no great teacher of the olden times like Thales, nor Socrates, sweet as the honey of his own Hymettus, would speak like this.' **Chrysippus,** B. C. 280–207, succeeded Cleanthes as the head of the Stoic sect. He is often spoken of as the chief Stoic philosopher, and it was currently said *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στόα* Diog. Laert. vii. 7 (183) : see Hor. Sat. i. 3. 127 and Epist. i. 2. 4, with Wilkins' note. **Thales,** the founder of the Ionic school, a contemporary of Solon, 640–550 B. C. One of his sayings was : 'All things are full of God.' For **mite ingenium,** cf. Sat. iv. 82, 83 ; and for the form cf. ib. 81 *Crispi iucunda senectus.*

185. Socrates the Athenian. For his gentleness and patience under provocation see Sen. de Cons. Sap. c. 18, and de Ira i. 15, and Plato's Apology throughout.

186. cicutae : cf. vii. 206. He was seventy at the time of his trial.

187. accusatori. His three accusers were Meletos, Anytos, and Lycon. **nollet,** 'would not wish' ; *noluerit* would have meant 'did not wish.' Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 3 talks of Socrates as *Anyti reum.*

188. Cf. Quint. iii. 41 *prima virtus est vitio carere.*

189. quippe, a weak illative, 'forsooth,' 'in fact.'

190. Cf. Sen. de Ira i. 16 § 25, *Ira muliebre maxime et puerile vitium est ; at incidit et in viros. Nam viris quoque puerilia ac muliebria ingenia sunt.*

192 235. If no other punishment await the sinner, that of conscience is alike unerring and unpitying.

194. mens habet attonitos. Such uses of *habere* no doubt prepare us for the use of the auxiliary *avoir,* &c. in the Romance languages ; but *habere* implies the idea of *keeping* in bewilderment. By the time of Ulpian *habere* has come to be used as a simple auxiliary. Cf. Dig. xlviii. 5 *Neque enim laborare habet.* The whole process of the transition of *habere* into a mere auxiliary is treated of by Thielmann, in Wölfflin's Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie, 1884.

194, 195. The fine description of the power of conscience in the present passage may be suggested by Lucretius iii. 1030, 1031 *at mens sibi conscia factis Praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque flagellis.* Cf. too Ov. Met. viii. 530, 531 *manus diri sibi conscia facti.* The thongs seem to come from Aeschylus' description of the Eumenides, Eum. 157 sq. **Μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ** *ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν.* Cf. too Catull. lxiv. 192 *Eumenides . . . facta virum multantes vindice poena,* and cf. Sen. Med. 13 and Herc. Fur. v. 85. **surdo,** not *heard,* but *felt.* For **tortor** cf. Cic. Tusc. Quaest. iii. 13 § 27 *Carnificina est aegritudo.*

197. For mental torture is worse than bodily : cf. Horace, Ep. i. 2. 58, Pers. iii. 39 sq.

Caedicius. The Scholiast says he was a cruel courtier of Nero's time.

Rhadamanthus, brother of Minos, judge of the dead: Verg. Aen. vi. 566; Claudian, in Rufin. ii. 477 *Conspicuus solio pertentat crimina Minos Et iustis dirimit sontes: quos nolle fateri Viderit, ad rigidi transmittit verbera fratris.* Plato, in the myth of the Gorgias (c. 79, p. 523 E sq.), makes him judge of the souls that come to the nether world from Asia.

198. Cf. Sen. Epist. xliii. § 4 *Bona conscientia turbam advocat* (i. e. challenges witnesses)*: mala etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita est. Si honesta sunt quae facis omnes sciant: si turpia, quid refert scire cum tu scias? O te miserum si contemnis hunc testem!* Lipsius quotes Polyb. xviii. 26 Schweigh.; 'There is no witness so awful, no accuser so fearful, as conscience, which dwells in our individual souls.' Lemaire quotes passages from Massillon and Chateaubriand illustrative of this passage, and Montaigne 'On conscience.' Cf. too Macbeth, Act v. Sc. 1, 'Duncan hath murdered sleep.' Cf. too Amm. xiv. 11 § 18 and ibid. § 25.

199. The story is told after Herodotus vi. 86. A certain Milesian entrusted one Glaucus, a Spartan, with a sum of money. The sons of the Milesian came to claim the deposit: Glaucus denied all recollection of it, but told them to return in four months, and meantime went to Delphi to consult the oracle. On the recommendation of the oracle he paid the deposit, but as a punishment for his doubt his family was made to die out: in the third generation no trace of them was found in Sparta. The story is more apt as an illustration of the sanctity attached by the oracle to a *depositum* than of the force of conscience.

202. **quaerebat,** 'he kept inquiring.' He was not satisfied with the first answer, and was then told that 'to tempt the god was as bad as to commit the act' (Lewis).

204. **moribus,** 'principle.' **tamen,** '*in spite of* his having returned it, he was punished: how much more shall one who has fraudulently kept a deposit be punished.'

208. A *sententia*, quite in Juvenal's style: cf. x. 187.

209. Cf. Sen. de Ben. v. 14: 'A robber is a robber even before the blood is shed,' &c.

210. **cedo.** 'What then if he have carried out his attempt?' *Cedo* is most commonly found in comedy and in the language of ordinary life. The word is composed of *ci* or *ce* (cf. κεῖθεν), an old demonstrative form seen in *cis, citer*, &c., and *dare*. In Plautus and Terence we still find the word used in the sense of 'give': cf. Ter. Phormio v. 6. 42 *Quin tu mi argentum cedo.* Ph. *Immo vero uxorem tu cedo!*

conata, used passively. There are many deponents in which the perfect participle is used in a passive signification chiefly or entirely: a list is given by Madvig, § 153. Cf. *venerata Ceres* Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 124.

211-216. 'His jaws are parched as with fever; the food resists his teeth and seems to swell; but still he rejects wine—even the best has no charm for him.'

213. **difficili crescente cibo:** cf. Senec. Ep. lxxxii. § 21; when

Leonidas addressed his soldiers as men about to die: *Non in ore crevit cibus, non haesit in faucibus.* Cf. Ovid, Her. Ep. xvi. 226, Paris to Helen, 'when I am jealous *crescit et invito lentus in ore cibus.*'

Setina. Cf. v. 34. The ordinary text is *sed vino*, but in this case the text approved by Mayor has been retained, the Setine wine answering to the Albanian and Falernian of lines 214 and 216. The finest of Italian wines were grown in Campania. The *Caecubum* was succeeded in popularity by the *Setinum*. The Falernian, from the southern slopes of the dividing range between Campania and Latium, held the second rank; Alban was a good third-class wine. The *locus classicus* for Roman wines is Pliny, H. N. xiv. 4 sqq. Augustus brought Setine wine into fashion, ibid. § 6, probably valuing it for its digestive qualities, H. N. xxiii. § 1.

215. **densissima ruga,** like *densissima lectica* i. 120. *Densus* is made to partake of the meaning of *multus.*

216. For **acri Falerno** cf. *Falerni Inger mi calices amariores* Catull. xxvii. 2. For Falernian needed keeping to lose its heady sweetness; cf. Pliny xiv. 4 § 9 *quae dulcis Praecia fuit transit in austeritatem: tunc Albanum vinum aemulantur.*

218. Cf. Sen. de Tranquill. Anim. 2 § 6 *Adice illos, qui non aliter quam quibus difficilis somnus est versant, se et hoc atque illo modo componunt donec quietem lassitudine inveniant*: cf. Hom. Il. xxiv. 5 10, Catull. l. 10, Prop. i. 14. 21.

221. **te videt in somnis.** 'He sees in his dreams you whom he has wronged.' The belief in ghosts and apparitions was very common among the Romans: cf. Suet. Calig. 59, and the description of the haunted house in Pliny, Ep. vii. 27.

maior humana: cf. Pliny, Ep. citat. § 2 *offertur illi mulieris figura, humana grandior.* Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 773 *Nota maior imago.* The stature added dignity, which was the mark of supernatural beings.

222. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 731–733.

223. I. e. *qui trepidant et pallent ad omnia fulgura.* For the folklore of **fulgura** see Plin. H. N. ii. 54, 55. Cf. *in fulgurum interpretatione eo profecit scientia, ut ventura alia finito die praecinat, et in peremptura sint fatum aut apertura potius alia fata quae lateant*, &c., ibid. 54 § 2. Cf. too Sen. Nat. Quaest. ii. 34 *Summam esse vim fulminum iudicant, quia quidquid alia portendunt interventus fulminis tollit: quidquid ab hoc portenditur fixum est.*

225. **fortuitus,** to be scanned as a trisyllable, for the *i* is long: see Hor. Carm. ii. 15. 17. The idea is 'according to the Epicurean philosophy': cf. Pliny ii. 43, and Sen. Nat. Quaest. vi. 3. Minuc. Felix, Octav. v. §§ 10, 11, expressly tells us that thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts are the result of *nimbi collidentes . . . homines noxios feriunt, saepe et religiosos.* Lucretius, vi. 379 sqq., states that these natural phenomena were merely matters of chance in their effects; so Aristoph. Nub. 399 sqq. Cf. Lear iii. 2. 49 sqq.

227. For him the storm seems anything but matter of chance; nay,

'this fine spell of weather,' he argues, 'will make the storm due fall upon me when it comes with redoubled fury.'

229. Disease and different bodily ailments were believed to be the sign of the anger of the gods: cf. Hor. Carm. ii. 8. 1–12, where the wonder is that the fair Barine, for all her perfidy, was not struck ugly, and Tac. Ann. xiv. 22, where Nero was punished with disease for sacrilege.

231. Cf. Sen. de Ben. iv. 19. 1 *Tu, Epicure, deum inermem facis: omnia illi tela, omnem detraxisti potentiam.*

232. **pecudem balantem,** 'a sheep': cf. θεῶν δεξίμηλ' ἀγάλματα, Eurip. Phoen. 632. Arnob. vii. 8 should be read in connection with this passage: *Quae causa est ut si ego porcum occidero, deus mutet affectum, animosque et rabiem ponat: si gallinulam, vitulum, . . . oblivionem inducat iniuriae?* For the folk-lore connected with fowls cf. Pliny x. 21; xxix. 32; x. 77.

233. **galli crista** = *gallus cristatus.*

According to Plato, Phaedo 118 *a*, the last words of Socrates were, 'We owe a cock to Asclepios—see that ye pay it, and neglect it not.'

235. 'The meanest victim that falls in sacrifice is really worth more than the life of the sick criminal.'

236–249. 'The wicked are inconstant, and crime is manifold; but nature is powerful, and you may rely upon her constant laws to secure that the sinner shall sin till he is punished.'

236. Cf. Sen. Ep. xlvii. § 18 *Hoc habent inter cetera boni mores, placent sibi, permanent: levis est malitia, saepe mutatur, non* in melius, *sed* in aliud.

237. **superest,** as l. 109, 'is their advocate.'

239. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 10. 24 *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.* St. Augustine, Confessions vii. 5 *Ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas.* Cf. Boileau, Sat. x (quoted in Lemaire's edition).

242. **attrita de fronte,** 'his callous face.' The metaphor is from callousness induced by attrition: cf. *populi frons durior huius* Sat. viii. 189; cf. Vitruv. ii. § 1 *tritiores manus ad aedificandum.* So Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii. 32 *trita frons sub persona*: cf. '*se faire un front qui ne rougit jamais*,' Racine, Phèdre, Act iii. Sc. 3 (Lemaire).

245. **nigri carceris uncum,** x. 66: cf. Sen. de Ira iii. 3 *cadavera trahens uncus*, Ovid. Ibis 167 *Carnificisque manu, populo plaudente, traheris. Infixusque tuis ossibus uncus erit*, Prop. iv. 1, 141 *Cum fixum mento decusseris uncum.*

247. **exulibus magnis:** cf. i. 73 *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.* Cf. Tac. Hist. i. 2 § 6 *plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli.*

248. 'The man of hated name.' Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 27. 34 *Pater, O relictum Filiae nomen*; Tibull. iii. 4. 61.

249. 'That none of the gods is either deaf or blind.' *Teresias*, or **Tiresias**, was the blind prophet of Thebes: Apollod. 3 c. 6, Ov. Met. iii. 322.

SATIRE XIV.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF EXAMPLE.

THE allusions in this Satire supply no real evidence of its date, since at most they prove only that it was composed after a campaign against the Brigantes (l. 196), and before the construction of Hadrian's palace at Tibur, as otherwise the buildings of Cretonius would not be spoken of (l. 86) as the grandest in that part. There were campaigns against the Brigantes under Vespasian, under Domitian, and under Hadrian; so that this teaches us nothing; and Hadrian's palace at Tibur was probably erected in the latter part of his reign, when Juvenal was dead. Still, it is not impossible that the revolt among the northern tribes, which forced Hadrian to visit Britain in 119, recalled the Brigantes, among whom Juvenal had once lived, and his own ill-requited services to his recollection. In that case this Satire belongs to his old age, as would seem probable from its great maturity of thought and elevated morality. In the ninth Satire Juvenal advocated an honourable life as a safe-guard against the gossip of slaves. Here it is the infant child who is to stand between the father and sin, and the vice chiefly reprobated is not that by which families are ruined, but that by which unrighteous fortunes are made.

There is a curious illustration of the phrase *pueri reverentia* in Pliny's Epistles, viii. 24. Pliny tells us that whenever Numidia Quadratilla played dice, or looked on at the game, she used to tell her grandson to go away to his work, *quod mihi non amore eius magis facere quam reverentia videbatur*.

With this Satire may be read Montaigne's letter to Madame Diana de Foix, on the Education of Children.

ARGUMENT.

Parents often teach their children to be gamesters or gluttons, forgetting that no tutors in after-life can counteract the examples that the child of seven has studied, ll. 1–14. Can Rutilus, who scourges, tortures, brands, and imprisons his slaves, teach his son humanity and respect for the brotherhood of man? ll. 15–24. Do you think the daughter of Larga, who is the confidante of her mother's innumerable adulteries, can ever grow up chaste? ll. 25–30. It is human nature that the example of vice in our houses from those we reverence should be all-powerful: though a few of firm and generous instincts may be better than their bringing up, ll. 31–37. Therefore, if you wish your children to grow up good and honourable, let them not see in you the infectious example of evil; if you would have them pure, keep your household and words and

acts unsullied, ll. 38–46; reverence your child, that you may have the right to censure his follies when he has come to manhood. ll. 47–58.

If a guest is coming you put your house in order, and polish up vases, and clear away filth and rubbish of every kind. ll. 59–67; is it less important that your son should live in a virginally pure home? ll. 68–69. It is a great thing to give the fatherland one citizen the more, provided always he is trained to manage a property or serve in arms, as the stork and the vulture train their young to live on appropriate food, ll. 70–85.

Cretonius diminished his property by building on a grand scale; the son has ruined the estate by out-doing his father's profession, ll. 86–95. Such a man is circumcised, will not touch pork, will not render the offices of common humanity to strangers, and worships only a God in the clouds; is it not the fault of his father who lapsed into Judaism? ll. 95–106.

It is saddest of all that young men who are not naturally avaricious are made misers by their father's teaching, and learn to regard the arts of keeping and increasing an estate as the noblest, ll. 107–118. The father who thinks that content of mind and happiness cannot be dissevered from wealth, teaches his children the vile elements of money-making, ll. 119–125. He starves the household and himself with insufficient and bad food, and lives like a beggar that he may die rich. ll. 126–137; and when he is rich he does nothing but add field to field, and if his poorer neighbours will not sell their freeholds, turns in his cattle by night to eat off the grass, ll. 138–151. The ill-repute of these actions does not affect him: he will risk destitution sooner than live on a modest conscience and a good name. ll. 152–155. Yet it was better for health and peace of mind when our forefathers, under Tatius or after the Punic wars, lived contented on their freeholds of two acres to a family—not enough for a garden now, but then enough for the owner, his wife and children and slave; aye, and to furnish suppers for their big brothers. ll. 156–171. It is this wish for large properties that incites to great crimes, ll. 172–178. Our Samnite and Sabellian fathers understood this, and urged their sons to be content with the rough sheepskin for dress, and with the corn from their own furrows for bread, ll. 179–188. Now the father calls up his son at midnight and bids him train to be a lawyer, a soldier, or a commission agent, ll. 189–205. No one cares how the money is got, provided it is there, ll. 205–209. I might tell a parent of this stamp not to trouble himself, his instructions are certain to be improved on by his children, who, as they grow up, will seek for gold, though it be by perjuries and private assassinations, ll. 210–224. You will say you never intended this. No, but if you instil the passion for a great estate, you cannot put limits to the means of acquiring it, ll. 225–234. Teach your son that the generous virtues are foolish, and you destroy every unselfish and patriotic sentiment, ll. 235–243. Last of all your own horoscope will be taken, and your son will mingle poison for you, ll. 244–255.

It is better than a play to watch the dangers that are incurred for money making, ll. 256–264. The man who earns his living on the tight rope does not court death more than the merchant, who lets himself be storm-tost that he may increase his wealth, ll. 265–275. Yet the sea is covered with argosies, that you may fill your money-bags, and boast of the wonders seen, ll. 276–283. There are different forms of lunacy, and though you have no insane delusion, and do not rend your clothes like Orestes or Ajax, you commit equal madness when you run the chance of beggary or death in a loaded ship on a stormy sea, ll. 284–302.

It is as difficult to keep what you have got as to get it. The cynic can replace or mend a damaged tub, but the owner of a richly-furnished house must keep a troop of slaves trained to the duty of firemen, ll. 303–315. How much then does man want? Not more, I think, than natural needs ask, than sufficed Epicurus or Socrates, ll. 316–321. Is this too little? Take the qualification of one, two, or even three knights, ll. 321-326. If even that does not content you, neither would the wealth of Croesus nor of Narcissus, ll. 327–331.

It will be seen that this Satire is directed (1) against the bad example which parents are in the habit of setting to boys in general, and (2) especially against the vice of avarice, which is only too apt to spring up, even without their example.

The *loci classici* for the Roman ideas of education for boys are Quintilian, the whole of whose first book de Inst. Orator. should be perused in connection with the present Satire. Cf. also Seneca, de Ira ii. 21 § 9; Plut. Pueror. Educ. § 20.

1. **Fuscine,** otherwise unknown. 'Many things, Fuscinus, worthy of evil report, and which cast a lasting blemish on a bright fortune, do parents show by example to their boys and teach them too.'

3. Cf. Quint. Inst. Or. i. 2. 6 *Utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus! Infantiam statim deliciis solvimus. Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit.*

4. The nuts with which boys played were looked on as a boy's substitute for dice: cf. Mart. v. 30. 7, 8, where Martial says to Varro that it was better for him to read epigrams at the Saturnalia than to lose nuts, i. e. to indulge in the childish pursuit of gambling; so id. iv. 66. 16 *Alea sed parcae sola fuere nuces*, and xiv. 18 *Alea parva nuces et* non damnosa *videtur*; so Ovid, Nux 75.

Cf. Dryden's version:

> 'If gaming does an aged sire entice
> Then my young master swiftly learns the vice,
> And shakes in hanging sleeves the little box and dice.'

Fritillus, *pyrgus*, *turricula*, and *phimus* (φιμός), Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 17, all mean a dice-box: see Becker's Gallus, Scene x. Exc. ii.

5. **bullatus:** see Sat. v. 164. The amulet worn against the evil eye

until the *toga praetexta* was assumed. Two pictures of *bullae* are given by Daremberg-Saglio.

eadem arma. For the dice-play regarded as a battle cf. Sat. i. 91, 92, where the *dispensator* is called the *armiger*.

6. 'Nor will the youth permit any relative to hold high hopes of his future who learns the lesson of greediness taught him by the vice of his parent; you may as surely expect to find gluttony in the son of a glutton as you may expect to find a gambling spirit in the son of a gambler.'

7. **radere tubera,** 'to peel the truffles': Sat. v. 116. The *locus classicus* for truffles is Pliny, H. N. xix. 11; cf. too Mart. xiii. 50 *Rupimus altricem tenero de vertice terram Tubera: boletis mensa secunda sumus*. The word *terrae* seems necessary in the connection of *radere* and *tubera*, for Ovid, Med. Faciei 85, has *radenti tubera nitro*, in which *tubera* means 'warts.' In v. 116 one variant is *raduntur tubera*.

8. **boletum condire,** 'to season a mushroom.' The Italians eat many species of fungi deemed uneatable by us. Seneca, in his austere way, refers to them as a luxury to be deprecated. Thus, Ep. xcv. § 25, he calls them *voluptarium venenum*; cf. also Nat. Quaest. v. 4 § 10 *ardentes boletos et raptim indumento suo* mersatos *demittunt paene fumantes*.

eodem iure, 'as his father had done before him,' as the context seems to show.

9. **mergere,** probably 'to souse': cf. *mersatos*, quoted above. Others take it as 'to swallow.'

ficedulas, beccaficoes. Martial, xiii. 5, says they should be seasoned with pepper; he uses *ficēdula*. Cf. too ib. 49. The Romans accounted them a great delicacy, and Suetonius (Tib. 42) relates that Tiberius gave a large present of money to Asellius Sabinus for a dialogue between mushrooms, beccaficoes, and other delicacies.

nebulone, 'a losel parent.' See Wilkins on Hor. Ep. i. 2. 28; Non. i. 67 *Nebulones et tenebriones dicti sunt quia mendaciis et astutiis suis nebulam quandam et tenebras obiciant*.

10. **septimus annus,** in which Pliny, vii. 15, states that children shed their front teeth. Quintilian, i. 1 § 15, states that seven was the age at which some authorities held that children should begin to be taught.

12. **barbatos magistros,** 'philosophers to teach them.' The beard was allowed to grow, especially by the Cynics and Stoics: cf. Persius, Sat. i. 133 *Si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellat*, Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 35 *sapientem pascere barbam*, and id. Sat. i. 3. 133. There was a Greek proverb, ἐκ πώγωνος σοφός: cf. Aul. Gell. N. A. ix. 2 *Video barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum video*. The Emperor Hadrian wore a beard (Spart. Had. xxvi) to hide some malformation; possibly he was not averse to assume the sign of a philosopher. This brought beards into universal fashion. See D. & Saglio, s. v. *barba*.

mille, for a large number, as Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 116.

15. 'Then as to cruelty. Think you that a son who has grown up with his eyes fixed on a Rutilus can ever grow up humane?'

Before **mitem animum** we should naturally have had *utrum*: Rutilus is the subject to both *praecipit* and *putat*.

mores modicis erroribus aequos. A character indulgent to small offences. For the thought cf. Horace, Sat. i. 3. 76 sqq.: for *aequus* cf. ib. ll. 117, 118 *adsit Regula peccatis quae poenas irroget* aequas. Cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 10 § 6 *Nemo irascitur ubi vitium natura defendit. Placidus itaque sapiens et* aequus *erroribus, non hostis.* So ib. § 1 *Illud potius cogitabis non esse irascendum erroribus: quid enim, si quis irascatur in tenebris parum vestigia certa ponentibus?*

16. 'That the souls and bodies of his slaves are composed of the same materials and the same elements as our own (who are of a different caste).' For the sentiment cf. Seneca, Ep. xlvii, the whole of which should be read in connection with this passage: but cf. especially the beginning, *Libenter ex his qui a te veniunt cognovi familiariter te cum servis tuis vivere: hoc prudentiam tuam, hoc eruditionem decet. Servi sunt? immo homines. Servi sunt? immo contubernales. Servi sunt? immo humiles amici. Servi sunt? immo conservi; si cogitaveris tantumdem in utrosque licere fortunae . . . virga murmur omne compescitur . . . non habemus illos hostes sed facimus.* See, especially, upon the treatment of their slaves by the Romans, Boissier, vol. ii. p. 318, who shows from Orelli's inscriptions, 1728, 2921, that the slave was considered to have a 'genius' as much as the freeman: that the Roman religion allowed him to participate in its sacred ceremonies; and that the lot of the slave after death was similar to that of his master. *Locus in quo sepelitur servus religiosus est* (Dig. xi. 7. 2). Cf. Varro, de L. Lat. vi. 24, and Macrob. Sat. i. 7. 26.

18. **Rutilus.** In xi. 2, 5, 21 a rich man who has run through his property.

19. **nullam Sirena.** Sil. xiv. 473 *Siren assuetos effudit in aequore cantus*; Ov. A. A. iii. 311 *Monstra maris Sirenes erant quae voce canora Quamlibet admissas detinuere rates.*

flagellis, the terrible scourge applied to slaves. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 119 *horribili flagello*: cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 479 *Hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagellis, Hic scutica.* The Persians, as described by Amm. Mar. xxiii. 6 § 80, were even worse than Rutilus in the tortures to which they subjected their slaves; and it is to be trusted that the conduct of the Orientals is contrasted with that of the Romans towards their slaves.

20. **Antiphates,** the cannibal king of the Laestrygones, who devoured one of the three scouts sent by Ulysses, and sunk all his ships but one: cf. Homer, Od. x. 114; Ovid, Met. xiv. 233.

Polyphemus, the Cyclops. Homer, Od. i. 69, ix. 182 sqq.; Verg. Aen. iii. 616 sqq.: he was also a cannibal, Odyssey ix. 289.

> σὺν δὲ δύω μάρψας ὥς τε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ | κάπτ' . . .
> ἤσθιε δ' ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, οὐδ' ἀπέλειπεν.

21. **tortore vocato.** To inflict such punishments as hanging them up by the hands while weights were attached to their feet, while at the same time they were flogged, Plaut. Asin. ii. 2. 31. Letters were burnt in on the foreheads of delinquent slaves: these seem to be referred to Aul. ii. 4. 46 and Petron. § 109 *stigmosi*: *stigmata* is the slave's expression for these *notae*. Those thus branded were called *liberati*, *notati*, or *inscripti*; cf. Mart. viii. 75. 9 *Quattuor* inscripti *portabant vile cadaver* (cf. line 24). Ovid's defence of himself in Amor. ii. 7. 21, 22 is a grim commentary upon this passage. He would never be capable of intriguing with a ladies-maid, *Tergaque complecti* verbere secta.

22. **duo propter lintea:** 'and all for a couple of napkins stolen,' as in Mart. viii. 59. 8 each guest seems to have brought his own napkin, so that detection would be more difficult.

24. **inscripti** has been adopted into the text according to a suggestion of Prof. Mayor, instead of the *inscripta* of the MSS. It is quite in Juvenal's style to place words together asyndetically, cf. *urceolae, pelves, sartago, matellae*, Sat. x. Bücheler reads *inscripta, ergastula, carcer*. See above on l. 21. Cf. Sen. de Ira i. 12 § 4 *Si calda non praebetur, si vitreum fractum est, si calceus luto sparsus est* (it is wrong to be angry).

ergastula. See Sat. vi. 151, viii. 180. These *ergastula* or barracoons were often underground, Colum. i. 6. 3. They were forbidden under the emperors (Spart. Hadr. 18), but were never quite suppressed: Becker's Gallus, p. 221.

25. **rusticus expectas.** The expression is from Horace, Ep. i. 2. 42, though the thought is different. Some, like Mayor, put a stop after *rusticus*, as the *ergastulum* was in the country; cf. *augebis ruri numerum, genus ferratile*, Plaut. Most. i. 1. 19. But it seems more natural to suppose that Juvenal, as he so often does, is parodying the words of a classic author. Cf. x. 220 sqq.

29. **ceras,** *tabulas ceratas*, i. 63; here 'love-letters,' as in Ov. Am. i. 12. 23.

31. ''Tis nature's will: home examples corrupt us sooner and more nearly *because* they steal into our minds backed by great authorities.' Cf. Seneca, de Ira ii. cc. 21, 22, e.g. 21 § 9 *Apud Platonem educatus puer, cum ad parentes relatus, vociferantem videret patrem 'Nunquam' inquit 'hoc apud Platonem vidi.' Non dubito quin* citius *patrem imitatus sit quam Platonem.* Cf. too Quintil. Inst. i. 2 § 26, &c.

33. **unus et alter,** 'one or two,' 'here and there.' Cf. Ov. Am. ii. 5. 22 *compositi iuvenes unus et alter erant.*

35. The arch-potter Prometheus iv. 133. vi. 11–13: *Satus Iapeto* Ov. Met. i. 82; *Iapeti genus*, Hor. Carm. i. 3. 27. Juvenal seems to be thinking of Hor. Carm. i. 16. 3 *Fertur Prometheus addere principi Limo coactus particulam undique Desectam.* In Plato's Protagoras he appears as the creator of man. Cf. Callim. Fragment 133 (Schneider) εἴ σε Προμηθεὺς Ἔπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ 'ξ ἑτέρου γέγονας. Cf. too Clau-

dian, in Eutrop. ii. 496 *Deteriore luto quos condidit* (Prometheus). Cf. Ov. Met. i. 82, 83.

praecordia, the heart, as the seat of conscience as well as of intellect; cf. Sat. i. 167.

36. 'The footsteps of their fathers, which should serve them as a warning, actually serve them as a guide.'

37. **orbita,** properly 'a rut'; here used of a 'beaten track.'

38. **huius** depends on *potens*; 'there occurs at once one reason which governs this precept, our children may follow our example.' Cf. xiii. 239, 240 *ad mores natura recurrit Damnatos fixa et mutari nescia.*

vel, as we might say, 'at once'; cf. Verg. Ec. iii. 50 *Audiat haec vel qui venit, ecce Palaemon,* i. e. the very first who comes.

40. **dociles imitandis turpibus,** cf. Sil. i. 237, xi. 11.

41. 'We readily imitate what is evil, *and* evil examples are the rule. You may readily, and in any climate, meet with a Catiline, but not with a Brutus (M. Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar) and his uncle, M. Porcius Cato,' the brother of Servilia, the mother of Brutus. Cf. Seneca Ep. xcvii. § 10 *Omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret. Ad deteriora faciles sumus, quia nec dux potest nec comes deesse.*

Catilinam. Cf. Sat. ii. 27, viii. 231, x. 288.

44. **nil dictu foedum visuque.** Cf. Tac. Dial. 28 § 5 of the old Roman governess, *Eligebatur maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur.* For the good examples of good teachers see Plutarch, de Vitioso Pudore, c. 2. See also the beautiful verses of Persius, v. 30 sqq. Cf. Friedländer, vol. iii. p. 706. So Quintil. Inst. Or. i. 1 § 8 *imperiosi atque interim saevientes stultitiam suam perdocent. Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus.*

45. Juvenal refers to the sacrificial formula, *procul o procul este profani, Exclamat vates, totoque absistite luco,* Verg. Aen. vi. 258. Cf. Calp. ii. 55; Callimachus H. in Apoll. 2, ἔκας ἔκας ὅστις ἀλιτρός: Eurip. Bacch. 67 sqq; Aristoph. Ranae 353 sqq.

47. **maxima debetur puero reverentia.** The thought is from Plato, Legg. 729 B–C.: 'A wise lawgiver will charge the elders to reverence the young and to beware, above all things, lest the young see or hear them doing or saying anything shameful.' Cf. too Plato's injunctions in the Republic, p. 377, not to teach the young that the gods were really as Homer represented them, and also Quint. i. 8 § 4.

48. **tu** enforces a precept: cf. Hor. Carm. i. 9. 16, and Ep. i. 2. 63 *hunc frenis, hunc* tu *compesce catena.*

49. Cf. Plato de Legg. lib. ix. ad init., Epictet. in Enchiridio § 33 (Schweigh.), Seneca, Ep. xi. § 6 *Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, et omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus.* Plutarch says that Cato would not strip to wash before his son. Notice the hiatus before the caesura in the third arsis.

51. **quandoque,** 'one day': quite classical in this sense, but also used for *quandocunque* by good writers.

52. *Dare se alicui*, like *se praebere*, to 'show oneself.' Cf. Ovid, Met. xii. 594 *Det mihi se: faxo triplici quid cuspide possim.*

53. **omnia peccet.** 'Who may wander more fatally astray from right, thanks to your tracks.'

54. **nimirum,** 'of course,' satirical; cf. ii. 104 *Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam.*

54, 55. **acerbo clamore.** With a feeling of bitterness as if you were the wronged man. Reproof and punishment should be calm; and should aim a tcorrection, not personal revenge: cf. Sen. de Ira i. 15 § 4 *Ad coercitionem errantium sceleratorumque irato castigatore non opus est: nam cum ira delictum animi sit, non oportet peccata corrigere peccantem.*

In the case of the ablative of concomitant circumstances we sometimes have *cum* expressed, as *cum clamore magno*: sometimes we have the substantive simply without any adjective, as *templum clamore petebant* Verg. Aen. i. 519; the transition between the ablative of concomitant circumstances and the regular ablative absolute is an easy one; cf. such a phrase as *nulla est altercatio clamoribus unquam habita maioribus* Cic. Brut. c. 44 § 164, and Sat. i. 13 note. See Roby ii. § 1242.

55. **tabulas mutare,** 'to recast your will.' Cf. xii. 123.

56. Such sentences as these are described as elliptical, and this description of them is so far correct that it would be natural in prose to write *unde tibi frontem sumes* or *parabis?* But it must not be assumed that the reader or hearer actually needs to supply the word in his mind, any more than in such a case as 'Whence this impudence?' we need necessarily supply 'do you get.' For the explanation of such ellipses see Paul, Principles of Language, Translation, p. 351 (Longmans, 1890). Such ellipses are common in the language of daily life, as in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero's letters: e. g. Plaut. Captivi iii. 4. 19 *ultro istum a me.* See Draeger, vol. i. p. 196. So Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 12 *Unde mihi tam fortem*, and Sat. ii. 7. 116 *Unde mihi lapidem?*

frontem: cf. the use of the French *front* and our *effrontery.*

57. 'And your conduct in setting such an extravagant example shows that you need to be treated for madness with a cupping-glass.' Cf. Petron. § 90 *quotiescunque coeperis a te exire, sanguinem tibi a capite mittam.*

58. **cucurbita,** 'a cupping-glass' of metal or horn, so called from its likeness to a gourd. The air was exhausted from the metal instrument by means of burning tow inside it; in the case of those of horn it was sucked out; the air would naturally rush in with a draught when the cupping-glass was raised, and hence the epithet **ventosa,** 'draughty'; whence the French word *ventouse*, which means a cupping-glass at the present day (M.). Cf. Celsus, ii. § 11, iii. § 18 and vii. § 26. For the periphrasis cf. Sat. xiii. 97 *Si non eget Anticyra nec Archigene.*

59 69. 'If a guest is expected you will take trouble enough; "clean everything up" is the word, and the master raves like a madman if he is

not instantly obeyed; a little dirt puts you out, but you care little for the purity and sanctity of your own son.'

60. **pavimentum,** 'a pavement,' the floor being inlaid with slab-work, large four-cornered pieces of white or coloured marble. *Pavimentum sectile* was composed of differently coloured marbles of different shapes. *Pavimentum tessellatum* is the name given to the real mosaic. This art came to Rome in the sixth century A. U. C. Cf. Pliny xxxvi. 60 § 1, Cic. Orat. 44 § 149 (quoting Lucilius) *ut tesserulae omnes Arte, pavimento atque emblemata vermiculato.* See Becker's Gallus, Scene xi. Exc. i. p. 271, and for the different kinds of concrete and cement used to form a bed for marble pavings cf. Middleton, p. 37.

nitidas. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. i. 2. 28 *ut niteant aedes.*

61. **aranea.** Cf. Plaut. Stich. ii. 2. 24 *Ut operam omnem aranearum perdam et texturam improbam.* **Arida** means 'left untouched so long that the spider had dried in its web.'

62. **leve argentum,** i.e. *purum*, plain, as contrasted with *asperum* or embossed plate, also called *argentum caelatum*, Cic. Tusc. v. 21.

63. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 66 *Hic neque servis Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit, Saevus erit*, as was Ballio in Plaut. Pseud. i. 2. 80. See Palmer's note to Horace, ad loc.

virgam tenentis. Cf. Macrob. Sat. i. 11 *virga murmur omne servorum compescitur.*

67. **semodio.** The *modius* contained ·948 of an imperial peck.

scobis, 'sawdust' for strewing the floor. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 8 *In scobe quantus Consistit sumptus?* See the note on its use in Becker's Gallus, Scene ix. p. 122. Petron. 68 *Scobem croco et minio tinctam sparserunt, et quod nunquam antea videram ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum.*

emendat. The potential use of the conjunctive: in the active the *futurum exactum* is here generally used (without its usual signification). Cf. Madvig § 350 (*b*).

68. **agitas,** 'ponder over': cf. Ter. Phorm. iv. 3. 10 *id agitans mecum sedulo, Inveni remedium huic rei.*

sanctam domum. Cf. Hor. Carm. iv. 4. 35, 36 *Utcumque defecere mores Indecorant bene nata culpae.*

omni. Cicero would here have employed *ullus*: it is from this usage of *omnis* that the Italian derives its *ogni*.

70. **gratum est.** 'It is pleasant to hear.' Cf. Sat. iii. 3 *unum civem donare Sibyllae.*

74. Juvenal and Seneca are fond of drawing illustrations from animal life. Cf. Sat. xv. 160, and Sen. ad Marc. Cons. xviii, where many examples are cited.

77. The vultures would naturally frequent scenes of crucifixion, for the body was left hanging on the cross. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 16. 48 *Non pasces in cruce corvos.* Cf. Petron. § 111 *miles, qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret.*

80. The vulture is said generally to build in rocks, but Juvenal

follows the popular tradition. Cf. Ovid. Am. i. 12. 20 (Yonder ill-starred tree) *Vulturis in ramis et strigis ova tulit.*

81. **famulae Iovis.** Eagles; *ministrum fulminis alitem* Horace, Carm. iv. 4. 1; Aen. v. 255 *Iovis armiger.*

generosae aves: ἀρχὸν οἰωνῶν Pindar, Pyth. i. 7, οἰωνῶν βασιλέα id. Ol. xiii. 21.

85. For the construction of **praedam** cf. Horace, Sat. i. 4. 2 *atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est* and id. Sat. ix. 16.; Lucr. i. 16; Verg. Aen. i. 573; Juv. iii. 91.

86–106. 'The influence of example may be seen in every-day life; the father has a caprice for building, in the son it becomes a mania; the father respects the Jewish religion, the son embraces it.'

86. On the mania for building in Rome see Friedländer i. § 98. The passion was probably developed to a larger extent from the time of Augustus to that of Vespasian than at any other time of the world. It seems partly to have depended on the pride in what was imposing and grandiose, partly to have been a result of the cheap labour afforded by a slave state. Strabo remarks that the speed with which houses changed hands at Rome caused a perpetual process of building new houses (i. 314. 3). In Hor. Ep. i. 1. 83, the rich man begins building at Baiae and alters his site to Teanum; cf. too Carm. iii. 1. 33–36 and 24. 3.

aedificator. It was set down by Nepos as a credit to Atticus (xiii.) *Cum esset pecuniosus nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus* aedificator. Cf. too Mart. ix. 46 on Gellius, who has the building mania; and id. ix. 22. 16.

87–91. **Cretonius** chose the most beautiful sites for building. **Caieta** (Gaeta) was on the pretty Latian coast (Aen. vii. 2. Mart. v. 1. 5, where he speaks of it as a favourite resort of Domitian). **Tibur** (Tivoli), 20 miles to the N. E. of Rome on a hill gently sloping towards the Campagna; **Praeneste** itself lay 2100 feet above the sea in the Latian highlands. For a similar passage cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 4. 23 sqq., and Sat. iii. 190–192. Cretonius eclipsed the finest buildings in the provinces as effectually as did Posides, Claudius' favourite, the capital of Rome. At Praeneste there was a celebrated temple of Fortune, on the foundations of which the modern town of Palestrina is mainly built; Fortuna was called *dea Praenestina* Ov. Fasti vi. 62; Suet. Tib. 63: Propert. ii. 32. 3. At Tibur there was a temple of Hercules, whence Tibur is called *Herculeum*: see Prop. ii. 32. 5, iv. 7. 82. **Posides** built a bath at Baiae called *balineae Posidianae*, Plin. xxxi. 2.

90. For the debasing influence of *aedes marmoreae* see Amm. xxii. 6 § 6. For a full list and description of the foreign marbles used at Rome, see Middleton, p. 12. The chief white marbles were the *marmor Pentelicum* and *Parium*; but Thasian, Lesbian and Tyrian white marbles were also employed. For the coloured marbles see id. p. 13.

92. For the construction cf. line 95, also iii. 10.

96. 'So again in the case of religion. Some fathers ape the manners

and cult of this strange sect; the sons, trained to disregard the laws of Rome, actually become Jews.' For the position of the Jews in Rome see Milman's 'History of the Jews,' vol. iii. p. 140 sqq.; and Friedländer, vol. iii. 4 § 581 sqq. Politically, the Jews seem to have been well treated. They had, indeed, after the great Jewish war, to pay the tax of two drachmas, formerly paid to Jerusalem, for the maintenance of the temple of the Capitoline Jove. But they were allowed to hold civil posts without submitting to any ceremonies which went against their national religious prejudices, and they were excused from military service. They were excused from the worship of the Emperors, while the Christians were compelled to take part in it; their Sabbath was respected. No Jew need appear before a law court on that day; they were permitted to receive their portion of the free doles distributed on some other day than the Sabbath, in case the legal date fell upon that day, and they were allowed the free enjoyment of their own worship. But socially they were disliked, partly from the memories of their stubborn resistance in the Jewish war, and partly from the determined way in which they maintained their ethnical isolation, despising all who were not of their nation. See on this point Plin. H. N. xiii. 46, Quintilian iii. 7. 21, Tacit. Hist. v. 4, 5, 8. The latter expressly states that they brought up their proselytes in scorn of the gods, renunciation of their country, disrespect towards their parents and family. Their curious customs were also the object of contemptuous ridicule, especially their abstinence from pork, the favourite dish of the Roman populace. Still, in spite of this, their earnestness, their frugality, and their obedience to the law of the land, gained them many proselytes, so that Seneca de Superstit. (ed. Haase, p. 427, can write 'The customs of this notorious people have already come into such vogue, that they have been introduced into every land; they, the conquered, have given laws to their conquerors.'

As early as Cicero's time (pro Flacco, 28 § 67) the Jews are referred to with reprobation. Cicero calls the sum which they sent every year to Jerusalem a *barbara superstitio; multitudinem Iudaeorum, flagrantem nonnunquam in contionibus pro republica contemnere gravitatis summae fuit.* So ib. 28 § 68 he calls the Jews a *civitas suspiciosa et maledica.*

metuentem Sabbata. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 69 *Iudaeis hodie tricesima Sabbata*: cf. too Ovid, A. A. i. 76 *cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.*

97. Cf. Tac. Hist. v. 5 § 6 *Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt*, and he further remarks that they have no images in their temples. On the hostility of the Jews to the arts of statuary and painting see Hume, Natural Hist. of Religion, sec. viii. Cf. too Furneaux, Tac. Ann. p. 111, for the attitude of the Romans towards them.

98. 'And they think that to eat swine's flesh is to be a cannibal'; cf. Petron. Fragmenta 27 (Bücheler)

Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret
Et caeli summas advocet auriculas.

Plut. Qu. Conviv. § 5 alleges that this abstinence was due to the fear of leprosy; and this reason is repeated by Tac. Hist. v. 4 § 3 *sue abstinent memoria cladis quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium.* Cf. Sat. vi. 160.

99. 'In a short time they become actual proselytes, and are circumcised.' Cf. Tac. Hist. v. 5.

100. It was the exclusiveness of the Jewish religion which offended the polytheistic Romans, whose national Pantheon was ready to admit new divinities from any nation (cf. Boissier, vol. ii. c. 2). The Roman maxim was, Cic. pro Flacco § 69, *sua cuique religio est; nostra nobis.*

102. For **Moyses** cf. Tac. Hist. v. 4 *Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra: rursum concessa apud illos quae nobis incesta.*

103. Some word signifying 'it is their practice' has to be understood from the verbs in line 102. To show the way was the most ordinary courtesy of life: Sen. Ep. xcv. § 51 *Praecipiemus ut naufrago manum porrigat, erranti viam monstret, cum esuriente panem suum dividat?*

eadem nisi sacra colenti. For different passages bearing witness to the aversion inspired by the exclusiveness of the Jews. cf. Friedl. u. s.; Renan, Apôtres p. 289 § 1; 1 Thess. ii. 15; Tac. Hist. v. 5 § 2 *Iudaeorum misericordia in promptu, sed adversus* omnes alios *hostile odium: separati epulis, discreti cubilibus,* &c. Amm. xxii. 5. 5 says that Julianus (in 361 A. D.) *cum Palaestinam transiret Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum faetentium et tumultuantium taedio saepe percitus,* called them *inertiores Sarmatis,* &c., though Philo Judaeus expressly contradicts this charge in the De Caritate.

104. Cf. Sen. de Ben. iii. 8 § 3 *Beneficium est arentibus siti monstrare fontem*; cf. too id. Ben. iv. 29 § 1.

106. The nom. to *attigit* is *qui* understood from **cui**. 'Their father is in fault who respected the Sabbath, and now they have embraced all the other tenets of Judaism.' Cf. Namatian i. 391 sq. *Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno.* Suet. Aug. 76. Augustus writes *ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi.* Cf. Dio xxxvii. 17. The Jews, however, sided with the Pagans as against the Christians in some cases. Cf. Arnob. iii. 12 *tanquam formas tribuamus et nos Deo.*

107–160. 'Other vices seem natural to imitate; but avarice has to be enjoined on young men by their fathers; their avarice makes them wealthy, and their wealth augments their avarice: it seems so much akin to a virtue that it actually gets credit instead of reprobation.'

109. Sen. N. Q. iii. 30. 8 *etiam sine magistro vitia discuntur.* But Juvenal implies satirically that were avarice palpably a *vitium* it would be eagerly imitated. The young are naturally averse to it, for *imberbis iuvenis* is *utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,* and old age *Quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,* Hor. A. P. 164, 170.

fallit. Cf. Sen. Ep. xlv. § 6 *Res fallunt: illas discerne! pro bonis*

mala amplectimur . . . adulatio quam similis est amicitiae ; non imitamur tantum illam, sed vincit et praeterit ; . . . vitia nobis sub virtutum nomine obrepunt. So Ovid, Rem. Amor. 323 *Et mala sunt vicina bonis ; errore sub illo Pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit.* Cf. Boileau, Sat. iv. 60 *Un avare, idolâtre et fou de son argent, Rencontrant la disette au sein de l'abondance, Appelle sa folie une rare prudence* (Lemaire).

110. 'Since it is serious in its mien, and imposing in its looks and its garb.'

111. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 49 *Parcius hic vivit,* frugi *dicatur. Frugi* is always used as a term of praise.

112. **parcus,** 'thrifty,' cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 194 *quantum discordet parcus avaro.* For **rerum tutela suarum** cf. Hor. A. P. 329 *rem poteris servare tuam. Tutela* used metonymically for *tutor*, as Hor. Ep. i. 1. 103, and Carm. iv. 14. 43 *o tutela praesens Italiae.*

114. **Hesperidum serpens,** the dragon which guards the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. Hesiod, Theog. 335, Verg. Aen. iv. 483 sqq., Ovid, Met. iv. 646. Cf. Mart. x. 94. 1 *Non mea Massylus servat pomaria serpens.* The gardens were said to be in Libya, Amm. xxii. 16. 4. The dragon was slain by Hercules.

Ponticus, the guardian of the golden fleece in Colchis, put to sleep by Medea, see Ov. Met. vii. 149 sqq.

115. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 41 sqq. for the current ideas on the subject of money-getting.

116. **quippe** implies that it is natural that they should increase, since the workmen are such, *but* 117) that they should so increase we must keep the anvil ever busy.

118. *Incudem tundere* seems to have been a proverbial expression answering to our 'to hammer away,' Amm. xxviii. 4 § 26.

119. **et,** 'and so the father, like the mob, comes to think that niggards are happy.'

animi is very common in the genitive after adjectives denoting a certain state of feeling, as *aeger, lactus,* &c., cf. Madvig, § 291 g. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 11 *te, Bolane, cerebri Felicem* ; the genitive is probably a reminiscence of the Greek use in such cases, as Aristoph. Eq. 186 *ὦ μακάριε τῆς τύχης,* Vesp. 1292 *μακάριαι τοῦ δέρματος.* It is probable that the locative sense seen in such phrases as *nec me animi fallit* Lucr. i. 136, co-operated in order to render such forms common ; cf. Vergil's *infelix, dubius, fidens, furens, miseratus, praestans, victus, animi.*

121. **pauperis** is here the substantive ; he denies that there is any example of happiness save among the rich.

The Scholiast says that Juvenal had in mind Aglaus, an Arcadian, who was declared by the oracle of Apollo to be the happiest of men because he had never gone beyond his father's farm. See Pliny, H. N. vii. 47. *Paupertas* is defined by Seneca as *quae non pauca, sed quae non multa possidet*, Ep. lxxxvii. 36 ; *cui cum paupertate bene convenit, dives est* Ep. iv. 8 ; see esp. Ep. lxxx. §§ 6 sqq.

122. sectae. *Secta* is used for a party of those who follow the same course or hold the same opinions; in this case the party of those who think that riches and happiness are synonymous. Cf. Lucr. v. 1114 *Divitioris enim sectam plerumque sequuntur Quamlibet et fortes et pulchro corpore creti*; so *viam et sectam aut rationem vitae sequi*, Cic. N. D. ii. c. 22.

123. vitiorum elementa. 'First rudiments' or 'primary principles' of vice, as in Hor. Ep. i. 1. 27; in Hor. Sat. i. 1. 26 *elementa velint ut discere prima*, in which case the alphabet is specially referred to, which was specifically termed *elementa*.

124. minimas sordes, 'petty savings.'

126. Each slave received a certain allowance of *cibaria* (corn or bread), wine and olives or salt fish: (*demensum*) *diarium* or *menstruum*. The precise quantity and quality of each article of food and clothing supplied to slaves are detailed, Cato, R. R. §§ 56–59. By saving a portion of these allowances slaves put by their *peculium*; *peculium suum quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato pro capite numerant*, Sen. Ep. lxxx. § 4.

iniquus seems to have been a legal term for unjust measures: cf. Dig. xix. 32 *siquis a me oleum quod emisset adhibitis iniquis ponderibus accepisset*; cf. too Persius i. 130 *hominas iniquas*, explained by the Scholiast as *inaequales mensuras*.

127. 'Nor indeed can he ever brook to consume even his mouldy crusts all at once, but must keep some till next day.'

128. caeruleus, like other Latin words of colour (see Geiger, Development of the Human Race, p. 55, Translation), is a word whose meaning is far from precise: it seems originally to have meant 'dark'; and, after passing through gradations of grey, to end in 'blue.' In the same way the German *blau* and our 'blue' signified originally 'black.'

129. Cf. Mart. i. 104. 7 (of a miser) *Deque decem plures semper servantur olivae, Explicat et cenas unica mensa duas*, i. e. one cooking serves twice.

hesternum minutal. 'Mincemeat of yesterday.' *θοίνην ἑῶλον*, Athen. viii. 2. *Minutal* is a hash or mincemeat made up of various ingredients: in Mart. xi. 31 we have an epigram on a man who grew pumpkins and used them as a substitute for all kinds of other food; *Hinc* (e cucurbitis) *exit varium coco minutal Ut lentem positam fabamque credas.* Apic. iv. 3 gives receipts for its make.

medio Septembri, when the great heat of the South winds prevailed, which tainted meat very quickly; Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 41 *coquite horum obsonia Praesentes Austri!* Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 16. 16 *Septembribus horis*: Juv. Sat. iv. 59.

131. conchis (cf. iii. 293), used by Mart. v. 39. 10 for a meal of the commonest and cheapest food; the **lacertus** (Mart. x. 48, xii. 19), some cheap sea-fish, is coupled with the *conchis*, which would be had in summer.

132. signatam, 'with a seal set on it'; **cum** is repeated in sense before *dimidio putrique siluro*. Cf. Mart. ix. 88. 7 *Nunc signat meus*

anulus lagonam. For *signatam* cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 134. Cf. Cic. Ep. Fam. xvi. 26. 2 ; his mother used to seal up even the empty *lagonae, ne dicerentur inanes fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae.*

133. 'And to number and lock up the green tops of the leeks.' **filum,** of anything fine and stringy. Cf. Mart. xi. 52. 6. *porris fila resecta suis*, the young tops cut from their root. There were two kinds of **porrum**, *sectile* or *sectivum* and *capitatum* : leeks, onions and garlic were very popular among the Roman working classes ; see Mart. xiii. 18 and Hehn, Culturpflanzen, p. 166.

134. **aliquis de ponte.** 'The first beggar you meet' ; for the bridges of Rome were the regular beggar's haunt : cf. Mart. x. 5. 3 'may any libellous verse writer be so beggared that *Erret per urbem pontis exul et clivi : Interque raucos ultimus rogatores Oret caninas panis improbi buccas.*' Cf. Sat. iv. 116 n, v. 8.

135. **quo divitias.** For the construction as well as the thought cf. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12 *Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti* ; and Wilkins' note ad loc. Cf. too Cato, Distich. iv. 16 *Quo tibi divitias, si semper pauper abundas ?*

136. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 82 *Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris.*

139. For the thought cf. Persius. vi. 78 sqq. So Hor. Carm. iii. 16. 17 *Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam* : Seneca, de Ben. ii. 27 § 2 *eo maiora cupimus quo maiora venerunt.*

140. 'And the desire for money felt by the poor man is actually less than that felt by the rich.' **ergo,** 'and so'—since riches point the way to acquisition.

paratur altera villa. Cf. *parabat Culmina villarum* 88, 89.

142. Cf. Hor. Carm. ii. 18. 23 sqq., Sat. i. 1. 110, and Ovid, A. A. i. 349, 350 *Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris, Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.*

145. 'But if your neighbour, Naboth-like, refuses to sell the plot which you covet, you will send your starved and tired cattle to eat down his grass.' Cf. Sen. Ep. xc. § 39 *licet agros agris adiciat, vicinum vel pretio pellens aeris vel iniuria.* Cf. Pliny, H. N. ii. 68. 5 *haec in qua conterminos pellimus, furtoque vicini cespitem nostro solo adfodimus, ut qui latissime rura metatus fuerit, ultraque fines exegerit accolas, quota terrarum parte gaudeat ?* Cf. too id. xviii. § 12, where he mentions that stealing crops or depasturing cattle on one's neighbour's land was penal. Cf. too Appuleius. Met. ix. §§ 201, 202 (quoted by Lewis).

152. 'But then think of the talk, of the trumpet-note of evil report !' 'Nonsense ! I would rather have a bean-pod than be a model of virtue on a tiny plot of land !' For such ellipses cf. i. 88, 89 ; vi. 641, &c.

153. **inquit,** 'the reply is' ; cf. iii. 143, x. 291.

156. **scilicet,** 'and so I am to suppose that you will get rid of your disease and trouble by your wealth ? Or that you will live longer should you be the sole proprietor of an estate as large as one enjoyed by your

ancestors under Tatius, after Rome had joined the Sabines?' Cf. Senec. Ep. cxv. § 14 *Sine me vocar pessimum* ut dives vocer!

159. Cf. Lucan, i. 167 sqq. *tum longos iungere fines Agrorum et quondam duro sulcata Camilli Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.* Cf. too Sen. de Ira, i. 16 § 32 *avaritia provinciarum nominibus agros colit, et sub singulis vilicis latiores habet fines quam quos consules sortiebantur.* See too id. Ben. vii. 10 § 5.

160. **sub Tatio.** Ov. Med. Fac. 11 *antiquae Tatio sub rege Sabinae,* where he gives a pleasing picture of primitive simplicity.

161. 'Ay, and even at a later date than this, war-scarred veterans, after campaigns each of which saved Rome, received at most a couple of *iugera* apiece.' **mox** joined to a conjunction is not found in Cicero or Livy.

162. **gladiosque Molossos.** Pyrrhus is called *rex Molossus,* xii. 108.

163. Cf. Livy vi. 16, also Varr. R.R. i. 10. 2 *bina iugera, quae a Romulo primum divisa dicebantur viritim,* and Plin. xviii. 2.

164. Cf. Sat. i. 42 *mercedem sanguinis.*

165. 'Less than their deserts or a breach of faith on the part of their thankless country.'

167. **turbamque casae.** *Turba* is used of a crowd of relatives or friends, cf. Sen. Cont. ix. § 7; Mart. x. 61. 5, 6.

169. At the present day, Juvenal means, the rule is to find small families and numerous slaves. For the kindness with which *vernae* were treated cf. v. 66 and ix. 61. **domini,** *eri minores,* as Plautus calls them, Asin. iii. 3. 63; **magnis,** 'grown up,' as in l. 79.

171. **pultibus,** 'spelt porridge,' xi. 58, 109. See Hehn, p. 456. Cf. Pers. iii. 55 *iuventus grandi pasta polenta.*

172. Cf. Plin. H.N. xxxvi. § 111.

173. ''Tis from this avarice that incentives to crime arise.' Cf. Lucan, i. 158 *Hae ducibus causae suberant.*

174. Cf. iii. 305; Tac. Hist. iii. 39 *veneno grassari.*

180. The Vestini, Marsi and Peligni were all highland Samnite peoples, noted for their endurance, cf. iii. 169 and the line of Ennius, *Marsa manus, Peligna cohors, Vestina virum vis* (Ann. 532 Müller.) **Hernicus.** The capital of the Hernici was Anagnia in Latium; but they were of the Sabellian stock; Livy, ix. 43, says of the war which they waged against the Romans in B.C. 306, *Hernicum bellum nequaquam pro praesenti terrore ac vetusta gentis gloria fuit.*

181. **panem.** 'Let us get bread by dint of ploughing, not luxuries by tax farming or *latifundia* like the rich, and not doles like the Roman populace.' Cf. Sen. Ep. xxv. § 4 *panem et aquam natura desiderat,* and Eurip. Frag. 884 Dind. ἐπεὶ τί δεῖ βροτοῖσι πλὴν δυοῖν μόνοιν | Δήμητρος ἀκτῆς πώματός θ' ὑδρηχόου;

183. 'Thanks to whose bounty and aid, after the kindly gift of corn, man has been able to look with scorn on his old food of acorns.' Cf.

Verg. Georg. i. 7, 8 *Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista.* Cf. too Lucr. v. 929 sqq.

185. 'That man will have no lawless thought who is not too proud to don high leather boots in the face of ice': for **pero** cf. Pers. v. 102 *peronatus arator*; Aen. vii. 690 *crudus tegit altera* (*vestigia*) *pero*, where Servius explains *pero* as *rusticum calceamenti genus*.

186. **summovet.** *Summove turbam* was the expression used by the consul when directing the lictor to make the crowd move on, Livy iii. 48, Hor. Carm. ii. 16. 10. The word is possibly used in a similar sense here: he proudly challenges the East winds to stand aside, by donning skins with the hair inward.

188. **quaecunque est,** disparagingly. 'Whatever "purple" may mean, for I neither know nor care.' Cf. Aen. v. 83 *nec tecum Ausonium, quicunque est, quaerere Thybrin.* Juvenal is here in direct contrast to Martial, who sets down as hypocritical whoever deemed purple effeminate, Mart. i. 96, Friedl. i. 1 § 64. The purple is here condemned because it is foreign; whereas in Rome no luxuries are prized unless they come from afar. Cf. iv. 127 *peregrina est belua,* and hence worthy of the emperor's acceptance.

189. 'The parents used to excite the young to thrift and content; but now they excite them to gain.'

190. **post finem autumni.** 'After the unhealthy season has closed, and the nights have grown longer.'

media de nocte: *de* joined to nouns of time signifies that the time has not yet expired. 'While night is still at its height.'

supinum, 'sound asleep.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 5. 19 *stertitque supinus.*

192. **perlege rubras maiorum leges.** The titles and the first words of laws were written with vermilion (*minium*); hence *rubrica* (our 'rubric') stands actually for 'a law' in Pers. v. 90.

193. 'Or ask by petition for a centurion's post'; for the centurion carried a vine wand (**vitis**, cf. viii. 247 n.) to administer chastisement to soldiers. Under the Empire, young men who served in the hope of promotion entered as centurions, and not, as heretofore, as *tribuni militum*; Suet. Gram. § 24. There was an officer *a libellis*, in the imperial council, whose duty it was to inspect petitions and complaints, see Friedl. i. p. 108, § 94. Those so petitioning were called *petitores militiae,* which expression often occurs in inscriptions, cf. C. I. L. 2485, 2488, &c. Marq. St. Verwalt, iii. 367.

194. 'Only take good care that **Laelius** (the general) sees that you look rough enough and strong enough for the post.' A general look of roughness was characteristic of Roman soldiers. Cf. Persius. iii. 77 *hic aliquis de gente hircosa centuriorum*; cf. too Theoph. Char. 19. § 2 *τὰς μασχάλας θηριώδεις καὶ δασείας ἔχειν ἄχρις ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν.* In Sat. xvi. 14 their *grandes surae* are mentioned. The liveliness of the description justifies us in believing that Juvenal is speaking of what he has himself seen, and probably taken part in as a soldier.

196. **Maurorum attegias.** The Moors revolted during Hadrian's

reign, Spartian. Had. v. § 2. **Attegias** is the Latin word or the native *mapalia*. It is connected with *tego* and *tegumen*. The *ad* probably refers to the supports of the tent; cf. our word 'lean-to.' Cf. Sil. Ital. xvii. 89, 90 *levi calamo, cannaque intexta palustri, Qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia pastor*. The wretchedness of the Kabyle huts is still noticeable: 'On trouve souvent de grossières huttes de pierre et de boue . . . dans certaines vallées du littoral on voit des huttes de branches entrelacées et réunies entre elles par un mortier de terre et d'excrémens animaux,' La Kabyle et les coutumes kabyles, Harioteau et Letourneux.

Brigantum, who held the north of England, with Eboracum (York) for their capital. Petilius Cerealis attacked them successfully during Vespasian's reign, Tac. Agric. 17. The *cohors I Delmatarum*, of which the Juvenal of the inscription was a tribune, iii. 320, was in Britain at this time, as shown by its *diplomata* of A. D. 106, 124; it occurs in Hübner Inscrip. n. 367, 387, 388 and 400 Mayor). Assuming that Juvenal really was in Britain on military service, we can understand the frequency of his references to that country: cf. *arma quidem ultra litora Iuvernae promovimus et modo captas Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos*, ii. 159. He may indeed have taken the name of Thyle (xv. 112) from Tacitus' Agricola: but the name *Iuverna* for Ireland does not occur in Tacitus at all. Again, he calls the inhabitants of our island *Brittones* (xv. 124), a military appellation, Ephem. Epigr. v. p. 177. He speaks besides of the Richborough oysters (xiv. 196), of the British whales (x. 14), and refers to the British chieftain Arviragus (iv. 127), who is nowhere else mentioned, and who may have perished in one of the British campaigns under Nero or Vespasian. Cf. too vi. 469, the episode of the high-born lady who drives her she-asses with her when she follows her lord into exile among the Hyperboreans; cf. Hübner's article in Wochenschrift f. Kl. Ph. no. 49, p. 1343.

197. **locupletem aquilam.** The 'well-paid' eagle was in charge of the first centurion of the first cohort (*centurio primi pili*) D. H. x. 36. The post conferred the dignity and census of an *eques*, Mart. i. 32. 3. The career of a soldier of the lower classes *militia caligati*) generally closed with the centurionate; though he might become prefect of an auxiliary cohort, tribune, and lastly *praefectus alae equitum*. Young men of equestrian or senatorial rank entered at once as prefects of a cohort or tribune in the legion, and might be promoted to a *praefectura alae*; then they entered the civil service, and after filling the offices of quaestor, aedile or tribune and praetor, received the command of a legion as *legati* (Mayor ad loc.). The transferred epithet in *locupletem aquilam* is quite in Juvenal's style; cf. *plorante gula* v. 158.

sexagesimus annus. The regular term of service was twenty years, but was often prolonged, to the great discontent of the soldiers; Tac. Ann. i. 17.

199. **cornua,** curved round like a French horn, *Non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flevi*, Ov. Met. i. 98. For *solvere ventrem* as a sign of

fear, cf. Arist. Av. 627, *ἐγκεχόδασι μ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες*. The **lituus,** as the name implies, resembled in form the staff of the augur, and was a straight tube with a short spiral curl at the extremity. See Ramsay's Antiq. p. 449.

200. **pares,** 'buy what you can sell again at more by a half,' i.e. at a clear profit of 50 per cent.

201. 'And let no squeamishness at any wares come over you, even if they are so noisome that you have to take them over the Tiber to sell.' Cf. Mart. vi. 93. 1–4 *tam male Thais olet quam . . . non detracta cani Transtiberina cutis.* The *regio Transtiberina* was that to which offensive trades, such as tanning, were confined; see Burn, Rome and the Campagna, 261, 262.

203. 'Think that hides, if they sell well, are as sweet as essences.' An allusion seems here intended to the petty gains whereby Vespasian was content to enrich the treasury; Suet. Vesp. 23. Titus blamed his father for placing a tax upon ammonia (used by fullers). Vespasian *pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur; et illo negante, 'atqui' inquit 'e lotione est.'*

204. Cf. Mart. ix. 60. 11 *Consuluit nares an olerent aera Corinthon*: Amm. xxii. 4 § 3 *lucra ex omni odorantes occasione.*

207. Cf. Sen. Ep. cxv. § 14 *Sine me vocari pessimum ut dives vocer. An dives omnes quaerimus, nemo an bonus. Non quare et unde, quid habeas tantum rogant. Ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit, fuit.*

habere, absolutely, 'to possess property,' be rich. Cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 499 *aut invidit* habenti.

208. **vetulae assae.** 'Their old dry-nurses.' Schol. *assa nutrix dicitur quae lac non praestat infantibus, sed solum diligentiam et munditiam adhibet.* (Lucilius *ut* 207? *nutricula sicca vetusta infantibus monstrat.*

209. Terentian. 252 5; the Pythagoreans teach *summas numeri non ita litteris valere | Graecus pueros ut docet insonans magister | cum tollere cunctos iubet altius sinistras | unum ut sit alpha et duo beta et tria gamma.*

210. Cf. supra 63 *vox domini instantis.*

211. The meaning is, 'I guarantee the young rake's progress without any extra pains or anxiety on your part.'

212. **festinare,** cf. line 178.

213. Cf. Cowper's Tirocinium,

> 'Hark how the sire of Tiro . . .
> Soon see your wish fulfilled in either child,
> The pert made perter, and the tame made wild.'

213-214. From Ovid Met. xv. 850–1, 855–6. Cf. Hor. Carm. i. 15. 28 *Tydides melior patre.* 'As these sons rose superior to their sires in valour, so will yours rise superior to you in vice.'

215. **parcendum est teneris.** A satirical application of Vergil's

words to the planter, Georg. ii. 363 ; 'they have not yet filled their bones with marrow : i. e. they are yet but infants ; but low vice belongs to their nature, and is sure to assert itself.' Another reading is to put no stop at *medullas*, and, instead of *nequitia*, to adopt *nequitiae* (*p* ω), and *maturae* instead of *naturae* ; in which case the meaning will be 'not yet have the evils of vice grown to maturity filled (infected) his marrow.' *Huius aetatis pupilli nullum intellectum habent*, Justinian iii. 19 § 10.

217. 'And when it has grown long enough to introduce the razor-blade.' The Roman youth allowed his hair and beard to grow until he had attained his twenty-first year; it was then cut, and the *lanugo* was preserved in a casket and dedicated to the Lares.

219. **Cereris :** for Ceres and Proserpina were the goddesses by whom the most sacred oaths were sworn ; cf. xv. 141, Hor. Carm. iii. 2. 26–29. The ancients, to add solemnity to an oath, laid their hands on the altar, cf. xiii. 89 *intrepidi quaecunque altaria tangunt* ; cf. too Hor. Carm. iii. 23. 17 *Immunis aram si tetigit manus*, &c, and Nepos, Hannibal i. 4. To touch the foot of the statue would make the oath more binding still.

220. 'Consider your rich daughter-in-law as good as dead and buried if she once passes your threshold with her fatal dowry.' The bride was lifted over the threshold of her future husband's house that she might not knock her foot and trip, which would have been a bad omen. Cf. Gallus, Sc. i. Exc. i. : Catull. lxi. 159.

221. **premetur,** 'will be strangled.'

222. 'For what you think must be gained by toil and voyaging, he will gain by a speedier method—crime.'

224. 'For the trouble involved by a great crime is nothing.'

225. **olim,** 'one day,' when the crime has been done. **nec** may be for 'nor even,' as 246 *nec tibi parcetur misero.*

228. **producit** must be understood as = *docuit.*

229. This verse is omitted by some MSS, and is marked as doubtful by Jahn ; but such amplifications are quite in Juvenal's style.

230. 'Gives his son the rein, as in a chariot race, and cannot pull him up afterwards' ; cf. Verg. Georg. i. 514 *neque audit currus habenas.*

231. **nescit,** 'is unable,' cf. x. 360 *nesciat irasci.* **quem** refers to *illi* in 223.

233 234. 'No one deems it sufficient to sin as much only as you permit and no more.'

233. For **quantum** in the sense of 'how little,' cf. Plaut. Capt. prol. 51 *homunculi quanti sunt, quom recogito* ; cf. too Plato Rep. 608 B μέγας ὁ ἀγών, οὐχ ὅσος δοκεῖ, ibid. C ; Phaedo 83 B. For the sentiment, cf. Sen. de Ira i. 8 § 1 *faciet quantum volet, non quantum permiseris.*

234. **adeo,** 'so true is it that.' **latius,** 'more freely' ; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 113, 114 *Integris opibus novi non latius usum Quam nunc accisis.* **ipsi** 'they in their turn' : for this use of *ipse* cf. Verg. Ec. ii. 63 *Torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus* ipse *capellam.*

235. 'When you impress on a boy that he is a fool who gives to a

friend' : cf. Boileau, Sat. vii. 191 sqq. *Endurcis-toi le cœur : sois Arabe, corsaire . . . Ne va point sottement faire le généreux ; Engrasse-toi, mon fils, du suc des malheureux.*

237. **et,** 'at the same time.' **spoliare,** i. 46. **circumscribere,** x. 222.

238, 239. 'The love of which is as great as the noble love of country displayed by the Decii,' &c. ; for the Decii cf. viii. 254.

240. **Menoeceus,** the son of Creon, who killed himself because Tiresias had prophesied that his death would save his country when the seven Argive heroes marched against Thebes : Stat. Th. x. 612 sqq., Eurip. Phoenissae, 913 sqq., Apollod. 3. 6, Cic. Tusc. i. 98 §116.

241. This and the next three lines seem an awkward and unnecessary amplification ; but Juvenal is led as usual (x. 174) to say something satirical of Greek tragedy ; 'though in that country anything might happen if legions could arise from the earth,' &c.

quorum, i. e. *Thebanorum*, joined *κατὰ σύνεσιν* with **Thebas** ; cf. Liv. xi. 53 § 1 *Veiens bellum exortum quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant.* Cf. Paul's Principles of the History of Language, English Trans. (Longman & Co.), pp. 344, 345. Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth, from which the armed men sprung, Ov. Met. iii. 104 sqq. Some editors refer *quorum* to **Graecia**, i. e. *Graecos* : and no doubt this would make the reference to Greek mendacity more pointed ; cf. for the concord Sat vi. 413-415 *Nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile, quam quae Vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris Exorata solet.*

243. **tubicen,** cf. i. 169 for the *tuba* as the signal for battle.

244. 'And so, owing to your avarice.'

247. As the lion mentioned by Mart. Spect. x. 1 actually did. On the cruelty exercised by the Romans in taming lions and other beasts for the circus see Friedländer ii. 3, p. 404.

248. 'It is well enough for you to say that the astrologers have cast your horoscope and promised you a long life ; but your son will find it tedious to wait ; unless the Fates spin quicker, you will die before they have broken the thread.' For the **mathematici** or *Chaldaei* see Sat. iii. 43. Cf. Friedländer iii. 4, p. 560 ; Boissier vol. ii. pp. 166, 167. See also Tac. Ann. vi. 21, Hist. i. 22 ; Juv. Sat. vi. 562. Cf. Petron. p. 322 *vides me ? nec auguria novi, nec Mathematicorum caelum curare soleo : ex vultibus tamen hominum mores colligo.* Cf. Arellius Fuscus ap. Senec. Suas. iv. § 2 *plerosque dixere victuros, at nihil metuentes oppressit dies : aliis dedere finem propinquum, at illi superfuere . . . unicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex fide scientiae.*

grave (*est illi*) **tardas exspectare colus.** ''Tis a trial to wait till those slow threads are spun.' Cf. iii. 43, 44. and Ovid Met. i. 148 *Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.* Statius, Silv. iii. 3. 20 sqq., makes Claudius Etruscus lament his father's all too short life, and regards it as a wonder : *celeres genitoris filius annos* (*Mira fides !*) *nigrasque putat properasse sorores* (quoted by Lewis) ; Catull. lxiv. 401 *Destitit extinctos natus lugere parentes.*

249. Cf. Stat. Theb. viii. 11–13 *quin comminus ipsa Fatorum deprensa colus visoque paventes Augure tunc demum rumpebant stamina Parcae.*

250. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 53–6 *Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti Matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextera . . . Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.*

251. cervina. Hesiod is quoted by Plut. Defect. Orac. xi. p. 415 *d*, as saying that the crow lives nine times the length of a man's life, and the stag four times as long as the crow; cf. Auson. Idyll. xviii. 4 *Et quater egreditur cornicis saecula cervus.* Cf. Plin. H. N. viii. 50 *Vita cervis in confesso longa post centum annos aliquibus captis cum torquibus aureis quos Alexander Magnus addiderat.*

252. Archigenes. A celebrated physician at Rome in Trajan's time, referred to in Sat. vi. 236. Cf. Sat. xiii. 98.

quod Mithridates composuit, vi. 659–661; cf. also Mart. v. 76. 1, 2 *Profecit poto Mithridates saepe veneno Toxica ne possent saeva nocere sibi.*

256–305. 'If you wish to see a more amusing spectacle in real life than any offered at the theatre or the games, you may find it in the comedy of *L'Avare* in real life. He is mad enough for anything, even to go to sea for gain.' Cf. *quae comoedia, mimus Quis melior plorante gula?* v. 157, 158.

257. praetoris pulpita, iii. 174, and viii. 194–5.

In the year 22 B.C. the praetor undertook the charge of the games and shows, a duty which under the Republic had fallen to the *aediles*: the *aediles plebei* superintending the *ludi plebei*, the *curule aediles* the *ludi Romani*. See Schiller, Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer, p. 561.

260. fiscus, used in iv. 55 in its ordinary meaning of the emperor's privy purse: here used for any treasure, as in Phaedrus ii. 7. 2 *unus mulus ferebat* fiscos *cum pecunia.*

ad vigilem Castora. The temple of Castor, as *Cererem* for the temple of Ceres, ix. 24. The temple of Castor and Pollux lay to the S.W. of the Forum (Vitruv. iv. 8). In the neighbourhood were the tables of the money-lenders; *Sub veteribus* (*tabernis*) *ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore: Pone aedem Castoris ibi sunt . . . qui ipsi sese venditant,* Plaut. Curc. iv. 1. 19–21. Cic. pro P. Quint. § 17 *nisi ad Castoris quaesisses quantum solveretur.* And money was often deposited for safety in this, as in other temples. The following words tell us that the temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus, was the favourite deposit for money, until the god who should have guarded it proved his want of vigilance by losing his own helmet, whether by sacrilegious hands or by fire. For the temple of Mars Ultor see Burn, Old Rome, p. 38 sqq. and p. 92. The crime of *sacrilegium* was punished by the provisions of the *lex Julia de Peculatu.* Cf. Arnob. vi. 20 *cur* (*deos*) *sub validissimis clavibus ingentibusque sub claustris, sub repagulis, pessulis aliisque huiusmodi rebus custoditis, conservatis atque habetis inclusos, ac ne forte fur aliquis aut nocturnus inrepet latro aedituis mille protegitis atque excubitoribus mille?*

263–264. 'You may turn your back upon the *Floralia*, the *Cerealia*, the *Megalesia*: the comedy of real life beats all these.' The *Floralia* were celebrated April 28–May 3. They were celebrated with great license; see Ovid, Fast. v. 361 sqq., Friedländer ii. 314, who gives reasons for supposing that nightly illuminations on a magnificent scale were usual at these festivals. The *Cerealia* began on April 12 and lasted several days. They were *ludi circenses*, like the other two mentioned. **Cybeles,** the *Megalesia* vi. 69, xi. 193, in honour of Cybele, the great Phrygian Goddess of Nature, whose worship was introduced from Pessinus in B.C. 205, in obedience to an injunction contained in the Sibylline books, Livy xxix, 10–11. By the Greeks she was identified with Ῥέα, and styled *μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν*, and hence her festival was named *Megalesia*.

265. iactata petauro corpora. Besides the regular games, the gladiatorial shows and the theatrical representations which formed the main attractions of the circus, on special occasions other diversions were admitted, such as shows of athletes, musical festivals, jugglers and acrobats. See Friedl. ii. 3. p. 313. One of these were the performances of the *petauristarii* (*πέταυρον*, properly a perch for fowls), a stage machine of some kind, such as a spring-board or trapeze, by the aid of which the performer went through various acrobatic tricks. In Manilius v. 439 two performers on the *petaurum* are described, who are alternately shot up into the air and let down; apparently they end by jumping through fire and burning hoops to the ground. Cf. Petron. xlvii. *ego putabam petauristarios intrasse, et porcos, sicut in circulis mos est, portenta aliqua facturos.* Cf. *Quid si per graciles vias petauri Invitum iubeas subire Ladam* Mart. ii. 86. 7, 8.

266. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 210 speaks of the performance of the tight-rope dancer as little less than miraculous. Juvenal speaks of the strange freaks of the avaricious as a greater wonder still. We often hear of the feats of the rope-dancers. Sen. de Ira ii. 12 § 4 *didicerunt tenuissimis et adversis funibus currere*; Quintil. ii. 13 § 16 *patiatur necesse est illam per funes ingredientium tarditatem.* They are mentioned as *schoenobatae* iii. 77.

267. Corycus, the name of a town and promontory in Cilicia, celebrated for its saffron: Sall. H. i. 80 *Corycum urbem inclutam specu atque nemore, in quo crocum gignitur*, Culex 400 *Cilici crocus editus antro.* Cf. too Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 68, and Mart. Spect. iii. 8. The *crocus* was used for perfuming the theatre during scenic representations; cf. Luc. ii. 416, Becker, Gallus p. 45 note, and Sen. Quaest. Nat. ii. 9. For the ablative without *in* cf. i. 136.

268. 'To be tossed up by North-West and South alternately like the two acrobats who are raised and dropped alternately by the *petaurum*.'

269. perditus, 'desperate,' *luxuriae ac lasciviae perditae*, Suet. Cal. § 25.

olentis. *Olere* is commonly used of disagreeable smells, as in Martial's Epigram iv. 4. 12 *Quod vulpis fuga, viperae cubile, Mallem,*

quam quod oles olere, Bassa, and *ceram olere* Cic. de Or. iii. 25 : *redolere*, of pleasant odours, *redolentque thymo fragrantia mella* Verg. G. iv. 169.

270, 271. 'Whose pleasure is to visit classic Crete, not for its historic memories, but for its raisin wine.

271. passum. Wine made of grapes spread out (*pando*) to dry, raisin wine; cf. Verg. G. ii. 93, and *Gnosia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae Hoc tibi quod mulsum pauperis esse solet* Mart. xiii. 106. Pliny, H. N. xiv. 9 (§ 81) mentions it as highly prized. Athenaeus x. 11 tells us that Roman ladies were strictly forbidden to drink wine; but an exception was made in favour of *τὸν καλούμενον πασσόν*, which, he adds, was sweet, like Cretan wine.

municipes Iovis, &c. Because Jupiter was hidden from his father by Rhea his mother in a cave of Ida in Crete. Cf. Sat. xiii. 41. For the **lagonae** as Jove's fellow burghers cf. Aristoph. Acharn. 333 *ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὅδ' ἔστ' ἐμός.* Cf. too iv. 33 *Crispini municipes siluros*: and *municipes Cadmi lacernas*, Mart. x. 87.

272. 'But the rope-dancer, when he treads on his uncertain support, risks his life to gain his bread and keep off cold: you risk your life to make up the round sum of a thousand talents and a hundred villas.' The uncertainty of the footsteps of the rope-dancer seems purposely paralleled with that of the passenger on board ship, vi. 96 *nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis.*

273. illa mercede, 'by the pay which he gets for that performance': cf. Sen. de Ira, ii. 13 *Iam pertinacis studii non digna merces fuit.*

275. The break after a dactylic fourth foot is often followed in Juvenal by a *sententia*, or an example. xiii. 115, 192, xiv. 284, 292.

aspice portus et plenum magnis trabibus mare. For the frequency and necessity of long voyages to a Roman merchant cf. Friedl. ii. 1. 66; Hor. Ep. i. 6. 32, A. P. 117, Carm. i. 1. 15; Pers. v. 132 sqq.; Plin. H. N. ii. 118 'A countless throng of traders sails for the sake of profit to every new sea that is opened up.'

276. 'To-day the majority of men are upon the sea, not upon the land': this use of *plus* = *τὸ πλέον*, is unclassical.

278. Carpathium aequor. That between Rhodes and Crete, the highway for commerce between Italy and Asia Minor; often very rough; so called from Carpathus, a small island near Rhodes (Scarpanto): cf. Propert. ii. 5. 11 *Non ita Carpathiae variant Aquilonibus undae.* **Gaetula,** 'Moorish'; the Romans imported purple from Gaetulia. The coast line to the east of Calpe seems to be meant, on which were the dangerous Syrtes.

279. transiliet, 'will skip over,' as if he scorned them: cf. Hor. Carm. i. 3. 24 *Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.*

Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla on the opposite coast were the pillars of Hercules, the extreme West; 'yet even beyond this extreme point he will go.' The Scholiast's note to Calpe is *urnae similis* (*κάλπιδος*) *mons, inde Calpe, in extrema Hispania.* Thus probably Juvenal took

the word to come from a nominative *Calpis*—hence the short *e* of the ablative.

280. 'He will hear the sun set hissing in the flood of Hercules.' Cf. the same fable told of the northern regions in Tac. Germ. 45 *Trans Suionas aliud mare . . . solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper audiri . . . persuasio adicit.* Cf. Auson. Ep. xix. 2.

281. tenso folle, 'with crammed purse': cf. Sat. xiii. 61.

282. aluta is likewise a leather purse, softened by steeping in alum water.

283. For the monsters of the deep cf. Pliny, H. N. book ix. chaps 3, 4, and 5. Among others there cited are *ballaenae quaternum iugerum: et quaedam equorum, asinorum, taurorum capitibus:* (chap. 2) *. . . in Gallico Oceano physeter . . . altior navium velis diluviem quamdam eructans.* (3) *Tiberio principi nuntiavit Olisiponentium legatio ob id missa visum, auditumque in quodam specu concha canentem Tritonem: . . . et divo Augusto legatus Galliae complures in litore apparere exanimes Nereidas scripsit . . . visum in Gaditano oceano marinum hominem.* Cf. too Hor. Carm. i. 3. 18 *monstra natantia*, iii. 27. 27 *scatentem Beluis pontum*, iv. 14. 47 *beluosus Oceanus*, and Tac. Ann. ii. 24, who describes the soldiers who survived as narrating the wonders witnessed during their German expedition, *vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas:* Pliny, H. N., ii. § 7, also ix. 2 *In mari . . . semper pariente natura pleraque etiam monstrifica reperiuntur.* In speaking ironically of 'the young folks of the sea,' Juvenal is possibly thinking of 'the sight of Proteus rising from the sea,' and 'Triton blowing on his wreathed horn, the Nereids,' &c. But he has very probably especially in his mind the numerous stories told of dolphins becoming attached to youths and carrying them off to sea, of whom Arion is an instance.

284. Avarice, however, is only one phase of madness, revenge is another, ambition of glory is another. Euripides, in his Orestes, ll. 260–264, instances one—Orestes sees in his frenzy the Furies approaching to his destruction; and Electra, his sister, holds him in her arms and beckons the wild figures to stand off. The poet seems to have in his mind Horace, Sat. ii. 3. 50 sqq. For the Eumenides' terrible aspect cf. Catull. lxiv. 193 sqq., Aesch. Choeph. 1037 sqq., Eum. 48 sqq.

286. Ajax, the son of Telamon, again, attacking the herds of the Greeks, is an instance of the madness of disappointed ambition: Soph. Ai. 51 sqq.

287. Ithacum, Ulysses, x. 257. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 104 *Hoc Ithacus velit*, where also the epithet is intended to be taken as reproachful.

parcat tunicis. 'Though his madness may not take the form of tearing his clothes, as some forms of madness do, still he is legally mad and ought to have a guardian.'

288. Justinian i. 23 § 3 *Furiosi quoque et prodigi, licet maiores*

viginti quinque annis sint, tamen in curatione sunt agnatorum ex lege duodecim tabularum, § 4 *et mente captis . . . quia rebus suis superesse non possunt, curatores dandi sunt*; Hor. Ep. i. 1. 102, 103 *curatoris egere A praetore dati.*

289. **tabula distinguitur unda,** 'is parted from the water but by a plank's breadth': cf. xii. 58 and note. For the sentiment cf. Propert. iii. 7 *De morte Paeti ob avaritiam*, e.g. 31 *Terra parum fuerat: fatis adiecimus undas: Fortunae miseras auximus arte vias*, and 37 *Natura insidias pontum substravit avaris.*

291. Coins with the head of the Emperor and his titles: cf vi. 205.

292. 'The weather lowers': he still says, 'set sail, the frowning sky and band of cloud are nothing; 'tis mere summer thunder.'

293. **piperis coempti.** Pepper was imported from India by way of Alexandria. The *locus classicus* for pepper is Pliny, xii. § 26 sqq. *Piperatum*, 'pepper sauce,' was a favourite ingredient.

294. **fascia,** Schol. *nubes ducta per caelum.*

296. **fractis trabibus,** 'with shivered timbers.'

297. 'He will try to swim with his right hand, and will clutch his purse with his left hand and teeth.' Cf. Phaedrus, iv. 21 in a shipwreck, *Hi zonas, illi res pretiosas colligunt.* Lukian has a similar picture, Dialog. Mort. xi. 4 τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ὀδοῦσι καὶ ὄνυξι καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐφύλαττον.

299. For **Tagus** see iii. 55. Pliny, H. N., xxiii. § 56, speaks of gold found in a very pure state in the Tagus, Po, Hebrus, and Pactolus.

The **Pactolus,** a small river of Lydia, proverbial among the poets for its riches: cf. Verg. Aen. x. 141, 142 *ubi pinguia culta Exercentque viri Pactolusque irrigat auro*; Anth. Gr. ix. 423 of Sardis, ὄλβον Πακτωλοῦ ῥεύματι δεξάμεναι, Ovid, Met. xi. 145; Lucan, iii. 209.

302. Referring to the custom alluded to Sat. xii. 27: shipwrecked mariners displayed the picture of their catastrophe, roughly painted, to excite pity: cf. Persius i. 89, vi. 32; Hor. A. P. 20, 21 *dum fractis enatat exspes Navibus, aere dato qui pingitur.*

303–331. 'The rich have fires to fear: Diogenes had nothing of the sort. Nature is content with little: follow nature.'

303. Cf. x. 12–27, and supra 139 with note; Sen. Ep. cxv. § 16 *maiore tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritur*; id. Cons. ad Pol. § 28 *ipsa magnae felicitatis tutela sollicita est.*

305. **dispositis amis.** For the fear of fires at Rome and their frequency cf. iii. 197, note. *Amae* are buckets for quenching fires. The Scholiast's note on this passage is *per translationem disciplinae militaris sparteolorum Romae, quorum cohortes in tutelam urbis cum amis et cum aqua vigilias curare consuerunt vicis.* Augustus, A. D. 6, instituted seven cohorts of freedmen as *vigiles*, with seven stations—one for every two regions of the city—under a *praefectus vigilum*, an *eques*, who was subordinate to the *praefectus urbi*: Suet. Oct. 25, 30, D. Cass. liv. 4.

306. Cf. *Lis mihi . . . cum Licino est; hic quoque magnus homo*

est, Mart. ii. 32, and id. viii. 3. 6 *Altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt*: cf. Persius ii. 35, 36 *spem macram supplice voto Nunc Licini in campos, nunc Crassi mittit in aedes.* Cf. i. 108 *Pallante et Licinis*, typical millionaires.

attonitus, 'anxious.' The word seems to express a milder form of mental feeling in late Latin than in classical Latin: cf. Plin. Ep. i. 22. § 1 *Diu iam in urbe haeres, et quidem* attonitus. *Perturbat me longa et pertinax valetudo Titi Aristonis.* Cf. the use of *confusus* in Sat. iii. 1.

307. **electro,** amber, out of which his drinking cups were made: cf. Sat. v. 38.

For **Phrygia columna,** Phrygian marbles from Synnada; cf. 89, note and Hor. C. iii. 1. 41. Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 1, states that the *lapis Synnadicus* was relieved by purple spots artificially inserted: *Neronis principatu inventum ut purpura distingueretur Synnadicus lapis*: see Friedländer, Sitteng. vol. iii. p. 94. For the marbles of Licinus cf. Mart. viii. 3. 6 quoted above, and the epigram *Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, et Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse deos?*

308. **ebore:** cf. xi. 123. **lata testudine,** of the wide tortoiseshell work wherewith couches were decorated: cf. xi. 94.

dolia. Diogenes' tub will not catch fire, as it is of clay. Luk. quom. conscr. Hist. 3; Seneca, Ep. xc. § 14 *qui se complicuit in dolio et in eo cubitavit.*

310. **atque,** 'nay,' 'what is more,' the old one, if soldered, will hold good. For this use of *atque*, cf. Plaut. Rudens 121 *dabitur opera, atque in negotio,* and Sonnenschein's note.

311, 312. The story of the meeting between Diogenes and Alexander was a commonplace: cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. c. 32 § 92; Sen. Ben. v. 6 § 1. Plutarch, Alex. xiv. § 2, describes the meeting, merely stating, however, that Diogenes ἔτυχε κατακείμενος ἐν ἡλίῳ.

313. Cf. Cic. Parad. vi. c. 3 *Non esse cupidum pecunia est; non esse emacem vectigal est; contentum vero suis rebus esse maximae sunt certissimaeque divitiae.*

314. **passurus,** 'if destined to suffer.' See Conington's note to Persius i. 100.

315. This line is repeated from Sat. x. 365, 366, note.

316. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 73–75 *Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum? Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius: adde, Quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.* Cf. also Menander, quoted by Stobaeus, § 30, τὰργύριον εἶναι μειράκιόν σοι φαίνεται, Οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθ' ἡμέραν μόνον, Τιμὴν παρασχεῖν δυνατόν, ἄρτων, ἀλφίτων, Ὄξους, ἐλαίου, μείζονός τ' ἄλλου τινός;

319. For Epicurus and his garden see xiii. 122, 123. Cf. Cic. de Fin. i. § 45; Sen. Ep. xviii. § 9 *certos habebat dies ille magister voluptatis Epicurus, quibus maligne famem exstingueret . . . gloriatur non toto asse pasci: Metrodorum, qui nondum tantum profecerit toto:* Schwegler's Hist. Philosoph. chap. xviii. Epicurus

recommends sobriety and temperance, contentment with little, and a life generally in accord with nature. He boasts that he can vie with Zeus himself in happiness if allowed only plain bread and water Ael. Var. Hist. iv. 13).

320. For the temperance practised by Socrates cf. Aristoph. Nub. 103, 104, and ibid. 416, 417. Cf. too Xenophon, Memorabilia, book ii. 1 § 2, where Socrates inculcates into Aristippus that it is before all else necessary that a statesman shall be distinguished by *ἐγκράτεια*: § 2 *τὸ οὖν προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ κατεπεῖγον μᾶλλον πράττειν ἢ τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι πότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ἐθίζοιμεν*; cf. too the remarks of Arete to Hercules, ibid. § 27 sqq.

321. Cf. Horace, Sat. i. 2. 114 *Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quaeris Pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter Pavonem rhombumque?*

322. 'Do I seem to bring you to bay by my stern examples? Well, then, throw in something of modern habits: (pray find contentment somewhere) in a knight's fortune, or a couple or three such. If even this wrinkles your brow and makes you pout, if you still open your lap for more, no oriental fortune would content you.'

te cludere: cf. Luk. Herm. c. 63 *περιέρχῃ με καὶ συνελαύνεις ἐς στενόν.*

323. The 'sum which Otho's law assigns to the fourteen front ranks in the theatre' is 400,000 sesterces, the estate of an *eques*. In the year B. C. 68 L. Roscius Otho carried a bill (*Lex Roscia*), whereby fourteen rows of benches, immediately behind those of the senators, were made over to the *equites*. The expression *in quattuordecim ordinibus sedere* was therefore equivalent to an assertion that a person enjoyed equestrian rank: Cic. pro Muren. 19 § 40, Plin. H. N. vii. 30; see Ramsay's Antiquities, p. 355. Juvenal seems to have in his mind Hor. Ep. i. 1, especially l. 58 *Sed quadringentis sex septem milia desint, Plebs eris.* Cf. also Hor. Epod. iv. 15, 16.

325. **rugam trahit:** cf. Sen. Ben. vi. 7 § 1 *Vultus tuus colligit rugas et trahit frontem.* Similar is *contrahere vultum*, Ovid, Pont. iv. 3. 7.

326. Cf. Persius vi. 78 sqq. The lowest qualifying fortune for a senator was, under the Republic, the same sum as that fixed for the income of an *eques* (Liv. xxiv. 11. 8; Val. Max. iv. 4. 11); see Schiller, Röm. Alt. p. 600. It was afterwards fixed at double the amount, and finally by Augustus, Suet. Aug. 41, at three times the amount of that necessary to qualify for an *eques*.

328. **Croesi fortuna,** proverbial, x. 274. The Scholiast refers to Hdt. i. 30, sqq. *Croesus ille est cui Solon dixit ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου.* Ovid, Ex. Pont. iv. 3. 37 *Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Croesi?*

Persica regna: cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 9. 4 *Persarum vigui rege beatior*, ii. 12. 21 *dives Achaemenes.* The wealth of the East generally was proverbial.

329. Narcissus, one of Claudius' favourite freedmen, who with Julius, Callistus and Pallas ruled the emperor's house: Sueton. Claud. 28, Dio lx. 17. His wealth was greater than that of Crassus: see Plin. H. N. xxxiii. § 134. For the great influence exercised by their rich freedmen upon the Roman emperors see Friedl. i. 2. 78. Claudius' court was especially open to their influences. It was owing to Narcissus that Messalina was put to death after her marriage with Silius: see Sat. x. 329 sqq.

331. **paruit imperiis:** cf. Plin. Ep. viii. 6 § 12 *Imaginare Caesarem liberti precibus, vel potius imperio temperantem.* For the fact cf. Tac. Ann. xii. c. 1 pr. *Caede Messalinae convulsa principis domus, orto apud libertos certamine quis deligeret uxorem Claudio*; ib. c. 60 fin. *Cum Claudius libertos quos rei familiari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit.*

SATIRE XV.

ON THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.

The subject of this Satire is a quarrel between the people of Ombos and those of Tentyra, two towns in the Nile valley situate between 70 and 80 miles from one another. It appears a little strained in Juvenal to call these two towns neighbours; but it must be remembered that their districts would extend further than the towns, and the distance between the two as the crow flies is less than seventy miles. It seems from l. 28, where the scene of the fight is fixed at Coptos, that the Ombites had made a pilgrimage to that city, and were combining worship with a feast and a drunken orgie. The people of Tentyra, only twelve miles distant from Coptos, thought the opportunity too good to be lost, and sallied forth for a faction fight with the revellers. The Ombites worshipped the crocodile, while the Tentyrites killed and ate it. Reinforcements coming up from Tentyra with arms, the Tentyrites seem to have defeated the Ombites, and a man falling on the ground was torn to pieces and eaten by the pursuers.

The Satire is as a whole so unworthy of Juvenal, that if it were not for some vigorous lines at the beginning, and the very Juvenalian turn of the conclusion, it might readily be set down as spurious. It probably belongs to the last years of Juvenal's life. If we take the reading *Consule Iunio*, which Macleane and Lewis prefer, the date would be A. D. 119. If we adopt *Iunco*, from the best MS., it might be referred, in Mr. Mayor's opinion, to A. D. 127. When we remember the account of Juvenal's death in one of the Lives, *spiritum cum tussi exspuit*, and consider that Egypt was the refuge of consumptive Roman patients (Pliny, Epist. v. 19), it will appear possible that Juvenal went to Egypt for health, chafed at his exile in an uncongenial country, and threw off this sketch of a local atrocity at a time when his poetic powers were weak.

ARGUMENT.

Egypt is noted for superstition ; the crocodile, the ibis, the ape, the cat, the fish, the dog, are worshipped, ll. 1–8 ; they grow their gods in the garden, and dare not eat vegetables, yet feed upon human flesh, ll. 9–13. If Ulysses had told such a tale, it would have seemed more incredible than the Cyclops, or than Circe changing his mates into swine, and the Phaeacians, unless drunk, would have scouted him as a liar, ll. 13–25. But Ulysses had no witnesses : I tell of things that happened only lately near Coptos under the consul Juncus, ll. 26–32.

Ombos and Tentyra have long been at feud, because the Tentyrites kill the crocodile and the Ombites worship him, ll. 33–38. The occasion of a feast, when the Ombites would be drunk after a seven days' orgie, and staggering or dancing about as they reeked with perfumes, seemed too good to be lost, ll. 39–50. The empty men hate the feasters, and open hostilities with abuse, and then close in with their fists, battering each other's faces till they begin to be indignant that no lives are taken, ll. 51–62. Then they take to fighting with small stones, not such as the Homeric heroes raised, but such as the gods may look at and laugh, ll. 62–71. Presently reinforcements come up to the Tentyrites, swords are drawn, and arrows discharged, till the Ombites fly in confusion, ll. 72–76. One man, falling down, is torn to pieces, and eaten raw ; those who were too late for the flesh licking the blood from the ground, ll. 77–93. The Vascones ate human flesh under the dire compulsion of a siege, when even their enemies pitied them ; but what man or god or spirit of the dead would refuse pardon for such an act? ll. 94–106. No doubt Greek philosophy teaches us that we must die sooner than do some things, but those were not the days when an Attic philosopher was to be found everywhere, and the heroism of the people excuses their offence, ll. 107–115. The Taurians sacrificed strangers, but did not feed on them, ll. 115–119. What hunger or inundation delayed excuses this crime, not of warlike barbarians, but of a cowardly and lazy race sailing about in clay boats gay with paint? ll. 120–128. How can you punish a people in whom hunger and anger pass into one? ll. 129–131. The most distinctly human part of man is the divine faculty of tears. The ward who has been wronged, the family bereaved by premature death, weep, ll. 131–140. What good man does not acknowledge his part in the sufferings of others? and it is this feeling which distinguishes us from brutes, ll. 140–147. This sense of common sympathy has founded cities and united comrades in arms, ll. 147–158. Now it seems as if beasts, which do not prey upon their own kind, were kindlier than men, ll. 159–164. Neither is it enough to have elaborated the arts of murder. We find peoples who devour him whom they have killed, ll. 165–171. What would a vegetarian like Pythagoras say to this? ll. 171–174.

This piece is not, as will be seen from the above analysis, properly

speaking, so strictly a satire as a description of a deed of exceptional barbarity and violence committed in Upper Egypt by the Egyptians.

With this Satire should be compared Plutarch, de Iside 72, who describes a civil war between Oxyrynchon and Cynopolis in the Heptanomos, waged about the animals they worshipped. The inhabitants of Oxyrynchon worshipped the Oxyrynchus fish, and made it into a mummy when it died; an inhabitant of Cynopolis was said to have caught and eaten one of these fishes; so the men of Oxyrynchon attacked the dogs—the gods—of Cynopolis, sacrificed them to their fish-god and ate them.

1. For an explanation of the animal worship of Ancient Egypt see Renouf's Hibbert Lecture, 1879, on the Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 7. 8, and the History of Art in Ancient Egypt, Perrot and Chipiez, translated by Armstrong. It is agreed by most scholars that the more educated among the Ancient Egyptians saw in the animals which they reverenced merely symbols of the divinity. But the masses, while joining with the upper classes of the nation in worshipping divinities such as Osiris and Horus and Isis, reserved their warmest adoration for the concrete forms of sanctified animals, such as the bull Apis, the ibis, &c. Nothing struck the Greeks and some of the early Christian fathers so much as this animal worship. Thus Clement of Alexandria (Paedagog. iii. 2) says 'the god of the Egyptians is revealed; a beast rolling on a purple couch.' Sharpe, History of Egypt, chap. i: 'In some cases it was perhaps the usefulness of the animal, and in some the strangeness. Thus the dog and the jackal devoured the carcases which, if left to rot in the streets, might bring disease on the inhabitants.'

The attitude of Roman polytheism towards foreign divinities may be well illustrated by a consideration of the circumstances of Hinduism at the present day. Hinduism, with its countless divinities, regards the manifestation of new ones as perfectly natural, and is willing to welcome them into its Pantheon, provided only that some vague and general recognition be paid to the great Hindu Trinity, and provided that the worshippers of the newly-imported divinity show themselves ready to frankly adopt the social system bound up with its religion. The Jewish and the Christian religions refused to enter into any system of polytheism; the Jewish religion, however, was more easily tolerated at Rome than the Christian, as being merely a national religion which did not seek to make converts. The Roman people then saw no objections to the admission of foreign deities. And, indeed, outside Italy it seemed to them perfectly natural that each nation should worship its own special set of deities. In Italy, however, the fear was always present to the government that the foreign cult might be the means of setting up an *imperium in imperio*; and religion was therefore placed under the surveillance of the civil power. Tertullian (Apol. 5) expressly says that there was an ancient edict forbidding the consecration of any god who

had not been approved of by the senate. Cf. too Cicero, de Legg. ii. 8 § 19 *Separatim nemo habessit deos : neve novos, sive advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto.* Accordingly, we find that the senate, 58 B. C., proscribed the worship of the divinities of Egypt as a 'shameful superstition'; in the years 53 and 48 the same decree was renewed, C. I. L. i. 1034 (sac. Isid. Capitolin.); in 21 B. C. Agrippa banished them from Rome, and under Tiberius, 19 A. D., those who worshipped the Aegyptian divinities were prosecuted : Marquardt, St. V. iii.[2] 18 sqq. Gradually, the memory that they had ever been deemed other than legitimate objects of worship died out, and Minucius Felix (Octav. 21) speaks of their worship as one formerly Egyptian, but now as a genuine Roman one. At the same time, these persecutions serve to show us what deep root oriental religions generally, and especially that of Egyptian deities, had taken at Rome. All those who failed to find in the majestic and cold Roman cult sufficient passion and excitement were fascinated by the strange rites, the fanatic asceticism, and the imposing ritualism attached to the worship of the Egyptian deities. A lady requests the loan of Catullus' porters to transport her palanquin to the temple of Serapis, Cat. x. 26. Tibullus' Delia is a votary of Isis, i. 3. 23, and the poet speaks, i. 7. 29, of Osiris in same breath as Bacchus. Propertius (ii. 33) laments that Cynthia should prefer the worship of Ino to his embraces. Ovid, in his Ars Amoris, speaks of the temples of the divinities of Egypt as the usual resort of the ladies of the fashionable world. Poppaea was buried with oriental ceremonies. See Friedländer iii. p. 534 ; Boissier i. p. 360 sqq.

The opening line is obviously modelled upon Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. § 78 *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint quam ibim aut aspidem aut faelem aut canem aut crocodilon violent, quorum etiam si imprudentes quippiam fecerint, poenam nullam recusent.* Cf. also Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 19, and Stat. Silv. iii. 2. 100–116.

Volusius Bithynicus is unknown. A *Bithynicus* is mentioned in Mart. ii. 26 as anxiously awaiting the death of a lady to get her money ; in vi. 50 he is warned that you must be an intriguer in order to get rich ; in ix. 10 he is mentioned as a disappointed will-hunter ; in xii. 79 he is represented as complaining of being criticised by Martial.

2. Different animals were worshipped in different parts of Egypt, though there were some few, like the dog, cat, ibis, &c., which seem to have been the objects of general worship.

3. **pars haec.** Herodotus, iii. 36, tells us that the crocodiles were made into mummies and sent to be buried in the Labyrinth near Crocodilopolis, as was the ibis at Hermopolis.

saturam serpentibus. The ibis does not really eat snakes ; though Herodotus, ii. 75, speaks of it as once having killed a swarm of them. It would seem that Herodotus and Juvenal confounded the ibis and the stork, varieties of the same bird.

By careful selection from the sepulchral bas-reliefs we might pre-

sent reproductions of the whole *fauna* of Ancient Egypt—the lion, hyena, leopard, jackal, fox, wolf, ibex, gazelle, the hare, the porcupine, &c., &c. Everywhere we find the same aptitude for summarizing the distinctive characteristics of a species (Perrot and Chipiez, vol. ii. p. 219).

4. **cercopithecus** (*κέρκος*, *cauda*), the 'long-tailed ape,' worshipped at Thebes, the seat of worship also of Amenoptris, Pamenophis, and Memnon. Here was the Memnonium, the palace of Rameses II.

5. **dimidio Memnone.** Upon the site of the Amenophium are the remains of two colossal statues of Amenophis III of the eighteenth dynasty, the Pharaoh whom the Greeks, from a similarity of name, identified with Memnon, the son of Aurora and Tithonus, who was killed by Achilles. The Greeks believed that a sound resembling that of a broken harpstring was heard at daybreak from one of these Colossi. Some have ascribed the production of this sound to the trickery of the priests; some to the effect of a sudden accession of heat to the chilled air in its crevices. The Scholiast says that Cambyses ordered the statue to be opened, suspecting trickery, but that the sound continued as before. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. § 58, reports the legend. Strabo, xvii. . 46 (816), tells us that he, in company with Gallus Aelius, had heard the sound, which he did not believe was miraculous, though he could not say how it was produced. Hadrian restored one of the Colossi, which sounded thrice in his honour. Pausanias, i. 42. 3, in a curious passage, shows us that the Egyptian scholars of his time did not identify Amenophis with Memnon. 'The Thebans deny that it is Memnon; they declare that it is Phamenoph (*Φαμενώφ*), who was born in their own country.'

Many inscriptions are still to be seen on it dating from Nero to Septimius Severus, attesting that the writers have heard the mystic sounds; see Henzen, 517–524.

6. **centum portis.** Cf. Hom. Il. ix. 381, Tac. Ann. ii. 60.

7. **aeluros.** Most of the MSS. have *caeruleos*: which has been interpreted as 'salt-water fish' as contrasted with *piscem fluminis*; the Pithoean has *aeruleos*. The reading in the text is that generally adopted. Egypt was the home of the cat, which was actually used for the purposes of the chase. The Egyptian mummy cats, which have been dug up in countless numbers, prove that they were the ancestors of our own. The Greeks and Romans domesticated some kind of weasel, which the Romans called *faelis*, and applied the name of *αἴλουρος* to the Egyptian cat. See Hehn p. 376. On Egyptian cat worship see Sharpe, History of Egypt vol. ii. p. 23. Diodorus Siculus, i. 84 § 1, describes how the Egyptian populace killed a Roman soldier who had killed a cat unawares.

8. 'They worship indeed the dog, but not the dog's mistress.' Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 698 *Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis*. Herodotus however locates the festival of Diana or Artemis at Bubastis (ii. 59).

9. Herodotus notices the vegetable diet of the Egyptians and denies that they eat human flesh. Cf. Aulus Gellius xx. 8 *Eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae caepe non edint: quia solum holerum omnium contra lunae aucta atque damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias.*

10. Satirical. 'What a pious race, who can grow their own gods in their kitchen-gardens! and how scrupulous! they will not eat goat-flesh, but human flesh they like!' Cf. G. Herbert, The Church Militant—

> At first sin got to Egypt, and did sow
> Gardens of gods which every year did grow
> Fresh and fine dishes: they were at great cost,
> Who, for a god, clearly a sallet lost.

o sanctas. The so-called accusative of exclamation, which bears the sense of a verb easily supplied. Such accusatives are found with *em, en, ecce, heu, pro,* &c. commonly, though sometimes without them.

13. carnibus humanis. Cf. Sueton. Nero 37 *Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Aegyptii generis, crudam carnem, et quicquid daretur, mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumendosque obicere.* Cf. Vopisc. Aurelian § 50.

14. 'If Ulysses had told a story as wonderful as this to Alcinoüs, king of Phaeacia (Homer, Od. ix), at dinner-time, no one would have believed his unattested tales: but I will tell you a tale at once recent and true and capable of being attested.' Cf. Suet. Caes. 87 *in sermone nato super cenam.* So Pliny says that he heard the story of a miraculous dolphin after dinner: *Incidi autem, dum* super cenam *varia miracula hinc inde referuntur,* ix. 33 § 1. Juvenal exaggerates the rarity of cannibalism for the purposes of his rhetoric.

16. moverat. 'Maybe he *had* stirred their bile, even as he went on to tell.'

aretalogus. These were broken-down philosophers who held mock disquisitions on philosophy. Acro on Hor. Sat. i. 1. 120 *philosophi cuiusdam loquacissimi nomen, qui ἀρεταλόγος dictus est.* Suetonius (Aug. 74) tells us that Augustus introduced them to his table for amusement. Pliny, H. N. vii. 2, refers to cannibalism as not doubting it.

17. Cf. *iudice me dignum vera cruce,* viii. 188.

18. Laestrygonas. Cf. Synesius, Ep. 136: Ulysses sailed *οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας χαρίεντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ Κύκλωπας.*

20. *Cyaneae* = Κυάνεαι, sc. *δῖναι,* or *Cyanea,* sc. *pelage.* This is the name of the sea in which the Symplegades lie—the two islands at the entrance to the Euxine from the Thracian Bosporus. Cf. Herod. iv. 85, Eurip. Med. 2. Homer thinks of the Πλαγκταί (Od. xii. 61) as near Sicily; Juvenal seems to identify them with the *Cyanea* of the Argonauts. Thus **Cyaneis** may be an ablative of place. But it seems better to take it as a dative after *concurrentia*: and Juvenal may either refer to the sea dashing against the rocks; or he may think of the rocks themselves, properly called *Symplegades,* under the name of *Cyaneae.* (Munro, in Mayor, takes *Cyaneis* as the dative; the *Cyaneae* being

regarded as the whole cliffs of which the *saxa* are the component parts: thus the dative will be the same in sense as the genitive.) For the legend of the 'justling rocks' cf. Apoll. Arg. ii. 317 sqq., Pindar, P. iv. 370, Val. Fl. iv. 637 sqq.

utres, the bags in which Aeolus delivered the winds bound to Ulysses, Od. x. 1–76.

21. **verbere.** Hom. Od. x. 238, Ovid Met. xiv. 278.

22. Eurylochus and twenty-two of his comrades went to **Circe**, while Odysseus remained with the rest at the ship; Hom. Od. x. 203 sqq. Eurylochus came back to Odysseus. **Elpenor** (*nimiique Elpenora vini* Ov. Met. xiv. 252), on the departure of Odysseus from Circe, caught the sound of the stir, and falling backwards from the roof, broke his neck. He is not expressly mentioned by Homer as having been transformed into a hog; but the ancients employed the shipmates who were thus transformed as a symbol of incontinence; and thus it was perfectly natural for Juvenal to assume that he was one of those thus transformed.

23. **vacui capitis.** Cf. xiv. 57 *vacuum cerebro caput.* The genitive is of course a genitive of quality, like *multi Damalis meri* Hor. Carm. i. 36. 13, here predicative.

25. **temetum,** 'old strong wine,' connected with *temulentus* and *temulentia.* *Abstemius* is he who refrains from such drinks.

26. **sub** with the ablative expresses position under: in silver Latinity it often means little more than 'in the presence of'; so *sub iudice* Sat. vii. 13.

canebat, referring to the measured utterance of the recitations, and by implication to the nonsense recited in them. Cf. the use of the modern French *chanter.*

27. **consule Iunco.** This is the reading of the Pith. MS. This reference fixes the date of this Satire. A military diploma of Oct. 11, 127 A.D., found in Sardinia (C. I. L. iii. p. 874, no. xxxi.), proves that Aemilius Iuncus and Iulius Severus (under whom was published the Sen. Con. Iuncianum Marcian D. xl. 5. 51 § 8; Ulpian ib. 28 § 4) were the consuls in this year. Friedländer, Sitteng. iii. p. 492, also Dissertatio de Iuv. vitae temporibus, Königsberg, 1875. Other MSS. read *Iunio,* which might refer to Q. Iunius Rusticus, who appears to have been consul in the year 119. See Introduction, p. xii.

28. **super,** 'above,' i. e. 'south of,' calculating from the sea. **Coptos** (Kouft) lay on a canal on the right bank of the Nile, about a mile from the river, to the north of Ombi and Thebes, and twelve miles south of Tentyra. Philadelphus made a new port on the rocky coast of the Red Sea, nearly 200 miles to the south of Cosseir (Aenum), and named it Berenice after his mother. The route from Coptos to Berenice was very important from a commercial point of view, as it passed by the emerald mines in the mountain range of red granite and porphyry which runs about thirty miles from the sea. See Plin. H. N. vi. §§ 102, 103.

30. **a Pyrrha,** as we might say 'from the Deluge down,' i. 84.

syrmata, 'tragic trains,' viii. 229; here metaphorically used for tragedy itself, and thus connected with **volvas,** which is properly used of unrolling books, as in viii. 272.

33. **antiqua,** 'what has been long ago.' **vetus,** 'what has long been,' much like *ancien* and *vieux*. For the sentiment cf. Tac. Hist. v. 1 *solito inter accolas odio infensa Iudaeis Arabum manus.*

35. **Ombi** and **Tentyra** were really about seventy miles apart; Tentyra lying to the north of Coptos on the left bank of the Nile, Ombos on the right bank of the Nile, a little above Syene. Thus if Juvenal had ever known this part of Egypt, he must have forgotten much about it, when he calls the inhabitants of these two towns *finitimi*. See Introduction to this Satire, p. 303. This will go to show that his service or exile in Egypt must have been long before Hadrian's reign.

37. **cum solos,** a quite un-Roman idea. See note on line 1. The Tentyrites hated the crocodile, Strabo xvii. 1. 19, Plin. H. N. viii. 25; the Ombites adored it, Ael. N. A. x. 21. Tentyra is the modern Denderah, Ombi the modern Kum Ombu.

38. **sed,** 'however'; cf. 51 and 87.

39. **alterius populi.** The expression is really too vague: it is of course intended to denote the Ombites: but its very vagueness would seem to be intentional, as if the poet felt sure that his countrymen would not care for such trifles. The Tentyrites attacked the Ombites, and were repulsed by these.

42. Like the Roman *lectisternia,* but of longer duration.

43. **pervigili toro.** The cushion plied or pressed all night long. Cf. *pervigiles popinas* viii. 158, *vigiles fenestrae* iii. 275. So App. Met. ix. § 183, in speaking of a miller's shop where the work went on all night long, has *lucubrabant pervigilem farinam* (Lewis).

44. Schol. *festivitas sacrorum per septem dies solet celebrari.* The number seven was known to Juvenal as that of the sacred day of the Jews: Fried. iii. p. 626.

horrida. Cf. Tac. Hist. i. 11 *Aegyptum superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum.*

45. **quantum ipse notavi.** Juvenal then had certainly been in Egypt, and it is possible that the notice in the Pseudo-Suetonius, Life I. in Jahn, is based upon this passage, which alleges that Juvenal was *per honorem militiae, quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte tendentis Aegypti* (quoted by Mayor). See Introduction, p. vii.

46. We need not conclude from this passage, with Ribbeck, that Juvenal did not know that Canopus was in Egypt; he merely contrasts *Aegyptus barbara*—un-Greek Egypt—with licentious Canopus, which was an international home for great luxury. **famosus** is 'notorious.' **luxuria** (l. 45) is used in a slightly wider sense than usual to cover the refinement of cruelty evinced by cannibalism in the one case, and that evinced by Canopic profligacy on the other. For *famoso Canopo* cf.

Lucan Pharsal. viii. 542, 543 *et barbara Memphis Et Pelusiaci tam mollis turba Canopi* and x. 64 *imbelli Canopo.*

47. adde. For the connection we must go back to v. 40 sqq.

madere is the regular word for 'to be drunk,' e. g. Plaut. Most. 319, Pseud. 1297. Cf. *plane mattus sum* Petron. 41. The Egyptians drank large quantities of a kind of beer. Cf. Strabo xvii. 1. 14, Diodor. i. 34, Colum. x. 114. Mohammedanism destroyed their vines.

48. mero. Cf. of Cleopatra Hor. Carm. i. 37. 14. See note to iv. 138.

49. nigro. They had a negro piper and such unguents as they could afford—implying that they had none of the luxuries of Lower Egypt.

For **qualiacumque** cf. the disparaging sense attached to *quaecunque* xiv. 188 (note).

51. hinc. On the side of the Tentyrites there was hungry hatred. For **ieiunum odium** cf. such expressions as *locupletem podagram*, and cf. Introduction, Peculiarities of Juvenal's Style. **iurgia prima sonare**; 'taunts first make themselves heard'; cf. *iurgia proludunt* v. 26; *iurgia primum, mox rixa* Tac. Hist. i. 64.

52. tuba. The signal for a general fray, as its sound was for real battle. Cf. Sat. i. 169.

53. concurritur, 'they charge'; cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 7.

54. saevit nuda manus, 'their bare hands fall to the bloody work'; cf. App. Met. viii. 159 *palmulis saevientibus.*

55. aut = 'or rather'; see Hand, Tursell. i. 539.

56. aspiceres. The second singular of the conjunctive is used to denote an indefinite subject, like our 'you' in 'you might see' or 'one might see.'

57. dimidios, 'mutilated.' Cf. viii. 4.

alias facies. 'Their features marred'; lit. altered. Cf. the use of *alter* in Hor. C. iv. 10. 6 *Dices heu, quoties te speculo videris* alterum.

61. sane, 'in good truth,' satirical. **quo** with the accusative is characteristically Juvenalian. Cf. Sat. viii. 9.

63. per humum quaesita, picked up along the ground by looking for them along the surface. Stoning was a general accompaniment of riots in ancient as in modern times, Verg. Aen. i. 150 *iamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat*: but it seems to have been specially common amongst Jews and other Orientals; so the Syrians in Joseph. Ant. xx. 8 § 7, being taunted by the Jews at Caesarea, returned their taunts, and then each party began *to stone* its opponents.

64. domestica seditioni tela, their natural weapons for a riot; *domesticus* is 'home-produced'; the quarrel and the weapons with which it was waged all smacked of the peculiar institutions of Egypt. Cf. *domesticae copiae rei frumentariae* Caes. B. G. ii. 10. At the same time the word may contain some reminiscence of the phrase *domesticum bellum*, for civil as opposed to foreign war, B. G. v. 9.

65. Turnus. Cf. Sat. i. 162. Juvenal is referring to Verg. Aen. xii. 899-901 *saxum circumspicit ingens . . . Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*

Aiax, Hom. Il. vii. 268 sqq. Αἴας πολὺ μείζονα λᾶαν ἀείρας Ἕκ' ἐπιδινήσας, ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἶν' ἀπέλεθρον.

66. Tydides. Il. v. 302 sqq. ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν, Οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ', ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷος. Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείαο κατ' ἰσχίον.

69. A reminiscence of Hom. Il. i. 271–2, where Nestor boasts that none of the men of that generation could have fought with the giants of old for whom he had proved a match.

70. terra malos homines nunc educat. Cf. Sen. de Ben. i. 10 *Hoc maiores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc posteri nostri querentur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas et in omne nefas labi.* Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 6. 45 sq.

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

For **pusillos** cf. Lucr. ii. 1151–3 *Iamque adeo fracta est aetas, effetaque tellus Vix animalia parva creat, quae cuncta creavit Saecla deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.* So Verg. Georg. i. 497 Grandiaque *effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris*, and the story of the skeleton of Orestes, seven cubits long, Herod. i. 68. So Aul. Gell. iii. 10 *Quasi mundo senescente rerum atque hominum decrementa sunt.*

71. So the present generation is born unblest of the gods, *dis iratis*: they laugh at its degeneracy in stature; they abhor its spitefulness.

72. a deverticulo. Let the story be resumed from the digression. Cf. *legentibus velut deverticula amoena quaerere* Liv. ix. 17.

73. aucti and **pars altera** both refer to the Ombites. *Aucti* agrees with 'the combatants,' virtually contained in *pars altera*. The form *Ombi* (75) seems formed on the analogy of Bactri, Indi, &c. Bücheler adopts the reading *praestantibus omnibus instans*; but the reading of the text is that of P.

76. The line is mock heroic. Cf. such lines in Vergil as Aen. x. 167 *Sub quo mille manus iuvenum, qui moenia Clusi, Quique urbem liquere Cosas*; and the contrast between the quiet oasis and the hasty retreat of the rabble is intentional. 'To the south of Thebes is the open plain broken only by groves,' Sharpe, chap. ii.

77. hinc, 'hereupon'; cf. the sense of *inde*, 'next.'

78. ast, 'but lo!' Cf. vi. 67.

81. decoxit, 'boiled,' is properly applicable to *ardenti aeno* only; the sense of 'cooked' is naturally and easily supplied from the word to *veribus*. M. quotes a similar zeugma from V. Flac. viii. 254 *pars veribus, pars undanti despumat aeno.*

82. usque adeo, iii. 84 = *adeo* merely.

83. cadaver is used especially of a human carcass, see Forcell. s. v.

focos for *ignem*. Cf. French *feu*, formed from *focum* in the sense of 'fire.'

84. 'After all, it is happy that they did not cook it, for such viands would have polluted the very fire which Prometheus brought from heaven.' The ever-burning flame upon the altar of Vesta was tended by the three senior vestal virgins. So the bride was presented by the bridegroom, on her entering his house, with fire and water. Cf. Dioscorid. Antholog. Pal. vii. 162 (of a Persian) *μηδὲ μιήνῃς πῦρ ἐπ' ἐμοί.*

86. te may refer to Volusius, and especially to some proclivity of his to reverence Oriental doctrines; others take it as 'thee, O fire!,' as if the poet saw the fire leap up in joy.

87. The sense is, 'they were all born cannibals: the first who tasted the human flesh thought it was the daintiest of morsels: the idea revolts us, for we ask whether the first who tasted it enjoyed appeasing his curiosity; nay (*autem*), the last, who drained the last drops of blood, had as much pleasure as the first.'

88. sustinuit, vi. 104, 105 *quid vidit, propter quod ludia dici Sustinuit?* 'Could brook to taste.'

90. gula, abstract for concrete, xiv. 10.

91. stetit, 'stood expectantly.'

93. Vascones. The Basques in the modern Navarra and Guipuzcoa. Their town Calagurris — the modern Calahorra, Quintilian's birthplace—held out in the cause of Sertorius (B. C. 72); and when beleaguered by Pompey's legate, Afranius, the townsmen killed their wives and children and salted them *infelices cadaverum reliquias sallire non dubitavit* Val. Max. vii. 6. Ex. § 3. The story passed into a proverb like the *Perusina fames*. Cf. Florus iii. 22. 9. *Tu fame nihil non experta Calagurris.*

95. In their case it was the malice of Fortune, in which goddess Juvenal (Sat. x. 365) professes himself anything but a devout believer.

bellorum ultima, 'wars' extremities': such expressions as *belli subita, extrema,* &c. are common.

97. miserabile, 'calling for pity.'

98. sicut, 'since,' a rare use of the word for *siquidem*. Cf. *Nunc occasio 'st faciendi priusquam in urbem advenerit Sicut cras hic aderit, hodie non venerit* Plaut. Ep.d. ii. 2. 87.

gens, the Calagurritani.

99. Cf. Ov. Met. viii. 799 *Quaesitamque Famem lapidoso vidit in agro Unguibus et raras vellentem dentibus herbas.* Similar stories were told of the Numantines, Saguntines, and others. For the effects of hunger see too Sil. Punic. lib. ii. 463 sqq. and Voltaire, Henriade chap. x (Lemaire).

102. Cf. Ov. Met. viii. 878 *Ipse suos artus lacero divellere morsu Coepit, et infelix minuendo corpus alebat.*

104. urbibus is the reading of P. Other readings are *ventribus* and *viribus*. For the sentiment cf. Dryden, Hind and Panther 245

> 'Beasts are the subject of tyrannic sway:
> Where still the weaker on the stronger prey:

Man only of a nobler mould is made,
Not for his fellows' ruin, but their aid:
Created kind, magnificent and free,
The noble image of the deity.'

105. Cf. *Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes* Verg. Georg. iv. 489.

107. Zenonis. The founder of the Stoic school, born in Cyprus about 340 B.C. He presided over the Stoa for fifty-eight years. His self-denial was proverbial. The monument to his memory, erected by the Athenians at the instigation of the Macedonian king, Antigonus, contained the fine encomium 'His life corresponded to his precepts' (Schwegler, Stirling's Trans. p. 123). His fundamental maxim was, according to the Scholiast, *quod honestum esset, id summum et solum bonum esse.* For the doctrine of the Stoics in general see Zeller's Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, chap. iii. pp. 36 sqq., and Lecky's European Morals, vol. i. p. 133; Montaigne, livre i. chap. xxx. says that Zeno expressly allowed cannibalism. Cf. Dio. Laert. vii. 188. Their doctrine was very different from that popularly ascribed to them, as by Byron—

'To feel for none is the true social art
Of the world's Stoics—men without a heart.'

Omnia, quaedam is another reading.

108. 'But where could we find a Cantabrian Stoic, especially in the time of old-world Metellus? Nowadays the Greek schoolmaster is abroad and amongst us.' The Cantabri were strictly speaking to the west of the Calagurritani in the Asturias, but Cantabria is used loosely for the whole of the north of Spain, including the Basque territory; and *Cantaber* was familiar to the Romans as the type of a barbarian who had not learnt the lesson of submission to the Roman yoke, Hor. Carm. ii. 6. 2 *Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra.*

110. 'Now the whole world has the Athens of Greece and our own Athens besides,' i.e. Rome. Thuc. ii. 41 calls Athens the *παίδευσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and Diodorus Sic. xiii. 27. § 1, speaks of it as the *κοινὸν παιδευτήριον πάντων ἀνθρώπων.* Cf. Cic. pro Flacc. 26 § 62 *Urbs unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, iura, leges, ortae atque in omnes terras distributae putantur*; id. pro Arch. 10 § 23 *si quis minorem fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.* Cf. Val. Max. ii. 1 § 10 *Quas Athenas, quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?* Cf. too Claud. de Cons. Mall. 84–99; e.g. 94 *In Latium spretis Academia migrat Athenis.*

111. Cf. i. 44, vii. 148. For the learning in Gaul see Mommsen, Hist. iii. pp. 232, 233. Gaul was early Romanised, and produced a large number of writers and rhetoricians, such as P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, Ausonius, Julius Florus, Domitius Afer. Its chief seats of learning were Marseilles, Burdigala (Bordeaux), Tolosa (Toulouse), Narbo (Nar-

bonne`, Treviri (Trèves). Cf. Quintilian x. 3 § 13 *in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi (Florus) exercuit eam, princeps, alioqui inter paucos disertus.*

Britannos : cf. Tac. Agr. 21 § 2 *Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus crudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent* : Mart. xi. 3. 5 *Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus.*

112. **Thyle :** used by the ancients generally for the extreme North : Verg. Georg. i. 30 *tibi serviat ultima Thyle* ; Tac. Agr. 10 § 6 *dispecta est et Thyle,* when Agricola's fleet circumnavigated Britain and conquered the Orkneys. It is variously assigned to Iceland, or Jutland, or one of the Shetland Islands. Pytheas of Massilia, the Greek navigator of about the time of Alexander the Great, who visited Britain and Thule, made Thule a six days' sail from Orkney. Strabo iv. p. 201.

113. 'Still the heroic virtue of the Calagurritani, and the no less brave and trusty qualities of the Zagynthians, palliate their awful deeds. Egypt is worse than the Tauric altar, where victims were only slain in honour of the Goddess, and not eaten.'

quem diximus, 93–109.

par virtute, &c., from Sen. Contr. xxvii. § 5 *necessitas magnum humanae infelicitatis patrocinium est : haec excusat Saguntinos quamvis non ceciderint patres sed occiderint. Saguntum* or *Saguntus* (*Murviedro, Muri veteres*), a town of the Sedetani in Hispania Tarraconensis : its siege by Hannibal, B.C. 219, was the immediate cause of the second Punic war. The two passages in which the eight months' siege are referred to are Polyb. iii. 17 § 10 and Livy xxi. 7 sqq., who says (14 § 3) that all the adult males were put to the sword.

115. **Maeotide saevior ara,** iv. 42. The Scythian or Tauric Diana had an altar on the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), where it had been the custom to sacrifice all shipwrecked strangers to the Goddess by order of Thoas the king, until the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, who arrived when Iphigenia was the priestess of the Goddess. Cf. Eurip. Iph. in Tauris. The story is told at length in Ovid, Epist. iii. 2, where Iphigenia says, v. 77, 78 *Non ego crudelis, iuvenes ignoscite, dixit : Sacra suo facio barbariora loco.* Cf. too lines 99, 100 *Scilicet hac etiam, qua nulla ferocior, ora Nomen amicitiae barbara corda movet.* In Tristia iv. 4. 63 Ovid mentions the altar as not far from his place of exile, *Nec procul a nobis locus est, ubi Taurica dira Caede pharetratae pascitur ara deae* ; 81, 82 *Laeta deae signum crudelia sacra perosae Transtulit ex illis in meliora locis.* Cf. too Lucan i. 446 *Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.* Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris is well known. On the developments and various methods of treatment which the Greek myth has received, see England's 'Iphigenia in Tauris,' Intr. p. vii. sqq.

117. **ut iam.** 'Assuming, at all events, that you believe the legends of poetry about her.'

119. **quis modo casus.** The old interpretation of *modo* as 'lately,' seems on the whole the most likely. The Vascones practised cannibalism

olim (93); the Calagurritanian affair is long past and gone (109); the Tauric Diana is only known to us by legends which you may or may not believe (117); but what was the recent chance that prompted them to fury? *Modo* will then be used as in line 98. In the two passages quoted by Mayor, *modo* goes closely with the preceding word and qualifies it. (1) Quintilian xii. 9 § 10 *hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modo sanguinis sustineat*, which equals *si modo liberi sanguinis sit*; (2) Cic. Tusc. v. § 66 *quis est omnium qui modo cum Musis habeat aliquod commercium*, where *qui modo = si modo ille*. But if we break this up into *an aliquis modo casus fuit qui impulit hos*, we are still met with the difficulty that *modo* stands before *casus*, and *tantum* would be the more natural word to expect.

123. 'Could they, if the land of Memphis were all parched, if the Nile would not rise as usual, do any fouler deed to bring obloquy on the Nile-god for not rising?' **nolenti** = *ἀκοντι ἄν, si nollet. Invidiam facere alicui* is to render odious or to bring into odium. Cf. Ovid, Met. iv. 546–7 *Utque parum iustae nimiumque in paelice saevae Invidiam fecere deae*; Serv. on Aen. ii. 365 *videntur et dis invidiam facere qui templa sua violari cadaveribus passi sunt*. If they wanted to get the Nile-god looked upon as ungracious, they could do no more appropriate deed *ut illi invidiam facerent*. In the same spirit we read in Stepniak, Russia under the Czars, vol. i. p. 185, that in 1878 the political prisoners of Novo Belgorod began a 'famine strike,' refusing to eat, knowing that an excessive number of deaths occurring at once would bring odium upon their Government.

124. **Cimbri,** viii. 249–253.

Brittones. Cf. Claud. de Cons. Mall. 51 *nostro diducta Britannia mundo*; Hor. Carm. iii. 4. 33 *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros*; Ov. Am. ii. 16. 39, 40; Tac. Ann. xiv. 30, of the Druids, *cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant*; Claudian, de Bello Get. 568 *dira Britannia*. Cf. too Stat. Silv. v. 2. 143 *trucis incola terrae* (*Caledoniae*). *Brittones* are evidently identical with *Britanni*, and indeed the form *Brito* for a Briton occurs in several of Ausonius' Epigrams, 109–114 inclusive. Some MSS. read *Bistones*: and the reading is a tempting one, as the *Bistones* go naturally with the *Sarmatae*, as in Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto i. 3. 59, 60; cf. too id. i. 2. 111–114, and Lucan, Phars. vii. 569.

125. **Sauromatae,** ii. 1, iii. 79, or *Sarmatae*, inhabited the east of Prussia and Poland, Russia and Circassia. Stat. Silv. v. 2. 135–6 *An iuga Pannoniae mutatoresque domorum Sauromatas quaties?* Ov. Trist. iii. 10. 5 *Sauromatae cingunt, fera gens*. The *que* continues the negative, uniting *Sauromatae* closely to *Brittones*; hence *aut Agathyrsi* = nearly *et Agathyrsi*. These were a tribe in Transylvania, Hdt. iv. 100, spoken of by Verg. Aen. iv. 146 as *picti*, 'tattooed.' Cf. Plin. H. N. iv. 12.

126. **inbelle et inutile.** This was in accordance with the received opinion of both Greeks and Romans as to the national character of the

Egyptians. See Friedl. i. 2. p. 87. Αἰγυπτιάζειν (Suid. s. v.) was 'to behave trickily.' They were thought pert and insolent (Plin. Paneg. c. 1), patient (Amm. Marc. xxii. 16. 23), as a rule slavish and submissive, but occasionally capable of deeds of valour (Herodian i. 17). Tac. Hist. i. 11 speaks of their quarrelsomeness. Strabo, 819, speaks of them as οὐ πολεμισταί. Note the hiatus after the caesura.

Juvenal prefers, as usual, to describe the people about whom he is writing, in a series of characteristic touches: 'they are useless and unwarlike: they ply toy boats of porcelain, impelled by Lilliputian oars, and yet are capable of this childish fury.'

127. Juvenal is thinking of Verg. Georg. iv. 287–9 *Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum, Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis.* Strabo, 788, says that the canals with which the Delta was intersected were navigated with such ease ὥστε καὶ ὀστράκινα ἐνίοις εἶναι πορθμεῖα. Modern travellers describe earthenware boats as in use in Upper Egypt at the present day. **phaselus**, 'a skiff,' so called because it was shaped like a French bean, as 'gondola' comes from κόνδυ, 'a cup.' Cf. Diez, Wörterbuch, p. 408. Cf. Ovid. Am. ii. 10. 9 *Errant ut ventis discordibus acta phaselos.* Cf. Pliny vi. 22; Lucan iv. 135.

128. They have toy oars, and yet they have to put their whole weight into them; their very cockle-boat is painted.

131. Anger and hunger are the same thing with them; when they get angry they hunger for each other, and when they get hungry they grow passionate.

132. fatetur, x. 172.

132, 133. Plin. H. N. vii. pref. § 2 *Natura hominem tantum nudum et in nuda humo natali die abicit ad vagitus statim et ploratum, nullumque animalium aliud ad lacrimas, et has protinus vitae principio: at hercules risus, praecox ille et celerrimus, ante quadragesimum diem nulli datur*; § 3 *flens animal ceteris imperaturum.* So Sen. ad Marc. Cons. chap. ii.; consider that man at his birth *fletu vitam auspicatum.*

Cf. the lines of Sir Wm. Jones,

> 'There on the nurse's lap, a new-born child,
> We saw thee weep, while all around thee smiled;
> So live that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
> Thou still mayst smile, while all around thee weep.'

For the opinion of the ancients as to weeping see Lessing, Laocoön i. 'The Greek was ashamed of no weaknesses that are human; but no one dare hold him back in the path to honour, nor from the fulfilment of his duty.' The Roman soldiers shed tears: Caes. B. G. v. 33.

135. squalorem, i. e. *squalorem amici causam dicentis, squaloremque rei.* Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 1. 12 *Moribus hic meliorque fama*, for *hic moribus melior meliorque fama*, a construction frequent in Horace, who more commonly joins *que* to a verb or adverb; see Dillenburger's note on Carm. ii. 7. 25. The idea of the accused donning mourning in court

was natural to the ancients : Cicero did so. See Forsyth's Life of Cicero, p. 533. *Squalidus* actually stands for *reus*. *Est moris reis submittere capillum*, Pliny Ep. vii. 27; Quintil. vi. 1 § 33 *squalorem scio profuisse*; Ov. Her. x. 137 *demissos lugentis in ore capillos*. Cf. Sen. Controv. iv. § 29 *non flet quantum reae satis est*. The prosecutor also appeared *squalidus*, Plut. Cic. 37. (See Lewis's Note.)

pupillum ad iura vocantem circumscriptorem. Cf. Justinian i. 29 passim, e. g. § 9 *Si quis tutor copiam sui non faciat ut alimenta pupillo decernantur, cavetur epistula divorum Severi et Antonini ut in possessionem bonorum eius pupillus mittatur*. In certain cases too women might sue their guardians; ib. § 3. Cf. i. 46, x. 222.

136. cuius refers to *pupillum*, the word on which the stress is laid, though naturally it would refer to *circumscriptorem*.

137. incerta, whether he was a boy or girl, as Ovid, Met. viii. 322, 323, ix. 711; Hor. Carm. ii. 5. 23, 24.

138. Cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 426 sqq.

139. Seneca, Ep. xcix. takes the view that you should not grieve for a child because *decessit filius incertae spei, parvulus : pusillum temporis periit*.

140. minor : 'too young for,' 'too small for.' Cf. *lectus Procula minor*, iii. 203; *impetus aulae . . . domino minor*, Stat. Silv. iv. 25. Plin. H. N. vii. 16 § 72 says it was the custom to bury and not to burn the bodies of infants who died before cutting their teeth.

face dignus. 'What good man, such as might serve as δᾳδοῦχος in the Eleusinian mysteries, ever regards any human sorrow without sympathy?' Cf. vi. 50 *paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae*. It will be remembered that the *Iuvenalis* of the Helvine Inscription dedicated his tablet to the Helvine Ceres. At Eleusis in Attica was a temple of Demeter; and here were celebrated the great festival and mysteries of the Eleusinia, held in honour of Demeter and Persephone. On the sixth day of the greater Eleusinia, a procession marched from Athens to Eleusis bearing torches, and there held a nightly festival. On the careful preparation required of those seeking initiation cf. Appul. Met. xi. 23, whose hero Lucius is initiated into the mysteries of Isis. For an account of the mysteries, which were a kind of mystical drama or passion-play consisting of the adventures of the gods, see Boissier vol. i. p. 376 sq. Claudius and Hadrian attempted to popularize the Eleusinian mysteries at Rome.

142. *Iste versus* (Terentii Haut. 77) *et in pectore et in ore sit, Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, Senec. Epist. xcv. § 53, Cic. de Off. i. § 30. So *pudebit cum animalibus permutare mores*. Sen. de Ira ii. 31 and id. Controv. v. 33 *lupa venit ad infantes : gratulor tibi, Roma, quod in conditores tuos* homo *non incidit*.

hoc. 'In this feeling of sympathy which parts us from the herd of mute animals, and, thanks to this, as sole heritors of a spirit of reverence, we have drawn our feelings from the sky.'

143. venerabile has an active sense, as *venerabilis senatus in Deum.* Val. Max. i. 1. 15.

144. For the sentiment cf. Seneca de Ira i. 5 § 2 *Homo in adiutorium mutuum generatus est* ; ibid. ii. 31 *ad coetum geniti sumus.* M. Aurelius Antoninus is full of similar reflections; cf. ii. 1, Long's edition. 'We are made for co-operation like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth.' Cf. also id. iii. 4; iv. 4; v. 16, &c., and Börne (Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen), Vieles kann der Mensch entbehren, nur den Menschen nicht. Ihm ist die Welt gegeben; was er nicht hat, ist er. The succeeding lines are a development of the thought expressed in Aristotle, Eth. N. i. 5 *φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος*: cf. Horace, A. P. 391–407, and Sat. i. 3. 100.

147. The thought is from Ovid, Met. i. 84–6 *pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram Os homini sublime dedit,* &c. Cf. too Cic. N. D. ii. c. 56 *Deus homines humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituit, ut deorum cognitionem, caelum intuentes, capere possent.* So Sallust, Bell. Cat. 1 of animals, *prona et ventri oboedientia.* Cf. Cic. de Leg. i. 9 § 26 *Natura solum hominem erexit,* and also Appuleius, Apol. 410 *feris et pecudibus os humile et deorsum ad pedes delectum,* &c. The Christians borrowed the idea, like Prudentius, Apoth. ccii. 3. Cf. Burns, 'Man was made to mourn':—

> And man, whose heaven-directed face
> The smiles of love adorn,
> Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn.'

Thus too, Coleridge in the 'Address to a Young Ass':

> 'And most unlike the nature of things young,
> That earthward still thy moveless head is hung.'

149. anima, the breath of life: **animus** the thinking faculty; cf. Sen. Ep. iv. § 4 *Animum perducere ad contemptionem animae.* Cf. Lucret. iii. 94 for the difference between *animus* and *anima*, where both are attributed to man: the mind, *animus,* identified with *mens,* is the ruling part of man's body, and is situated in the heart; the *anima* is spread throughout the body. See Munro's Lucr. iii. 136 sqq.

150. On the early state of human society see Cic. pro Sext. 40 (§ 91). Hume, 'Essay on Justice,' quotes the passage and disputes its correctness.

151. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 2 (§ 5), Cic. de Invent. i. 2.

152. Cf. Lucret. v. 929, 930 *Multaque per caelum solis volventia lustra Volgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum.* Cf. the following lines.

156. nutantem, 'reeling,'

157. defendier. The only instance of the archaic form of the infinitive in Juvenal, probably used purposely in order to recall such archaisms of Lucretius as *reperirier*, R. N. iv. 480.

159. sed iam serpentum maior concordia. Cf. Hor. Epod. vii. 11, 12 *Neque in lupis mos nec fuit leonibus Nunquam nisi in dispar*

feris; Pliny H. N. vii. § 1 *leonum feritas inter se non dimicat. Serpentium morsus non petit serpentes. Ne maris quidem beluae ac pisces nisi in diversa genera saeviunt. At hercule homini plurima sunt mala*; Sen. Ep. xcv. § 31, de Ira ii. 8; M. Seneca, Controv. ii. 9 *neque feris inter se bella sunt.* Juvenal's moral is that man must have fallen from a state of innocence, in which state the animals are actually living. Vergil has the same thought of the innocence of animals, Aen. iv. 551 *Degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas.* Boileau imitates this passage in some celebrated verses, Sat. viii. 125 sqq.

161. Had Juvenal been a frequent spectator of the wild beast fights, he would probably never have made the mistake of supposing that tigers and boars do not fight with their kind.

165–174. 'But now man forges weapons against his fellow man, while primitive men forged instruments to subdue the earth.'

165. Cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 539, 540, under Saturn's reign, *Necdum etiam audierunt inflari classica, necdum Impositos duris crepitare incudibus enses*; cf. especially the whole of Tibullus i. 10, Pliny xxxiv. 14, Sen. de Ben. vii. 10.

166, 167. sarculum, 'a light hoe'; **marra,** 'a pickaxe.'

168. primi fabri: cf. Arat. Phaen. cxxxi. οἱ πρῶτοι κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν.

170. The expression in full would have been *sed qui crediderint*; *qui* understood from *quorum*. **vultus** is here used where *facies* would be more natural.

171. 'What would Pythagoras say or do if he could see these horrors?' Pythagoras taught the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals, from which only a pure and pious life delivered them. He was said to have visited Egypt in search of wisdom before settling at Crotona; the idea seems to be, 'What would he think if he could revisit it at present?' Cf. Sat. ii. 1 sq. and 158. On his doctrine of metempsychosis see Cic. de Div. ii. 58, Lukian. Ὄνειρος ἢ Ἀλεκτρυών. Ovid, Met. xv. 75, introduces him as expounding the tenets of his own philosophy. He was said to have enjoined abstinence from every kind of flesh, Dio. Laert. viii. §§ 8, 13, 20, 22.

174. ventri indulsit non omne legumen, iii. 229, Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 63, Ep. i. 12. 21, Cic. de Div. i. § 62 *iubet* . . . Plato *sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus adfectis ut nihil sit quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat. Unde Pythagoricis interdictum putatur ne faba vescerentur.*

SATIRE XVI.

ON MILITARY LIFE: A FRAGMENT.

This Satire is either unfinished or mutilated, and, as it falls below Juvenal's ordinary level, its genuineness has been doubted. As Macleane remarks, however, it is difficult to suppose that a forger of some ability would only produce a fragment. Besides, the fatalism of ll. 4-6 is very Juvenalian, and Vagellius, who is attacked l. 23, is made a butt in Satire xiii. 119. The former of these coincidences at least hardly points to a forgery.

The cast of thought and the diction, then, on the whole, would appear to favour the opinion of those who hold it to be genuine, and the versification seems to be eminently characteristic of Juvenal. Priscian (viii. 31 and 82, ver. 2) and Servius (Aen. i. 16, ver. 6, ii. 106, ver. 42) quote this Satire as being a genuine production of Juvenal's. Weidner and others have pointed out that the composition is obviously unfinished, for, while the poet promises to give us a list of the common advantages of officers and private soldiers, he has given us nothing but certain instances of the *communia commoda*. The question then presents itself, was the Satire left in its fragmentary and unfinished state by Juvenal, or has a portion of it been lost? Beer, in his Spicilegium Iuvenalianum, gives good reasons for believing that the latter supposition is the true one. The last quaternion of the Pithoean MS. contains folia 72-76, the last folio being tacked on to the end. The principal fact bearing out this supposition is that the sixtieth verse of Satire xvi occurs in the last line of the last page, at the end of the tenth quaternion, that is, at the end of the whole book, as the ancients had it. And whereas the beginnings and endings of all the other books are accurately marked, no mark is attached to the end of this Satire.

It is tempting to speculate in what way the poem was to be completed. Juvenal, if he is the author, never attacks the profession of a soldier in his other writings, but complains bitterly that the soldier was defrauded of his proper reward because promotion went by favour, vii. 92, xiv. 195–197, or because the higher commands were poorly paid, iii. 132, 133. It seems possible that the Satire was intended to show ironically that all the soldier's gains were in certain privileges of dubious equity. He could transfer a civil suit to a military tribunal, where the plaintiff would not dare to follow him; he could get justice without the delays of law; he could will away his own property without reference to his father's wishes; and of course his promotion is fair, for it helps a general very much if his bravest men are correspondingly fortunate. But we may assume Juvenal to have continued in some such train of thought as this—if the man who has made a razzia among the Moors, or demolished the forts of the Brigantes, expects the command due to his merit, he will find that prefects and tribunes are made by court favour, and are nominated for merits quite unconnected with service in arms. It seems a not impos-

sible supposition that this conclusion has been suppressed as dangerous. Prof. Nettleship thinks that the attacks on military life which characterize Persius and Juvenal may be an echo from the stage, of which the *miles gloriosus* had long been a familiar property.

ARGUMENT.

Who can enumerate the rewards of a fortunate soldier, for all depends on fortune, which is even more efficacious than patronage? ll. 1–6.

The soldier's first reward is that he may pummel his enemy without fear of being brought to justice for it, ll. 7–12. The old law, that a soldier must not run away from the camp to plead in the courts, means that any man prosecuting a case before a military tribunal has to run the gauntlet through files of soldiers sympathising with their comrade and wearing hob-nailed boots, ll. 13–25. No friend will attend to give evidence for you in such a case. It is easier to find false witnesses for a civil court than men who will testify to the truth against a soldier, ll. 25–34.

Then, again, if I have sustained a civil wrong, I have to abide the interminable delays of the law, ll. 35–47; but soldiers, in consideration of their calling, are allowed a prompt hearing, ll. 48–50. Soldiers, too, are the only men who can dispose of their property by will during a father's lifetime, ll. 51–54. Accordingly, the soldier who has made prize-money may count his father among his parasites, ll. 54–56; then again, his promotion is fair, for is it not the general's interest that the bravest man shall be advanced? ll. 56–60.

1. felicis. Military service, *if fortunate*; 'for if the camp which I am joining is a fortunate one, I should like to enlist under its propitious star.' The thought in the first six verses is, 'How great is the power of Fortune! Chance and our good star can do more than even a special message to the god of war from his mistress or mother.' Belief in the great power of Fortune is inconsistent with what Juvenal has said about her power at the end of Satire x; but he is there in a more serious mood than here, and he is probably in this passage echoing the ordinary Roman opinion as to the great power of Fortune: cf. Amm. Mar. xiv. 6. 3 (to the making of Rome) *Virtus convenit atque Fortuna plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non venerat summitatem*; cf. Apul. Met. xi. § 249.

praemia, such as pay; gratuities on retirement, consisting in an allowance of money or a part of land; *donativa*, or special donations of money made by the emperors on special occasions; *spolia* and military ornaments taken from the enemy, such as *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae*, which were the common reward of soldiers up to the rank of centurion inclusive; the superior officers received *coronae*, *hastae*, and *vexilla*. The *gregarius miles* received ten *asses* a day, Tac. Ann. i. 17, § 6; the praetorian received two *denarii*, or thirty-two *asses*. Domitian (Suet. Dom. 7) increased the pay of the legionaries to 300 *denarii* a year.

Gallius is unknown; a lawyer Gallus is mentioned vii. 144.

2. **si subeuntur . . . excipiat.** The sequence of tenses is here to be explained by the fact that the regular apodosis to *si subeuntur* is suppressed: 'tis well,' or something equivalent; *excipiat* then follows, expressing a wish.

3. **pavidum tironem:** cf. vii. 194, 195.

secundo sidere. For the general belief in astrology under the empire, and the enormous number of astrologers, see Tac. Hist. i. 22, Boissier, vol. ii. p. 107.

5. The thought and diction alike of the witty verses 5 and 6 are eminently characteristic of Juvenal, especially the periphrasis to express Juno: cf. Sat. xv. 126. The picture of the influence of Venus on Mars seems to be drawn from Lucretius i. 38 sq. **commendo** is the regular word for 'to introduce by a letter'; cf. Mart. iii. 5. 11 *alios commendat epistula*; *peccat, Qui commendandum se putet esse suis.*

6. **Samia . . . harena.** Cf. x. 171; cf. Verg. Aen. i. 15, 16 *Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam Posthabita coluisse Samo.* Here she had a very spacious and celebrated temple: Herod. iii. 60; Lactant. Inst. Div. i. 17; Pausan. vii. 4. Apuleius speaks of Samos as only yielding crops when hoed and dug; and *harena* probably refers to its barrenness.

At the same time the line is mock-heroic, in imitation of the Greek poets: cf. Θυμβραῖε καὶ Δάλιε καὶ Λυκίας ναὸν ἐμβατεύων Ἄπολλον, &c., Eurip. Rhes. 224.

7–34. 'Let us first discuss the advantages common to all ranks alike, officers and men. There is a *camaraderie* in the army that makes all its members act together; it is hard to get justice for an injury inflicted by a soldier.'

commoda, a technical word for 'military privileges,' as appears from Tac. Ann. i. 26 § 5, where the mutinous soldiers complain, *novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat.* Ammian. xxiii. 6 § 83 contrasts the state of the Persian army in his time with that of the Roman army, *sequiturque semper haec* (the Persian) *turba tamquam addicta perenni servitio* nec stipendiis aliquando fulta nec donis.

communia, 'common to all ranks alike.' The Satire breaks off suddenly without mentioning what were the special privileges of either of these two classes.

8. We should rather have expected *ut non*; but the sense is 'this will be found your greatest privilege: do not let any civilian touch you if you wear uniform; nay, even though he get a thrashing, let him hide it'; Hand, Turs. iv. 42. The common interpretation is that ll. 7 and 8 contain virtually the idea of *quod cautum est*, which would naturally be followed by *ne*.

togatus, 'a civilian,' opposed to *sagatus*, Cic. pro Sulla 30 § 85 *cui uni togato Senatus supplicationem decrevit.* Cf. the use of *paganus* l. 33.

9. The repetition of *audeat* is emphatic. 'Dares, say I? why, he

dares not even go to the praetor with the marks of his ill-treatment' : see x. 103, 104 *optandum, optabat.*

Before **dissimulet,** *ut* is supplied from *ne*, which for this purpose is taken as equivalent to *ut non*. So *quisque* is supplied from *nemo*, Hor. Sat. i. 1. 3; so Juv. Sat. vi. 17 : and similarly *οὗτος* is supplied from *ᾧ*, S. Luke vii. 47 *ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ*.

10. **praetori,** the *praetor urbanus*. **dentes,** iii. 300. 301.

11. 'The dark clot of discoloured tumours.'

offa is properly a round mass of dough or flesh, Sat. ii. 32.

12. **relictum,** 'given over as incurable.'

13. **Bardaicus,** with **calceus,** 'a Bardaic military shoe' (i.e. a soldier) is assigned as judge to one who would punish such doings; 'and giant calves by huge benches' (to support the weight of the occupant). *Bardaicus* is the adjective denoting an Illyrian tribe called Bardaici or Vardaici; hence was derived the name for some article of military attire, probably a shoe (*calceus*) : cf. our 'Hessians,' 'Wellingtons,' &c. Cf. Jul. Capit. Vita Pertinacis, § 8 *cuculli Bardaici et toga armaque gladiatoria gemmis auroque composita*. Cf. *Lassi bardaicus quod evocati*. Mart. iv. 4. 5, where it is mentioned among articles of foul odour, and id. xiv. 140, where *udones Cilicii*, 'goat-skin boots,' are spoken of in the same way. The Vardaici are probably identical with the Bardaei mentioned by Plin. iii. § 143, and Vardaei, Cic. Fam. v. 9 § 2. Some have read *Bardiacus* and construed it as 'a cloak,' otherwise called *bardocucullus*. The *calceus* and *surae* are put for the soldier (a centurion), like *caligas* in l. 24 and *togae* for *togati*, Mart. x. 18. 3. The *calceus* was part of the centurion's uniform (Lips. ad Tac. Ann. i. 41), *caliga* that of the *gregarius* : cf. *Curtius et Matho buccae* xi. 34.

14. Centurions who rose from the ranks were often cited as the types of rough strength : cf. Pers. iii. 77, v. 189. Spartianus expressly states that Hadrian conferred centurionship on strong men only (Life of Hadrian).

15. **more Camilli servato.** M. Furius Camillus, who, at the beginning of the fourth century B. C., introduced many military reforms; amongst others a standing army, Liv. v. 2. He is the type of old Roman bravery : cf. *maribus Camillis*, Hor. Ep. i. 1. 64.

16. Hadrian (under whom this Satire was probably composed) forbade soldiers to leave the camp in order to give evidence : Dig. xxii. 5. 3 § 6.

17–19. 'It is most proper that centurions should try cases in which a soldier is concerned, and I am certain to get my revenge if I bring forward a just cause of complaint; *still*, this does not prevent the whole company combining against me,' &c.

20. There were three maniples to each cohort, and each maniple had two centurions.

21. **curabilis.** In other places 'curable'; here 'that will need care.' 'serious,' as *plorabilis*, 'that claims tears.'

22. ' And worse than the original.'

22–34. ' Besides this, it would be difficult to find a witness to support you ; he would have to go far from the city to accuse the soldier ; he would have to be prepared, like a second Pylades, to sacrifice his life for his friend.'

23. The mule was the type of stupidity: cf. Catull. lxxxiii. 3 *Mule, nihil sentis?* Vagellius seems to be mentioned as a simpleton in xiii. 119.

cor, for 'wits': *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur,* Cic. Tusc. i. c. 9, from which sense of *cor* come *excors* and *vecors*. Cf. Sat. vii. 159 and note. For the stupidity of declaimers cf. Petron. i. *Ego adulescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri . . . nondum iuvenes declamationibus continebantur, cum Sophocles aut Euripides invenerunt verba quibus deberent loqui.*

24. duo, ' two and two only,' as contrasted with **tot** ; so *unus* is used for ' one only,' Sat. iii. 14.

caligas : see note on l. 14. *Caligatus,* used definitely for a ' private soldier ' : so *Caligula* was the nickname given to the emperor Gaius in his boyhood by the soldiers, because he adopted their costume and frequented their company (Suet. Cal. ix. ; thus Seneca, de Benef. v. 16, Marius was *ad consulatum a caliga perductus.*

25. milia clavorum : cf. iii. 248 *In digito clavus mihi militis haeret.* For the sentiment cf. Theoc. Idyll xv. 6 παντᾶ κρηπῖδες, παντᾶ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες.

Cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 2. 1 *Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit (Tiberius) dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo . . . praetendebat lascivire militem diductum . . . et severius acturos si vallum statuatur* procul *urbis illecebris.* The camp of the praetorians (which, as described in the quotation cited, owes its origin to Tiberius A. D. 23) was really close outside the walls and within the inhabited area of the city (cf. v. 153) ; but *procul* is used of any interval, Verg. Ec. vi. 16, Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 105, Ovid, Met. v. 114 (see Furneaux's note ad Tac. loc. citat., ' The site clearly marked by the prominent square excrescence in the present walls was outside the Servian agger, between the Viminal and Colline gates '). The inconveniences of moving about in Rome have been referred to in Sat. iii, and to go even as far as the *castra* would naturally be felt as *procul* by a dweller on the Aventine or Caelian hill, for instance.

26. Pylades. Martial has an epigram on the disappearance of unselfish friendships, typified by that existing between Pylades and Orestes, vi. 11 : cf. verse 9 *Ut praestem Pyladen, aliquis mihi praestet Oresten.* So Ovid, ex Pont. iii. 2. 69, 70

Par fuit his aetas, et amor ; *quorum alter Orestes,*
Alter erat Pylades : nomina fama tenet.

The name ' Pylades ' has become so proverbial for ' unselfish ' that it is here used adjectivally, as the conjunction with **tam** proves.

molem aggeris may refer to the *agger* of the praetorian camp, but more probably refers to the *agger* par excellence—the rampart of

Servius; for which see Middleton, chap. ii. p. 71: 'The *agger*, or bank behind the wall, is not of the same thickness everywhere: the dimension given by Dionysius, namely fifty feet, including the wall, is probably about the average; the length, which he estimates at seven *stadia*, corresponds with the actual discoveries.'

27, 28. 'Let us dry our eyes and forbear to ask the aid of our friends, who are sure to put us off on one plea or another, rather than accompany us to confront the soldiers.'

se excusaturos: cf. i. 18 *perituraे chartae*, 'paper that is certain to be wasted in any case.'

29. 'If, when the judge calls for a witness, any one dares come forward and say that he saw the assault, I shall hold him as an example of primitive simplicity': cf. Sat. vii. 13, 14 *Hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice, 'vidi' Quod non vidisti.*

31. **et,** for 'and then,' is common, especially in Seneca: cf. Ep. iv. § 8 *Recognosce* et *intelliges.* Cf. *Vivat Fidenis! et agello cedo paterno,* Sat. vi. 57.

Varro, R. R. ii. 11. 10, tells us that barbers were introduced from Sicily (B. C. 300) by Publius Ticinius Mena. After this it appears from coins to have been the custom to wear whiskers only (*barbula*), and to shave even these off after the age of forty: see Dar. and Sagl. s. v. *barba.* Cf. *barbato regi,* iv. 103; *capillato consule,* v. 30; Hor. Carm. ii. 15. 11 *intonsi Catonis.*

32. **citius,** &c.: cf. x. 225, xv. 89, x. 220 *promptius.*

33. **paganus,** 'a civilian,' as opposed to *miles*; originally 'a peasant, one who takes so little part in public affairs that he does not even fight for his country; so that *paganus* comes to be used for any civilian, even for one who lives in town': cf. Pliny, Ep. x. 18 § 2 *Apud me et milites et pagani certatim ei testimonium retribuerunt*: cf. Suet. Galba, chap. 19, where the *pagani* of Rome are contrasted with the *equites* or cavalry. So *inter paganos corruptior miles,* Tac. Hist. i. 53. Cf. *semipaganus,* Pers. Prol. 6.

34. **pudorem,** 'honour,' 'character.' Cf. Plin. Ep. v. 1 § 6 *Neque enim aderat alius, qui defunctae pudorem tueretur.* So id. ii. 4 § 2 *Famam defuncti pudoremque suscipere.*

35-50. 'Besides this, soldiers have the great advantage that their suits are soon settled.'

36. **sacramentorum.** The oath taken by the soldiers, taken after the levy was made by the officers, and administered afterwards by them to the men. One man in the legion had to pronounce the regular formula (*sacramento praeire*), Polyb. vi. 21. 1-3, Liv. xxviii. 29 § 12, after which the rest pronounced, each in his turn, the words *idem in me.*

38. **sacrum saxum.** The boundary-stone, guarded by Terminus, whose festival, the Terminalia, was celebrated on the 23rd of Feb. (vii Kal. Mart.): cf. Festus in v. *Terminus, Numa Pompilius statuit eum qui terminum exararet et ipsum et boves sacrum esse.* Cf. Hor. Epod. ii.

59, 60 *Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus, Vel haedus ereptus lupo*, and Ov. Fast. ii. 639 sqq.

39. cum patulo puls annua libo. Because it was originally forbidden to offer other than fruit and cakes to Terminus, Dion. Hal. ii. 74.

41. Repeated from xiii. 137.

42. 'We shall have to wait a whole year before the suits of the whole people—including ourselves—are taken in hand; we shall find the civil courts so full of longstanding cases that months must pass before our suit, and indeed, everybody's suit, comes on.' A humorous exaggeration.

annus, for an indefinite time, 'an age': cf. Ter. Haut. 240 *Dum moliuntur, dum conantur* (or *comuntur*) annus *est*. Cf. too Petron. xliv. ad init. *et quomodo sicritas perseverat: iam* annum *esuritio fuit*. For the fact cf. Suet. Vesp. 10 *Litium series ubique maiorem in modum excreverant, manentibus antiquis, intercapedine iurisdictionis*. Cf. too seqq.

43. tunc quoque, 'even then, when our case comes on.'

44. 'So often we see the bench of justice just spread with cushions for the court; Caedicius taking off his *lacerna* (cf. ix. 28, 29 *lacernas, munimenta togae*), and Fuscus, nervous at the thought of his speech when equipped for the fight we part combat, and thus we fight our law-suits in the slow, slow lists of the court.' For the *toga* as the official dress of pleaders cf. Quintil. xi. 3. 156 *Leniter est consurgendum, tum in componenda toga . . . paullum commorandum*. A Caedicius is mentioned xiii. 197, and a Fuscus, the husband of a drunken wife, xii. 45; cf. too Plin. Ep. vii. 9, addressed to Fuscus, in which he receives a caution not to indulge in contentious oratory: cf. too Mart. vii. 28. 5, 6.

46. One Fuscus, an advocate, is mentioned by Martial vii. 28, and praised for his tolerance of hearing the truth. A Fuscus Salinator is mentioned by Pliny, Epist. vi. 11, who seems to have been in training for the bar.

47. harena. Of course a metaphor from the real arena: cf. Plin. Ep. vi. 12 § 2 *Prisco quantum plurimum potero praestabo, praesertim in harena mea, hoc est apud centumviros.*

48. balteus (whence our *belt*) seems used as = *cingulum*: it was a broad leather girdle passing over the cuirass from left to right; from it the sword was suspended. Many examples of it occur in the bas-reliefs of Trajan's column.

50. 'And the property in dispute is not worn away by the tedious dragging of the process': cf. viii. 148. Cf. Plin. Ep. vii. 5 § 1 *litibus conteror*; id. viii. 12 § 3 *si litibus tererer*. So *deteret*, Sat. iii. 24.

51–60. A third privilege of soldiers is that they have a right to the *peculium castrense*, whether their father be alive or not; and hence their fathers treat them with consideration.

52. The *peculium* of a son who was *in manu patris*, and was not, therefore, *sui iuris*, might be taken from him by his father; but under the empire soldiers, although not *sui iuris*, were allowed to dispose by will of any property which they might have acquired during military

service (*peculium castrense*): see Maine, 'Ancient Law,' p. 142; Inst. ii. 12; and De Testament. Mil. Ulpian xxiii. § 10.

53. 'It has been decided that property gained during service should not be included in the amount of the estate, the absolute control of which lies with the father.' Cf. Sen. Ben. vii. 4 § 5 *Omnia patris sunt quae in liberorum manu sunt: quis tamen nescit donare aliquid et filium patri?*

54. Coranum, a reminiscence of Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 55–69, where Nasica, the father-in-law, is cheated by the son-in-law, Coranus: cf. l. 57 Captatorque *dabit risus Nasica* Corano.

56. tremulus, 'palsied from age': cf. Catull. lx. 161 *Tremulum movens cana tempus anilitas.*

favor is Ruperti's conjecture for *labor.*

57. pulchro reddit sua dona labori. Cf. Vergil, Aen. i. 461 *sunt et sua praemia laudi.*

60. For the ornaments bestowed on soldiers cf. A. Gell. ii. 11; Sil. xv. 254

> *Tum merita aequantur donis, ac praemia virtus*
> *Sanguine parta capit: phaleris hic pectora fulget*
> *Hic torque aurato circumdat bellica colla:*
> *Ille nitet celsus muralis honore coronae.*

phalerae are 'bosses' of thin bronze, silver, or gold, worn as medals; **torques,** gold collars worn over the breast, borrowed from the Gauls: cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 9 *Flavius aucta stipendia, torquem aliaque militaria dona memorat, irridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.*

'Dr. Peterson in his edition of Quintilian (Clarendon Press, 1891) renders it probable that the Quintilianus of Pliny's well-known letter, vi. 32, was not the well-known teacher. That Pliny had been a pupil of Quintilian we know from more than one reference: hence it was natural that when we find him writing to a friend of this name, and making him a present of £500 towards his daughter's trousseau, we should identify this friend with his old teacher. Editors (Professor Mayor among them) have unanimously, as far as we know, accepted this view. It was strange indeed that Pliny should describe a man of whom Juvenal speaks as being notoriously wealthy as *modicus facultatibus.* But a far more serious difficulty is suggested by Quintilian's own language about his domestic bereavements. He had lost his wife in her early youth (she died at 19) and the two sons whom she left him. *Omnium meorum superstes* is his pathetic description of himself in A.D. 94. How, then, could he have a marriageable daughter in 104? It is, indeed, more than doubtful if he was then alive. His pupil's references to him, though they do not absolutely imply that he was dead, yet give this impression.' *Spectator* (Jan. 23, 1892).

INDEX

ab, x. 270.
ab *after gerundive*, xii. 14.
abaci, iii. 204.
abdomine, iv. 107.
abolla rapta, iv. 76.
abollae maioris facinus, iii. 115.
abreptum catena, xiii. 175.
absolvitur, xiii. 3.
accipe, iii. 187.
accipit, iii. 103.
accusativus exclamantis, xv. 10.
accusator erit, i. 161.
accusatori, xiii. 187.
acerbi impatiens, vii. 57.
acerbum, xi. 44.
Acersecomes, viii. 128.
Acestes, vii. 235.
aceto, iii. 292.
aceto Phario, xiii. 85.
aceto montem rumpit, x. 153.
Achilles, vii. 210.
Achilles percussus, i. 163.
Acilius, iv. 94.
acoenonoetus, vii. 218.
aconita, x. 25.
acta legenti, vii. 104.
actum nihil est, x. 155.
adorat, iii. 300.
adquirendi artificem, xiv. 115.
Aeacidae, viii. 270.
aedificare carinas, x. 264.
aedificator, xiv. 86.
aedilibus quando in consilio est, iii. 162.
aedilis pannosus, x. 102.
Aegaei pater, xiii. 81.
Aegyptos portenta colat, xv. 2.
aeluros, xv. 7.
Aemilianos, viii. 3.
Aemilio, vii. 124.
Aeneas tibi parvulus aula luserit, v. 139.
Aeoliis rupibus, i. 8.
Aeolio carcere, x. 181.
aere sub crasso, x. 50.
affectu hospitis, viii. 161.
affectus, xii. 10.
Afrae avis, xi. 142.
Africa causidicorum nutricula, vii. 149.
Afris sororibus, v. 152.
Agamemnonidae par crimen, viii. 215.
Agaven, vii. 87.
agerent cum remige, iv. 49.
aggere, v. 153, viii. 43.
aggeris molem, xvi. 26.
agimus hoc, vii. 48.
agit hoc, v. 157.
agite hoc, vii. 20.
agit rem, iii. 305.
agitas, xiv. 68.
agitem, i. 52.
agmine facto, iii. 162.
agnosco procerem, viii. 26.
agri culti, xiv. 159.
Aiax, xv. 65.
Aiax pallidus, vii. 115.
— victus, x. 84.
— Telamonem praeteriit, xiv. 213.
Alabanda, iii. 70.
alas grandes, xiv. 195.
Alba, iv. 61.
albae tunicae summis aedilibus sufficiunt, iii. 179.
Albanam in arcem, iv. 145.
Albinam, iii. 130.
Alcithoen Pacci, vii. 12.
alea, i. 88, xi. 176, xiv. 4.
Alexander, xiv. 311.

algae, iv. 48.
alias facies, xv. 57.
aliena sibi credit mala, xv. 142.
aliptes, iii. 76.
aliquid si vis esse, i. 74.
aliquid lignorum, vii. 24.
aliquis, xiii. 49.
alius, i. 10, x. 257.
Alledius, v. 118.
Allobroga Ciceronem, vii. 214.
Allobrogicis, viii. 13.
alpha et beta, xiv. 209.
altaria tangunt, xiii. 89.
alterius populi, xv. 39.
alternum, xii. 31.
altilis, v. 115.
altum dormiret, i. 16.
alumni ruris, xi. 98.
alumnus, i. 20.
aluta, xiv. 282.
alutae nigrae, vii. 192.
alveus, xii. 30.
ames, vii. 9.
amethystina, vii. 136.
amicae nocturnae, iii. 12.
amicis pauper, v. 113.
amicitiae magnae, iv. 75.
amico a magno timearis, iii. 57.
amis dispositis, xiv. 305.
amomo, iv. 108.
Anchemoli novercae, vii. 235.
Anchisae nutricem, vii. 234.
ancilla natus, viii. 259.
ancipites fungi, v. 146.
ancipiti planta, xiv. 272.
Andro, iii. 70.
anguilla, v. 103.
animae more, iii. 261.
animas, xv. 149.
animi felices, xiv. 119.
animo voluta, i. 169.
animos, i. 89.
animum, xv. 149.
annus, xvi. 42.
Anticyra, xiii. 97.
Antilochi barbam, x. 253.
Antiochus, iii. 98.
Antiphates, xiv. 20.
antiqua, xv. 33.
Antonius, viii. 105.
Antoni gladios, x. 123.
antro, iv. 21.
anulus Cannarum vindex, x. 166.
anulus, xi. 43.
Aonidum fontibus, vii. 59.
apertius, iv. 69.
apex sublimis, xii. 72.
Apicius, iv. 23.
apium, viii. 226.
aplustre, x. 136.
Apollinis aede, vii. 37.
Apollo iuris peritus, i. 128.
apros animal propter convivia natum, i. 141.
Apulia, iv. 26.
aquam poscit, iii. 198.
aquilam locupletem, xiv. 197.
Aquino tuo, iii. 319.
aquis ad sidera missus, xi. 63.
ara magna, viii. 13.
ante aram, x. 268.
aranea arida, xiv. 61.
arbiter, viii. 79.
arbore propria facit nidos, xiv. 80.
ex arbore nostra, xi. 117.
arboris, xii. 32.
arca, x. 25, xi. 26.
Arcadico iuveni, vii. 160.
arcae, xiii. 74.
arcana, xiii. 73.
Archigene, xiii. 98.
Archigenes, xiv. 252.
in arcu summo, x. 136.
aretalogus, xv. 16.
argenti gravis, xi. 41.
argentum vetus, i. 76.
Aricinos axes, iv. 117.
aristae post munus, xiv. 183.
arma eadem, xiv. 5.
armaria, vii. 11.
Armeniae, viii. 169.
Armillato, iv. 53.
Arpinas, viii. 237.
— alius, viii. 245.
artem, vii. 176.
artifices veneni, xiii. 154.
artificum pocula, xi. 102.
artoptae, v. 72.
Arviragus, iv. 127.
aselli caput, xi. 97.
Asiam cadentem, x. 266.
Asiani, vii. 14.
asparagi, xi. 69.
asparagis, v. 82.
aspice, xii. 61.
aspiceres, xv. 56.

Assaraci, x. 259.
assae, xiv. 208.
asse uno Minervam colit, x. 116.
assem rogatum, v. 144.
assiduo lectore, i. 13.
assurrexerat, xiii. 55.
ast, xv. 78.
Asturici domus, iii. 212.
asylo infami, viii. 273.
Athenas Graias nostrasque, xv. 110.
Athos velificatus, x. 174.
Atlanta, xiii. 48.
Atlas, xi. 24.
atque, xiv. 310.
atque utinam, iv. 150.
atria, vii. 7, viii. 20.
Atriden, iv. 65.
attegias, xiv. 196.
atteritur, xvi. 50.
Atticus, xi. 1.
attonitus, xiv. 306.
attrita de fronte, xiii. 242.
aucti, xv. 73.
auditor, i. 1, iii. 322.
augusta in rupe, x. 93.
Augusto mense, iii. 9.
aureus, vii. 122.
aurum aestivum ventilet, i. 28.
Auruncae alumnus, i. 20.
auspex, x. 336.
Auster, iv. 59.
aut, xv. 55.
Automedon, i. 61.
autumni post finem, xiv. 190.
autumno, iv. 57, x. 221.
axis Gallicus, viii. 116.

baca Sabina, iii. 85.
bacillo, iii. 28.
Baeticus aer, xii. 42.
Baianae pervia cumbae, xii. 80.
Baiarum ianua, iii. 4.
Baias, xi. 49.
ballaena Britannica, x. 14.
balnea, vii. 233, xi. 204.
balneolum, vii. 4.
balteus, xvi. 48.
barba maiorum dignum, xvi. 31.
barbam pectere, xiv. 216.
— metit, iii. 186.
barbarus, x. 181.
barbato regi, iv. 103.
barbatos magistros, xiv. 12.
bardaicus calceus, xvi. 13.
Baream, vii. 91.
bascaudas, xii. 46.
Basilus, vii. 145, x. 222.
bellatore sedens, vii. 127.
Bellerophonti, x. 325.
Bellona, iv. 124.
bellorum ultima, xv. 95.
bene habet, x. 72.
Beneventani sutoris, v. 46.
Bithyni, vii. 15.
Boccare, v. 90.
boletum condire, xiv. 8.
bootae pigri, v. 23.
bos vetulus, x. 268.
bove percusso, xiv. 286.
bracatorum pueri, viii. 233.
bracchia contra torrentem direxit, iv. 89.
— porrecta rursum, xii. 76.
bratteolam, xiii. 152.
breve lumen, iii. 286.
brevis puteus, iii. 226.
Brigantum, xiv. 196.
Britannica, x. 14.
Britannos causidicos, xv. 111.
Brittones, xv. 124.
Bruttidius, x. 83.
bubulco iudice, vii. 116.
bucca, iii. 262.
buccae, iii. 35, xi. 34.
buccula, x. 134.
bulbi, vii. 120.
bulla dignissime senior, xiii. 33.
bullatus, xiv. 5.

caballis, x. 60.
cacoethes, vii. 52.
Cacus ab Hercule ictus, v. 125.
cadavere, xv. 83.
caderent, vii. 70.
caderet, iv. 12.
cadurci, vii. 221.
Caedicio, xvi. 46.
Caedicius, xiii. 197.
caeca cupidine, x. 357.
caerula Germani lumina, xiii. 164.
caerulei, xiv. 128.
Caesaris uxor, x. 330.
calamos, vii. 27.
calculus, xi. 132.
calidae gelidaeque minister, v. 63.
caligas, xvi. 24.

caligatus, iii. 322.
Calliope, iv. 34.
calorem sentire, xii. 98.
Calpe, xiv. 279.
calvo Neroni, iv. 38.
Camenis, iii. 16.
Camerinus, vii. 90, viii. 38.
Camilli more, xvi. 15.
candelae, iii. 287.
canebat, xv. 26.
canem venerantur, xv. 8.
canino rictu, x. 271.
canna, v. 89.
Cannarum vindex, x. 165.
Canopi, i. 26.
Canopo, xv. 46.
Cantaber stoicus, xv. 108.
cantabit, x. 22.
cantabitur, xi. 180.
capacem, xi. 41.
a capella iaculum torquere, v. 155.
Capenam madidam, iii. 11.
capi ipse voluit, iv. 69.
capillato consule, v. 30.
capillis maiorum dignum, xvi. 31.
capit, x. 148, xi. 171.
Capito, viii. 93.
Cappadoces, vii. 15.
Caprearum, x. 93.
caprum extra pocula stantem, i. 76.
capsae angustae custos vernula, x. 117.
captatori Cosso, x. 202.
captivorum agmine, x. 280.
caput venale praebere, iii. 33.
— populo adoratum, x. 62.
carcere uno, iii. 314.
cardiaco, v. 32.
carior illis homo quam sibi, x. 350.
carne nova si quam dabat hostia, xi. 85.
carnifices, viii. 175.
Carpathiam, xiv. 278.
carpento, viii. 147.
Carus, i. 36.
Cassandra, x. 262.
cassis, xi. 103.
Castora ad vigilem, xiv. 260.
castra domestica, x. 95.
castra tua Caesar, iv. 135.
castrorum imperiis functos, xi. 87.
casulam, xi. 153.
cathedra, i. 65.
cathedrae, vii. 203.
cathedris, vii. 47.
Catilina, viii. 231.
Catilinam, xiv. 41.
Catonem, xi. 90.
Catulli, viii. 186.
Catullo, iv. 113.
causae scelerum, xiv. 173.
causas defendere, viii. 48.
causas vivendi, viii. 84.
causidicorum, vii. 113.
causidicus, vii. 106.
cecidit, x. 69.
Cecropides, viii. 46.
cedere foro, xi. 50.
cedo, xiii. 210.
Celadi, vii. 215.
Celaeno, viii. 130.
cella, vii. 28.
cenacula, x. 18.
super cenam, xv. 14.
cenatio, vii. 183.
censoris mores, xi. 92.
ad censum protinus, iii. 140.
census magni custodia, xiv. 303.
centum portis Thebe, xv. 6.
cenula frugi magno, iii. 167.
cera, vii. 238.
ceras, i. 63, xiv. 29.
cercopitheci, xv. 4.
cerdoni, viii. 182.
cerdonibus, iv. 153.
Cereris aram, xiv. 219.
Cereris aulaea, xiv. 263.
ceromatico, iii. 68.
cervina senectus, xiv. 257.
cespes, xii. 2.
cesset, xiii. 23.
Cethegi, viii. 231.
Cethegus, x. 287.
Chaerippe, viii. 95.
Chaldaeo cum grege, x. 94.
charta soluta, xiii. 116.
Chattis, iv. 147.
Chiro, iii. 205.
chirographa, xiii. 137.
chironomunta, v. 121.
chlamys Spartana, viii. 101.
Chrysippus, xiii. 184.
Chrysogonus, vii. 176.
cicutae, xiii. 186.
cicutas gelidas, vii. 206.
Cilicis, iv. 121.

Cilicum piratae, viii. 94.
Cimbri, xv. 124.
Cimbros, viii. 249.
cineres praeter maiorum, viii. 146.
cinerum custodibus saxis, x. 147.
Circeis, iv. 140.
circenses, x. 81.
Circes verbere, xv. 21.
circo scaenaeque vacantem, viii. 118.
circumscribere, xiv. 237.
circumscripserit, x. 222.
circumspice, viii. 95.
Cirrae, vii. 64.
Cirraei vatis, xiii. 79.
cista, iii. 206.
cistas, vii. 11.
citharoedi magistri, vii. 212.
citharoedo, x. 211.
— principe, viii. 198.
citius, xvi. 32.
civiliter, v. 112.
clamore acerbo, xiv. 55.
Claudius, v. 147.
clavorum milia, xvi. 25.
clienti veteri indignatur parere, v. 64.
clipeo, viii. 201.
— venientis, xi. 106.
Clitumni, xii. 13.
cludenda est ianua, xiii. 129.
cludere, xiv. 322.
de clunibus apri, v. 167.
clusit, x. 17.
Cluvienus, i. 80.
Coa, viii. 101.
coacto umore, xiii. 133.
Coclite, viii. 264.
codice, vii. 110.
— saevo, x. 236.
Codro, iii. 203.
coepit, iii. 114.
cohors comitum, viii. 127.
cohortes, x. 94.
collega nobilis, viii. 253.
color, vii. 155.
colus tardos expectare, xiv. 249.
comedunt patrimonia, i. 137.
comes, iv. 84.
— exeo, iii. 47.
comesa de nobilitate, i. 34.
comites, i. 119.
comitum longissimus ordo, iii. 284.
commendat, xi. 208.
commendet epistula, xvi. 5.
commissa auctio, vii. 10.
committas, i. 163.
commoda, xvi. 7.
comoedia, v. 157.
compede in magna, xi. 80
componitur, iii. 10.
conata, xiii. 210.
conche, iii. 293.
conchem, xiv. 131.
conchylia, iii. 81, viii. 107.
conciditur, iv. 130.
Concordia salutato crepitat nido, i. 116.
concurritur, xv. 53.
concussere, x. 328.
condire fictile, xi. 19.
conducere, iii. 31.
conducta, xi. 46.
conferat impensas, iii. 216.
confusus, iii. 1.
cum coniuge Pluton, xiii. 50.
in coniuge nullum crimen, viii. 128.
coniugium quaeras, xi. 29.
— petimus, x. 352.
conscius, iii. 49.
conspuitur sinus, vii. 112.
constet, vii. 230.
constituebat, iii. 12.
constratum classibus mare, x. 176.
constructionem κατὰ σύνεσιν, xiv. 241.
consul de rhetore fies, vii. 197.
consule capillato diffusum, v. 30.
consule te, xi. 33.
consulibus, xi. 201.
consume et aude, xiii. 160.
contacta, v. 128.
continet se, v. 100.
contingens, xi. 62.
contingere, viii. 7.
contrarius auctor, x. 30.
contra veniet, i. 160.
controversiae, i. 15.
contum, x. 20.
conturbat, vii. 129.
conventus, viii. 129.
convicia stantis mandrae, iii. 237
convictus, xi. 4.
convulsa marmora, i. 12.
cophinus, iii. 14.

Copti, xv. 28.
Coranum, xvi. 54.
Corbulo, iii. 257.
corde mulino, xvi. 23.
in corde aegro, vii. 52.
Cordi, i. 2.
Corinthi stupidi, viii. 197.
Corinthon unctam, viii. 113.
corium, xiv. 204.
a cornice, x. 247.
cornicines, x. 214.
cornu nascenti, xii. 9.
cornua, xiv. 199.
coronata agna, xiii. 63.
corpuscula, x. 173.
Corvinum, viii. 5.
Corvinus, i. 108.
corvo rarior albo, vii. 202.
corybanta de conviva, v. 25.
Corycia puppe, xiv. 267.
Cosmi, viii. 86.
Cosso, x. 202.
Cossum, iii. 184.
Cotta, v. 109, vii. 95.
cottona, iii. 83.
coturnix, xii. 97.
crambe repetita, vii. 154.
Crassos, x. 108.
crepat, x. 62.
crepido, v. 8.
Cressa, x. 327.
cretatum bovem, x. 65.
Creticus, viii. 38.
Cretonius, xiv. 86.
criminibus, i. 75.
crinem amati deponit, iii. 186.
Crispi iucunda senectus, iv. 81.
Crispinus, i. 27, iv. 1.
crista galli, xiii. 233.
crocodilon, xv. 2.
Croesi fortuna, xiv. 328.
Croesum, x. 274.
cruce vera dignus, viii. 188.
crucem, xiii. 105.
crudum, i. 143.
crumina deficiente, xi. 38.
crura caballis franguntur, x. 60.
crus dimidium, xiii. 95.
crustas, v. 38.
cryptam, v. 106.
cucullo, iii. 170, viii. 145.
cucurbita ventosa, xiv. 58.
culcita, v, 17.
culleus, viii. 214.
Cumis, iii. 2.
cuncta patrimonia, x. 13.
cupiat nihil, x. 360.
curabilis, xvi. 21.
curam cohortis, i. 58.
curatoris eget, xiv. 288.
curia, viii. 91.
Curios, viii. 4.
Curius, xi. 78.
currus aeneus, vii. 125.
cursor Gaetulus, v. 52.
cursu ventilat ignem, iii. 253.
Curtius, xi. 34.
curules, x. 91.
custos discipuli, vii. 218.
— urbis, xiii. 157.
pro cute pellem, x. 192.
cuticula, xi. 203.
Cyaneis, xv. 20.
ad cyathos, xiii. 44.
cyathum, v. 32.
Cybeles aulaea, xiv. 263.
Cynicos, xiii. 121.

da, iii. 137, viii. 68, x. 43.
Daedalus, iii. 25.
Damasippe, viii. 185.
damma, xi. 121.
de nocte media, xiv. 190.
Decembri toto vinum nescire, vii. 97.
decidere, xii. 33.
decies centena, x. 335.
Deciorum, viii. 254, xiv. 239.
declamare doces, vii. 150.
declamatio fias, x. 167.
declamatoris Vagelli mulino corde, xvi. 23.
decocta, v. 50.
decoxit, xv. 81.
decurrere, i. 19.
dederit se, xiv. 52.
deducendum, xiii. 155.
deducere, iii. 286, vii. 54.
deducis sulcum, i. 157.
defendier, xv. 157.
deficeret, xi. 199.
deficit, vii. 129.
defundere, iii. 277.
delator, i. 33, x. 70.
deliciae, iv. 4.
delicias, xiii. 140.
ad delicias usque, x. 291.

Demetrius, iii. 99.
densissima lectica, i. 120.
— ruga, xiii. 215.
dentes excussos, xvi. 10.
deos esse putat, xiii. 91.
depositum, xiii. 16, 60.
deposuit, xi. 126.
depasturing on a neighbour's land, xiv. 145.
destinat, x. 331.
destinet, iii. 3.
Deucalion, i. 81.
deus ridet et odit, xv. 71.
devehat, i. 10.
a deverticulo, xv. 72.
dextra computat annos, x. 249.
diadema, xiii. 105.
dices, i. 150.
dictem, xi. 59.
dies, x. 265.
haud difficile est, xi. 17.
difficili crescente cibo, xiii. 213.
diffusa, xi. 159.
diffusum, v. 30.
digitis, xii. 58.
digito compesce labellum, i. 160.
digressu, iii. 1.
dimidia brevior, v. 9.
dimidio pluris, xiv. 201.
dimidios, viii. 4, xv. 57.
Diphilus, iii. 120.
dirus, iv. 116, vii. 161.
dis adversis, x. 129.
— aequa potestas, iv. 71.
— iratis fruitur, i. 49.
discinxerit, viii. 120.
discrimina iuvenum plurima, x. 196.
discursus, i. 86.
dispensatore, i. 91.
displicet, xiii. 2.
disponere voces, vii. 44.
dissimilem sui, x. 192.
distinguat, v. 80.
diversa illis, x. 3.
divitiae, x. 24.
dociles imitandis turpibus, xiv. 40.
Dolabella, viii. 105.
dolabra, viii. 248.
dolia, xiv. 308.
domestica tela, xv. 64.
— vitiorum exempla, xiv. 32.
domini, xiv. 169.
dominis, xi. 47.
dominum regemque salutat, viii. 161.
dominus, v. 137.
Domiti, viii. 228.
domito a monte, xi. 89.
domos, x. 7.
domum sanctam, xiv. 68.
domus sua, i. 7.
dona populorum, xiii. 149.
Dorica Ancon, iv. 40.
Dorida nullo cultam palliolo, iii. 94.
Druso, iii. 238.
dubia pro libertate, viii. 263.
dubiam palmam, xi. 181.
ducat ceu pollice, vii. 237.
ducis, vii. 21.
duelli, vii. 169.
dum, iii. 10, v. 94.
duo, xvi. 24.
dux magnus, iv. 145.

ebore, xiv. 308.
ebrius ac petulans, iii. 278.
ebur, xi. 123, xii. 112.
ecce, iv. 1.
echini, iv. 143.
efferre, i. 72.
egregius, xi. 12.
electro, xiv. 307.
elegos, i. 4.
elementa vitiorum, xiv. 123.
— per omnia, xi. 14.
elephanti venales, xii. 102.
eliceret, vii. 212.
ellipse of verb, i. 1.
eloquio fidimus, vii. 139.
Elpenora, xv. 22.
emendet, xiv. 67.
emptor Olynthi, xii. 47.
— veneni, viii. 17.
endromidem, iii. 103.
enim, i. 89.
Ennosigaeum, x. 182.
ense velut stricto, i. 165.
Epicure, xiv. 219.
Epicurum, xiii. 122.
epiraedia, viii. 66.
epistula verbosa et grandis, x. 71.
Eponam, viii. 157.
epota flumina Medo prandente, x. 177.

equestri de pulvino surgat, iii. 154.
equites Asiani, vii. 14.
— egregios, x. 95.
equitum princeps, iv. 32.
erectum ligonem, xi. 89.
ergastula, xiv. 24.
— Tusca, viii. 180.
ergo, i. 3, xii. 126.
Erinys, vii. 68.
erroris nebula, x. 4.
Esquilias, iii. 71, xi. 51.
— gelidas, v. 78.
esuriens ramus olivae, xiii. 99.
et, vii. 124, xiv. 237, xvi. 31.
Etruscum aurum, v. 164.
Euandrum, xi. 61.
Euganea agna, viii. 15.
euhoe, vii. 62.
Eumenidum vultu, xiv. 285.
Euphranoris, iii. 217.
Euphraten petit, viii. 51.
ad Euphraten natus, i. 104.
Europen, viii. 34.
evertere, v. 7.
exaudita, x. 111.
excanduit, x. 327.
exclamare libet, viii. 29.
excusaturos se, xvi. 28.
exeat, iii. 153.
exemplo malo, xiii. 1.
exeo comes, iii. 47.
in exilium fugit (Hannibal), x. 160.
exit, xi. 42.
exodium, iii. 175.
expediam, x. 219.
expositum, vii. 54.
ex quo, i. 81.
exul, i. 49.
exulibus magnis, xiii. 247.
exuviae bellorum, x. 133.

Fabios, viii. 191, xi. 90.
Fabius, vii. 95, viii. 14.
Fabrateriae, iii. 224.
fabri primi, xv. 168.
Fabricius, xi. 91.
fabrum volantem, i. 54.
fabula, i. 145.
face arcana dignus, xv. 140.
facies pictae, viii. 157.
facile, iii. 31.
facilem in aurem, iii. 122.
faciles di, x. 8.
faciunt patrimonia, xii. 50.
facunda, vii. 35.
facundia in tenui panno rara, vii. 145.
— sua mortifera, x. 10.
falce supina, viii. 201.
Falerno pulmo arderet, iv. 138.
— acri, xiii. 216.
per famam et populum, i. 72.
famem aliam, iv. 138.
famoso, xv. 46.
famulae Iovis, xiv. 81.
farra, xii. 84.
farrago, i. 86.
farrata, xi. 108.
fas, x. 257.
fasces, x. 79.
fascia, xiv. 294.
fatetur, x. 172, xv. 132.
fato diverso, xiii. 104.
faventes, xii. 83.
febre calet sola, x. 218.
felices, xiii. 21.
felix, vii. 190.
fenestris vasa cadant, iii. 270.
feno torto, xi. 70.
fenum, iii. 14.
feralis cena, v. 85.
fercula, i. 94, xi. 64.
ferreus, i. 31.
ferri maximus modus in vinclis, iii. 310.
ferrum incude nefanda produxisse, xv. 165.
fertur, xi. 6.
ferulae, i. 15.
feruntur, vii. 64.
ferventi Subura, xi. 51.
festa dies, xiii. 23.
festinare, xiv. 212.
ficedulas, xiv. 9.
ficti vultus constantia, xiii. 77.
fictilibus, x. 26.
— cenare pudet, iii. 168.
— phaselis, xv. 127.
fictilis Juppiter, xi. 116.
fidem hominum divumque, xiii. 31.
fige, v. 12.
figendum, xi. 28.
a figulis munitam urbem, x. 171.
fila porri, xiv. 133.

fisci res est, iv. 55.
fiscus, xiv. 260.
Flaccus, vii. 227.
flagellis, xiv. 19.
flagra, v. 173, x. 109.
Flaminia, i. 171.
Flaminiam, i. 61.
flammeolo, x. 334.
flammis ad sidera missus, xi. 63.
flavam caesariem, xiii. 164.
flebile, xiii. 84.
Florae aulaea, xiv. 262.
flos Asiae, v. 56.
fluctibus cruentis, x. 185.
focos, xv. 83.
foedum dictu visuque, xiv. 44.
folle tenso, xiv. 281.
follem, xiii. 61.
follibus atque caminis, x. 61.
Fonteio consule natus, xiii. 17.
fontem ad quaesitum deducere, xiv. 104.
fora cuncta, xiii. 135.
foricas conducunt, iii. 38.
formam, x. 289.
fornacula, x. 82.
foro quot vicina iugera, iv. 7.
fortuitus, xiii. 225.
Fortuna, x. 366.
— ipsius, x. 285.
— voluit iocari, iii. 40.
in fortunae casibus omnia ponant, xiii. 86.
fortunae invidia, xv. 95.
fortunam sequitur, x. 73.
forulos, iii. 219.
fossor, xi. 80.
fragili, xii. 88.
fragor, xi. 197.
frameam, xiii. 79.
frater, v. 135.
fraude intercepta, xiii. 71.
frena moderantem, x. 128.
frigida mens, i. 166.
fritillo, xiv. 5.
frivola, iii. 198, v. 59.
frons aerea, xi. 96.
fronte, xi. 205.
frontem, xiv. 56.
Frontonis, i. 12.
frugalius, v. 6.
frugi, xiv. 111.
Frusinone, iii. 224.
fuga, viii. 61.
fugiens Saturnus, xiii. 40.
fugitivum piscem, iv. 50.
fulcrum, xi. 95.
fulgura, xiii. 223.
fuligine, v. 35.
fulmine iusto, viii. 92.
fumosos equitum magistros, viii. 8.
fumus domi, i. 120.
fundite, xii. 37.
funem quatit, xii. 5.
— rectum descendere, xiv. 266.
funera duo redolent, iv. 109.
— sua quanti vendant, viii. 192.
funus, x. 259.
furor haud dubius, xiv. 136.
Fusci coniuge, xii. 45.
Fuscine, xiv. 1.
Fusco micturiente, xvi. 46.
Fuscus, iv. 112.

Gabba, v. 4.
Gabiis, iii. 192.
Gadibus, x. 1.
Gaetula, xiv. 278.
Gaetula belua, x. 158.
Gaetulice, viii. 26.
Galbam, viii. 5.
galea faciem abscondit, viii. 203.
galeatum, i. 169, viii. 238.
galero, viii. 208.
Galla, i. 126.
Galli, xvi. 1.
galli resupinati, viii. 176.
Gallia, vii. 148.
Gallia causidicos Britannos docuit, xv. 111.
Gallica altera, vii. 16.
Gallicus, xiii. 157.
Gallicus axis, viii. 116.
gallinae filius albae, xiii. 141.
gallinam, xii. 96.
Gallinaria pinus, iii. 307.
Gallitta, xii. 99.
Gangen, x. 2.
Ganymedem Gaetulum, v. 59.
garrula, xii. 82.
Gaurana ostrea, viii. 86.
geminos Quirinos, xi. 105.
gemitus damnorum, viii. 98.
gemma uda, i. 68.

gemmas numeret, v. 41.
generosae aves, xiv. 81.
generum Cereris, x. 112.
genialis, x. 334.
— dies, iv. 66.
genua deorum incerare, x. 55.
genuinam agitent, v. 69.
geometres, iii. 76.
Geticis pruinis, v. 50.
gigantis fraterculus, iv. 98.
glacies Maeotica, iv. 42.
gloria paucorum, x. 143.
γνῶθι σεαυτόν, xi. 27.
gobio, xi. 37.
Gorgone Maura, xii. 4.
Gorgonei caballi, iii. 118.
Gracchum, viii. 201.
Gradivus Homericus, xiii. 113.
Graeculus, iii. 78.
Graias artes nescius mirari, xi. 160.
grassatur ferro, xiv. 174.
gratum est, xiv. 70.
graves capiti, xi. 127.
gravis barba, i. 25, x. 226.
gula, xv. 90.
— quanta, i. 140.
gustus, xi. 14.
guto, iii. 263.
guttur tumidum, xiii. 162.
Gyari scopulis clusus, x. 170.
Gyaris dignum, i. 73.
gymnasia, iii. 115.

habenas totas effundit, xiv. 230.
habere oportet, xiv. 207.
habet miseros, x. 297.
— attonitos, xiii. 194.
haesuri saxis tituli, x. 144.
harena lenta fori, xvi. 47.
— Albana, iv. 100.
hasta sub domina, iii. 33.
haud, vii. 93.
hecatomben, xii. 101.
hederis dignus, vii. 29.
Heliadum crustas, v. 38.
Helvidius, v. 36.
Helvinam Cererem, iii. 320.
Heracleas, i. 52.
herbas post omnes, xv. 99.
Herculeo in lare natus, viii. 14.
Herculeos arcus, xiii. 82.
Herculis aerumnas, x. 361.
Herculis cervicibus, iii. 89.
— uxor, xiii. 43.
here, iii. 23.
heredes habet tres, xii. 95.
Hermae trunco simillimus, viii. 53.
Hermarchus, iii. 120.
Hernicus, xiv. 180.
Hesperidum serpens, xiv. 114.
hic est, i. 161.
hiemps stridebat, iv. 58.
hilares, xi. 178.
hinc, xv. 51, 77.
hinc atque inde, i. 65.
Hippolyto, x. 325.
his, xiii. 103.
hiscere, y. 127.
Hispania additur, x. 151.
Hispulla, xii. 11.
Histrum, xii. 111.
Homero uni cedit, vii. 38.
Homero vivo, xv. 69.
homines quidquid agunt, i. 85.
homuncio, v. 133.
honestis artibus nullus in urbe locus, iii. 21.
honor summus, i. 117.
honores nimios, x. 104.
honori sacro, i. 110.
horas quot nuntiet, x. 216.
hordea, viii. 154.
horrida Aegyptos, xv. 44.
in hortis, x. 334.
— nascuntur haec numina, xv. 10.
hortos, i. 75.
hospes numinis Idaei, iii. 137.
hospitium magno miserabile, iii. 166.
huius potens ratio, xiv. 38.
humanis carnibus, xv. 13.
per humum quaesita, xv. 63.
Hylas, i. 164.
Hymetto vicinus senex, xiii. 185.

i, x. 66.
i nunc, xii. 57.
iaceat, vii. 79.
iactaret se, i. 62.
iactura clientis, iii. 125.
iacturae, xiii. 8.
ianua, iii. 4.
— colligit ignes, xiii. 146.
Iarbae iuvenis praelatus, v. 45.

ibin serpentibus saturam, xv. 3.
Idaeis, xiii. 41.
idem habitus, xi. 149.
Idumeae portae incola, viii. 160.
iecur, i. 45.
— anseris, v. 114.
ieiuna fames, v. 10.
ieiunum odium, xv. 51.
ignem quod non violaverit, xv. 84.
— Troianum, iv. 61.
ignominiam omni vulnere graviorem, viii. 209.
Iliacus puer, xiii. 43.
ilibus ab ipsis, v. 136.
ille quo mordetur gallina marito, iii. 91.
— dolor, xi. 52.
— viribus confisus, x. 10.
illis frangitur, xi. 191.
illum, x. 108, 126.
— uxoris, v. 148.
Illyricum latus, viii. 117.
imagine, vii. 29, xi. 18.
— frangenda, viii. 18.
imago tua vivit, viii. 55.
imbelle et inutile vulgus, xv. 126.
imbutus, xi. 144.
immensae plebis, xi. 196.
immeritis caballis, x. 60.
impellat, iii. 128.
impendere vero vitam, iv. 91.
imperium, x. 79.
imponere, iv. 103.
improbior, iv. 106.
improbulum, v. 73.
imputat, v. 14.
inaurati, xiii. 151.
incedet, xii. 126.
incenderit suas aedes, iii. 222.
incendia, iii. 7, 197.
incerta, xiv. 137.
incestus, iv. 9.
incude assidua, xiv. 118.
incultus puer, xi. 146.
inde irae, i. 168.
indicibus, x. 70.
indigenae, xiii. 38.
indocti, xiii. 181.
induperator, x. 138.
induperatorem, iv. 29.
Indus, xi. 125.
infans terra cluditur, xv. 139.
inflexu arto, iii. 237.
ingens Telephus, i. 4.
ingenui, xi. 154.
iniquae, i. 30.
iniquas, v. 3.
iniquo, iv. 126.
iniuria cenae tantine, v. 9.
innoxia, xiii. 156.
inquisitores, iv. 49.
inquit, vi. 142, xiv. 153.
inscius herbae, xi. 66.
inscripti, xiv. 24.
instantem parentem, xiv. 210.
institor, vii. 221.
intactam Agaven, vii. 87.
intendunt oculos, viii. 150.
interea, xi. 14.
intestata senectus, i. 144.
invidiam facerent, xv. 123.
Iovem nostrum, xii. 89.
ipse, v. 30, 104.
— tantum, i. 136.
ipsi, xiv. 234.
ipsis, x. 7.
irasci nesciat, x. 360.
iratis amicis, i. 146.
Isaeo torrentior sermo, iii. 74.
Iside, xii. 28.
Isis, xiii. 93.
Italiam iam tenet, x. 154.
Ithacum, x. 257, xiv. 287.
Iudaeis, iii. 14.
iudice morum, iv. 12.
— se, xiii. 3.
iugera bina, xiv. 163.
Iuli sanguine fulget, viii. 42.
Iunco consule, xv. 27.
Iunonis avem, vii. 32.
iurato, v. 5.
iure eodem, xiv. 8.
iures aras, iii. 144.
iurgia prima sonare, xv. 51.
— proludunt, v. 26.
ius dicere de mensura, x. 101.
iussas ad circum prostare, iii. 65.
iusseris, iii. 78.
iuvenalia, xi. 5.
iuvenes marinos, xiv. 283.
— ipsius consulis, viii. 262.

labores quoscumque, x. 359.
Lacedaemonium orbem, xi. 175.
lacerabant membra fame, xv. 102.

lacerna aurata, x. 212.
— foeda et scissa, iii. 148.
lacernas ponente, xvi. 45.
— umero revocante, i. 27.
lacernatae amicae, i. 62.
Lacertae, vii. 114.
lacertae unius dominum, iii. 231.
lacerti, xiv. 131.
lacertis, x. 11.
Lachesi quod torqueat dum superest, iii. 27.
lacrimas humano generi dedit natura, xv. 133.
lactis, xiii. 70.
lacus, iv. 60.
Ladas, xiii. 97.
Laelius, xiv. 195.
laena coccina, iii. 283.
Laenas captator, v. 98.
Laestrygonas, xv. 18.
lagona, v. 29.
Lamiarum, iv. 154.
lampas aenea, iii. 285.
lances, xii. 43.
lanificae staminis albi, xii. 66.
lanistae, xi. 8.
lanistae iuvenes, iii. 158.
lapides effuderit imber, xiii. 67.
laqueum mandaret, x. 53.
Laribus, xii. 89.
Lateranorum, x. 17.
Lateranus, viii. 147.
latere nudo, xi. 96.
lateris dolorem, xiii. 229.
Latina, i. 171.
Latinae monumenta, v. 55.
Latine posce, xi. 148.
Latino, i. 36.
latius, xiv. 234.
Latona, x. 292.
latrone coram, x. 22.
latus, viii. 117.
— cludit, iii. 131.
laudatur probitas, i. 74.
laudis futurae nihil, viii. 75.
laudo, iii. 2.
Laurenti in agro, i. 107.
Laureolum, viii. 187.
lauros pone domi, x. 65.
laurum momordit, vii. 19.
lautus, xi. 1.
laxabant, viii. 261.
lectica nova, i. 32.
lecto vacuo, v. 17.
legiones, x. 79.
legitime fixis, xii. 100.
legum aenigmata qui solvat, viii. 50.
— prima securis, viii. 268.
Lentulus, vii. 95, viii. 187, x. 287.
leo magistrum tollet, xiv. 247.
leonem, vii. 76.
Lepidis, viii. 9.
leto dedit, x. 119.
Leucade, viii. 241.
leve argentum, xiv. 62.
libelli in fasce, vii. 107.
libellis, xii. 100.
libello, xiv. 193.
libertorum cohortem, v. 28.
libo cum patulo puls annua, xvi. 39.
librum nequeo laudare, iii. 41.
Liburno ingenti, iii. 240.
— clamante, iv. 75.
licet, xiii. 56.
Licinis, i. 109.
Licinus, xiv. 306.
lictore lasso, viii. 137.
ligni, xiii. 137.
ligulas, v. 20.
Ligustica saxa, iii. 257.
lintea, iii. 263, xiv. 22.
— inscripta, viii. 168.
lippus, x. 130.
littera, xiii. 138.
litus amoeni secessus, iii. 4.
— sterili versamus aratro, vii. 49.
loculis, i. 89.
longe ferrata domus, vii. 41.
Longinum, x. 16.
loro de paupere signum, v. 165.
Lucanus, vii. 79.
ante lucernas pereundum erit, x. 339.
Lucilius ardens, i. 165.
Lucretia, x. 293.
Lucrinum ad saxum, iv. 141.
Lucusta melior, i. 71.
ludus, viii. 199.
Lugudunensem aram, i. 44.
luna videt, viii. 149.
lunam, vii. 192.
ad lunam, x. 21.

luscum ducem, x. 158.
luto crura pinguia, iii. 247.
luxuria, xv. 45.
luxuriae sordes, i. 140.

macelli, xi. 10.
macello, v. 95.
Machaera, vii. 9.
Maculonis aedes, vii. 40.
madidis, xv. 47.
Maecenas, vii. 94.
Maecenate supino, i. 66.
Maecenatibus, xii. 39.
Maedi, vii. 132.
Maeotide saevior ara, xv. 115.
magistra vita, xiii. 22.
magna sonant, vii. 108.
magnis, xiv. 169.
magnis opibus dormitur, iii. 235.
maior humana imago, xiii. 221.
malos homines terra educat, xv. 70.
Mamercorum, viii. 192.
mamillae laeva parte, vii. 159.
mamma nuda, i. 23.
mangone, xi. 147.
manubria cultellorum, xi. 133.
manus et cervix caesa est, x. 120.
mappae, xi. 193.
margine cenae, iv. 30.
Marius, i. 49.
marmora, i. 12.
marmorea villa, iv. 112.
marmoreis in hortis, vii. 80.
marmoribus, xiv. 90.
Maroni, vii. 227.
marris, xv. 167.
ad Marsos, iii. 169.
Marsus, xiv. 180.
Martis lucus, i. 8.
Massa, i. 35.
materiam, vii. 21.
mathematicis, xiv. 248.
Matho, vii. 129, xi. 34.
matrem flentem producere, vii. 146.
matutino amomo, iv. 108.
Mauri, xi. 125.
Maurorum, xiv. 196.
Maurorum epimenia, vii. 120.
mediae noctis ab hora, vii. 222.
medicus, iii. 77.
mediis Athenis, iii. 80.
e medio fortunae ductus acervo, xiii. 10.
meditatus, iv. 112.
medullis vacuis exucta, viii. 90.
Megalesiacae, xi. 193.
Melanippes, viii. 229.
Meleagri, v. 115.
membrana, vii. 23.
Memnone dimidio, xv. 5.
Menoeceus, xiv. 240.
mens sana in corpore sano, x. 356.
mensas, i. 75.
mensis ad templa et compita positis, xv. 42.
mensura census quae sufficiat, xiv. 316.
mensura sui noscenda, xi. 35.
Mentore, viii. 104.
de merce fracta, iv. 33.
merces sanguinis, xiv. 164.
mergat, xiii. 8.
mergere, xiv. 9.
mergit, x. 57.
meritoria, iii. 234.
meritum, iii. 127.
mero, xv. 48.
Meroe, xiii. 163.
messoribus, viii. 117.
metretam, iii. 246.
metuens virgae, vii. 210.
Mevia figat aprum, i. 22.
Micipsarum canna, v. 89.
militiae honorem, vii. 88.
militis clavus, iii. 248.
mille, xiv. 12.
mille rates, xii. 122.
mimum agit, xiii. 110.
Minervam flagranti ex aede servavit, iii. 139.
Minervam mediam, iii. 219.
minimam exiguamque, xiii. 13.
minor igne rogi, xv. 140.
Minturnarum paludes, x. 276.
minutal hesternum, xiv. 129.
mirabile, xii. 73.
miscellanea, xi. 20.
miscuit res humanas, x. 163.
miserabile, xv. 97.
mite ingenium Thaletis, xiii. 184.
Mithradates, xiv. 252.
mobilis natura malorum, xiii. 236.
Modiam, iii. 130.

modicis erroribus aequos mores, xiv. 15.
modio, xiv. 126.
modium argenti, iii. 220.
modo, xv. 119.
moles positas, xii. 75.
molles, xii. 85.
mollia caluerunt saxa, i. 83.
Molosso regi, xii. 108.
Molossos gladios, xiv. 162.
moneta, vii. 55.
monstra Oceani, xiv. 283.
monstro, x. 263.
Montani venter, iv. 107.
monte in omni, viii. 239.
Monychus, i. 11.
mora nulla, xii. 111.
mora parvula, x. 340.
mores, iv. 82.
moribus, xiii. 204.
moris erat, xi. 83.
mortis terrore carentem animum, x. 357.
mox, xiv. 161.
Moyses, xiv. 102.
Mucius, i. 154, viii. 264.
mugitum labyrinthi, i. 53.
mulae, vii. 181.
mulae fetae. xiii. 66.
mulino corde, xvi. 23.
mulio consul, viii. 148.
mullum, iv. 15, x. 3, xi. 37.
multum caelati, xii. 46.
munera edunt, iii. 36.
municipalis eques, viii. 238.
municipes Iovis, xiv. 271.
municipes siluros, iv. 33.
muraena, v. 99.
murmillonis in armis, viii. 200.
murrina, vii. 133.
mutuus affectus, xv. 149.
Mycale, v. 141.
Myronis, viii. 102.

Nabataeo, xi. 126.
nam, xi. 21.
nanum, viii. 32.
Narcissi divitiae, xiv. 329.
nares pilosas, xiv. 194.
nasorum quattuor calicem, v. 47.
nassae carcere inclusus, xii. 123.
natali die, xii. 1.
natalibus, viii. 231.
natalicium, xi. 84.
natantem Ithacum, x. 257.
natorum funera, x. 241.
Natta, viii. 97.
natura ad mores damnatos recurrit, xiii. 239.
navigio montem ascendit, i. 82.
ne, xvi. 8.
nebulone, xiv. 9.
nec, iii. 102, xiii. 97, xiv. 225.
nec . . . aut, xii. 103.
nec tamen, iii. 302.
nemora, iv. 6.
de nemore migrare, xv. 152.
nempe, viii. 57, 164, 180, x. 110.
Neroni calvo, iv. 38.
Neroni Senecam praeferre, viii. 212.
Neronis noctes, iv. 137.
si nescis, v. 159.
nescit, v. 60, xiv. 231.
Nestora vivere, xii. 128.
niceteria, iii. 68.
nigra veste, x. 245.
nigro tibicine, xv. 49.
nigros maritos, i. 72.
nigrum in candida vertunt, iii. 30.
ex nihilo quantus amicus, v. 134.
Niliacae plebis pars, i. 26.
Nilo tepenti, x. 149.
nimirum, vii. 78, xiv. 54.
nitidas columnas, xiv. 60.
niveam agnam, xii. 3.
niveus panis, v. 70.
nobilis, viii. 60.
nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus, viii. 20.
nocitura, x. 8.
nocte, iii. 127.
nocte dieque, vii. 61.
nocte metus, iii. 198.
noctem per mediam occurrere, v. 54.
nocturna arma, viii. 233.
nodus, v. 165.
nolenti surgere, xv. 123.
nollet, xiii. 187.
noluerim, viii. 75.
nomina servorum, x. 234.
nominis invisi, xiii. 248.
nona aetas, xiii. 28.
Nortia, x. 74.
novicius, iii. 265.

novissimus, xi. 42.
Novium, xii. 111.
novus Arpinas, viii. 237.
nube, xii. 19.
praeter nubes et caeli numen nil adorant, xiv. 97.
nuces minimas, v. 144.
nugis, iv. 150.
Numa, iii. 138.
Numantinos, viii. 11.
numen, iii. 18.
numerosa classis, vii. 157.
— tabulata, x. 105.
Numidarum columnis, vii. 182.
Numitor, vii. 74, viii. 93.
o nummi, v. 136.
nummi amor crescit, xiv. 139.
numquam visis, xii. 74.
nurum, xiv. 220.
nutantem, xv. 156.
Nysae, vii. 64.

obiter, iii. 241.
obvius, viii. 159.
occursus ad omnes hominum, x. 48.
odit se, vii. 35.
odor lucri, xiv. 204.
odore pascaris, v. 150.
oenophorum, vii. 11.
oestro, iv. 124.
ofellae, xi. 144.
offam, xvi. 11.
offensae reus, iv. 105.
officium, iii. 126.
olebit lanternam, v. 87.
olentis, xiv. 269.
olim, iii. 163, iv. 96, x. 142, xiv. 225.
Ombos, xv. 35.
omni, xiv. 68.
opaci, iii. 54.
operatur, xii. 92.
operum lex, vii. 102.
opici mures, iii. 207.
opimam, x. 281.
oppositis, xi. 18.
oppressa, x. 75.
orator uterque eloquio perit, x. 118.
orbem, xi. 175.
orbes, xi. 122.
orbi, iv. 19.
orbibus, i. 137
orbita, xiv. 37.
orchestra, vii. 47.
orchestram, iii. 178.
ordine rerum, i. 127.
Orestes, i. 6, viii. 220.
orexis, xi. 127.
Orontes in Tiberim defluxit, iii. 62.
Osiri invento, viii. 29.
ostrea, iv. 42, xi. 49.
Othonis lex, xiv. 324.

pace, xi. 195.
Pactolus, xiv. 299.
paenula, v. 79.
paganus, xvi. 33.
pagina, vii. 100.
— damnosa multa papyro, vii. 101.
— longa honorum, x. 58.
Palaemonis docti, vii. 215.
in palato vivendi causa, xi. 11.
Palfurio, iv. 53.
Pallante, i. 109.
pallere, vii. 97.
pallidus, x. 189.
palma plurima fervet, viii 58.
palmae umbrosae Tentyra, xv. 76.
palpat munere, i. 35.
panem, xiv. 181.
— et circenses, x. 81.
— vix fractum, v. 67.
panni, xi. 198.
Pansa, viii. 96.
papyro, vii. 101.
paratur, iii. 224.
Parcae, xii. 64.
parcendum est teneris, xiv. 215.
parcus, xiv. 112.
pares non sumus, iii. 104.
Paridi, vii. 87.
paropside, iii. 142.
Parrhasii, viii. 102.
pars vulgi infima, viii. 44.
parte anni, xi. 72.
partem aliquam belli, xii. 110.
ad partes vocandus, iv. 2.
Parthenio, xii. 44.
participle with substantive = verbal noun with genitive, x. 110.
parumper, iv. 62.
pascit servos, iii. 141.

passum, xiv. 271.
passurus, xiv. 314.
pastoris filius, xi. 151.
pateram, iii. 315.
patinae mensura, iv. 72.
patrem patriae, viii. 243.
patris funus promittere, iii. 43.
pauca velim, v. 107.
Paulus, vii. 143.
pauper, xi. 3.
pauperis, xiv. 121.
paupertas maesta, vii. 61.
pavimentum, xiv. 60.
pavonem, i. 143.
Pax colitur, i. 115.
pectore fixo, i. 156.
in pectore suum gestare testem, xiii. 198.
pectus pugnis caedere, xiii. 127.
pecudem balantem, xiii. 232.
peculia, iii. 189.
pecunia nimia cura congesta plures strangulat, x. 12.
pede dextro, x. 5.
pedibus albis, i. 111.
Pedo, vii. 129.
Pegasus, iv. 77.
pegma, iv. 122.
Peleus, x. 256.
Pellaeus iuvenis, x. 168.
pelves, iii. 277, x. 64.
pendebat fatum amici, iv. 88.
pendentis, xi. 107.
peracti, x. 6.
pereat, vii. 174, 222, iv. 56.
perditus, xiv. 269.
perferet, vii. 153.
si perfrixit cantat bene, vii. 194.
perfundit, v. 86.
pergula, xi. 137.
perierunt, iii. 124.
perīt, v. 118, viii. 85.
periīt, x. 11.
perīturae, i. 18.
perīturam, xi. 17.
perīturos audio multos, x. 81.
perlucente, xi. 13.
permittes numinibus expendere, x. 347.
pernox alea, viii. 10.
perone tegi, xiv. 186.
Persica regna, xiv. 328.
Persicus, iii. 221.
pertunde, vii. 26.
pervigiles popinas, viii. 158.
pervigili toro, xv. 43.
pes argenteus, xi. 128.
petasunculus siccus, vii. 119.
petauro, xiv. 265.
petulans, xii. 5.
pexi, xi. 150.
Phaeacum autumnus, v. 151.
phaecasiatorum, iii. 218.
Phalaris, viii. 81.
phaleris, xi. 103, xvi. 60.
pharon Tyrrhenam, xii. 76.
phaselis, xv. 127.
Phasma clamosum, viii. 186.
Phidiacum ebur, viii. 103.
Philippi, xiii. 125.
Philippica, x. 125.
Phoebi balnea, vii. 233.
phoenicopterus, xi. 139.
Pholo, xii. 45.
Phrygia columna, xiv. 307.
Phrygibus, xii. 73.
Phryx aut Lycius, xi. 147.
Picenis, xi. 74.
Picens, iv. 65.
Pico, viii. 130.
picta tempestate, xiv. 302.
pila, x. 94.
pinna, iv. 149.
pinnirapi iuvenes, iii. 158.
piperis coempti, xiv. 293.
Pisaeae olivae, xiii. 99.
piscibus inventis sub aratro, xiii. 66.
Piso bonus, v. 109.
placentas, xi. 59.
planctus primos, x. 261.
planipedes, viii. 191.
planta duceris, v. 125.
platani, i. 12.
plebeios calices, xi. 145.
plena ipso lectica, i. 33.
pluma, x. 362.
plumis pensilibus, i. 159.
plus hominum, xiv. 276.
ad pocula gemmas transfert, v. 43.
pocula inter media, viii. 217.
podagram locupletem, xiii. 96.
poena praesens, i. 142.
poetica tempestas, xii. 23.
Polio, vii. 176, xi. 43.

pollice verso, iii. 36.
Polycliti, iii. 217, viii. 103.
Polyphemus, xiv. 120.
Pompeio, x. 283.
Pompeios, x. 108.
Pompeius, iv. 110.
Pomptina palus, iii. 307.
pone . . . lucebis, i. 155.
ponenda praemia, iii. 56.
a ponte, iv. 116.
de ponte aliquis, xiv. 134.
Ponti regem, x. 273.
Pontice, viii. 75.
Ponticus serpens, xiv. 114.
popina, viii. 172.
popinae, xi. 81.
popinas, viii. 158.
porri sectivi, xiv. 133.
porro, iii. 126.
porrum sectile, iii. 293.
— nefas violare, xv. 9.
portas frangimus, x. 155.
porthmea, iii. 267.
porticibus, iv. 6.
porticus, vii. 178.
portio, iii. 61.
poscere, iii. 42.
Posides spado, xiv. 91.
possidet quot iugera agri, iii. 141.
posteritas quod nostris moribus addat, i. 148.
postquam, xi. 75.
potentia magnae invidiae subiecta, x. 56.
potentia occulti fati, vii. 200.
potestas, x. 100.
potuit, x. 123.
praebenda gladiis cervix, x. 345.
praeceps, x. 107.
praeceptorem parentis esse loco, vii. 209.
in praecipiti stetit, i. 149.
praecipuam ceram, iv. 19.
praeconem, viii. 95.
praecones, vii. 6.
praeconis nitidi filius, iii. 157.
praecordia, xiv. 35.
praeda caballorum, xi. 195.
praemia, xvi. 1.
Praeneste gelida, iii. 190.
Praenestinis in montibus, xiv. 88.
praeputia ponunt, xiv. 99.
praesentior, xi. 111.
praesentius, iii. 18.
praesepibus bona donavit, i. 59.
praestat (sacrum), xii. 86.
praestent, vii. 106.
praetextae, x. 35.
praetextam, x. 99.
praetor, xi. 195.
— lictorem impellat, iii. 128.
praetorem, x. 36.
praetori, xvi. 10.
— da, i. 101.
praetoria, i. 75, x. 161.
praetoris celsi ludis, viii. 194.
pragmaticorum partes, vii. 123.
prandebat sibi, xiii. 46.
premetur, xiv. 221.
premit, i. 46.
Priamus venisset ad umbras, x. 258.
priorum scribendi simplicitas, i. 151.
privato, xii. 107.
privatus, xiii. 41.
privum, viii. 68.
proceres, iv. 73.
Prochytam, iii. 5.
procul inde, xiv. 45.
— absit ab urbe, xvi. 25.
Procula minor, iii. 203.
Proculeius, vii. 94.
prodigiosa fides, xiii. 62.
producit, xiv. 228.
profundi, xiii. 49.
prohibente, xi. 7.
Prometheus, iv. 133.
promisit diem, vii. 84.
prona et terram spectantia, xv. 147.
proponimus, iii. 24.
prora, xii. 69.
proseucha, iii. 296.
prostantis, i. 47.
prostitui ad pulpita, viii. 226.
Protogenes, iii. 120.
provincia, iv. 26.
proxima a prima, x. 126.
pruna, iii. 83.
publica vena, vii. 53.
pudor, iii. 60, viii. 83, x. 329.
pudorem, xvi. 34.
— ex urbe effugientem, xi. 55.
puero mare percussum, i. 54.

pulchra Diana, x. 292.
pullati, iii. 213.
pulmentaria qui condit, vii. 185.
pulpita praetoris, xiv. 257.
pultes, xi. 58.
pultibus, xiv. 171.
in pulvere Cannarum, xi. 200.
pulvis, viii. 61.
pupillum ad iura vocantem circumscriptorem, xv. 135.
puri argenti vascula, x. 19.
purpura ardens, xi. 155.
— maior, i. 106.
— peregrina, xiv. 188.
purpureus, iv. 31.
pusilli causidici, x. 121.
pusillos, xv. 70.
putamus, iv. 28.
quid putas, xiii. 5.
pygargus, xi. 138.
pygmaeus, xiii. 168.
Pylades, xvi. 26.
Pylius rex, x. 246.
Pyrrha, xv. 30.
Pythagoras, xv. 173.
Pythagoreis, iii. 229.
pytismate, xi. 175.
pyxide, xiii. 25.

quadra aliena, v. 2.
quadrantes centum, i. 120.
quadringenta, v. 132.
quadringenta tertia, xiv. 326.
quadruvio medio, i. 64.
quaecumque est, xiv. 188.
quaerebat, xiii. 202.
quaero te in qua proseucha, iii. 296.
quaestio, vii. 156.
qualiacumque, xv. 49.
quamquam, xii. 25.
quamvis, iii. 61.
— levium, xiii. 13.
quandoque, v. 172, xiv. 51.
quantula, x. 173.
quantum, xiv. 233.
quartanam, iv. 57.
quatenus, xii. 102.
-que for *-ve*, xiii. 68.
qui sermones, xiv. 152.
quid, x. 338.
quid (= utrum), viii. 196.
quidnam, x. 329.
quidni, x. 95.
quid si, viii. 183.
quiescet, i. 126.
quinquatribus, x. 115.
Quintiliano, vii. 186.
quippe, xii. 7, xiii. 189, xiv. 116.
Quirites, iii. 60.
— debuerant olim migrasse, iii. 163.
quo divitias, xiv. 135.
— biberat, xii. 47.
— mihi te solitum, viii. 142.
— tot effigies, viii. 9.
— — milia, xv. 61.
quota pars, xiii. 157.

raeda, iii. 10.
ramos erexit ianua, xii. 91.
rapitur, x. 332.
raptore relicto, vii. 168.
rara, xi. 82, xiii. 8.
rari boni, xiii. 26.
rarior usus, xi. 208.
raso vertice, v. 171.
ratione, x. 4.
rationibus, i. 118.
rauci Cordi, i. 2.
reccidit, xii. 54.
recitantes Augusto mense poetae, iii. 9.
recitaverit, i. 3.
recta senectus, iii. 26.
reddere, i. 93.
referens, i. 66.
refert, iv. 5, xi. 21.
regibus, xiii. 52.
reginae, xii. 3.
regnat, iii. 119.
regula verborum, vii. 230.
relictum, xvi. 12.
Remi turba, x. 73.
reponam, i. 1.
resinata iuventus, viii. 114.
respexit, vii. 3.
retia, viii. 204.
reticulis, xii. 60.
reverentia maxima puero debetur, xiv. 47.
revolvas, viii. 272.
rex, i. 136, v. 14.
Rhadamanthus, xiii. 197.
Rheno atque Istro, viii. 170.

rhetor de consule fies, vii. 197.
rhetora, x. 132.
rhinocerote, vii. 130.
Rhodios imbelles, viii. 113.
rhombus, xi. 121.
rides, iii. 100.
ridiculos, iii. 153.
ripa nutritus in illa, iii. 117.
robum iuvencum, viii. 155.
Romam fortunatam, x. 122.
Romuleae ferae, xi. 104.
rosae, xi. 122.
rostra, x. 121.
rotas bigarum impacta securis caedit, x. 59.
Rubelli Blande, viii. 39.
rubetam, i. 70.
rubras maiorum leges, xiv. 192.
Rubrenus Lappa, vii. 72.
Rubrius, iv. 104.
rudem sibi ipse dabit, vii. 171.
rudis, xi. 100.
Rufum, vii. 213.
rugam trahit, xiv. 325.
ruina, xi. 13.
ruinae impulsae, x. 107.
ruinam, iii. 190.
rupe, xi. 105.
rursus, x. 150.
rusticus, iii. 67.
— expectas, xiv. 25.
Rutilus, xi. 2, xiv. 18.
Rutulum, vii. 68.
Rutupino fundo, iv. 141.

sabbata metuentem patrem, xiv. 96.
Sabellam mensam, iii. 169.
Sabina baca, iii. 85.
Sabinos domus imitata, x. 299.
sacculus, xi. 27.
sacramentorum, xvi. 36.
sacri senatus, xi. 29.
sacrilegus minor, xiii. 150.
saevissima, x. 328.
saevit manus, xv. 54.
sagina, iv. 67.
sagittae, vii. 156.
Saguntina lagona, v. 29.
Salamine relicta, x. 179.
Saleio, vii. 80.
salicti virgas mordere, xi. 67.
saltus, vii. 189.
salutari, x. 90.
Samia harena, xvi. 6.
Samothracum aras, iii. 144.
sandapilarum fabros, viii. 175.
sane, xv. 61.
sanguine longo, viii. 1.
sanguis, xii. 13.
Santonico cucullo, viii. 145.
quid sapiat, xi. 81.
sapientia fortunae victrix, xiii. 20.
sarcinulis puellae, iii. 161.
sarcophagus, x. 172.
sarcula, xv. 168.
Sardanapalli, x. 362.
sardonyche conducta, vii. 144.
sardonychum, xiii. 139.
Sarmentus, v. 3.
sartago, x. 64.
saturam, i. 30.
saturant urbem, viii. 118.
Saturnus, xiii. 40.
Sauromatae, xv. 125.
saxa et tela deorum, xiii. 231.
saxum sacrum, xvi. 38.
in scaena numquam cantavit Orestes, viii. 220.
scalarum gloria palmae, vii. 118.
Scauros, xi. 91.
scilicet, xiv. 156.
scobis, xiv. 67.
scripturus leges, xi. 8.
scrofa candida, xii. 73.
scrutante macello proxima, v. 95.
scurra Palati, iv. 31.
Scythicae volucres, xi. 139.
secreti honesti, iii. 52.
sectae, xiv. 122.
Secundi Carrinatis, vii. 204.
secutor, viii. 210.
sed, iv. 26, v. 147, xv. 38.
sedes praelata Lavinio, xii. 71.
seges vicina maior videtur, xiv. 143.
Seianus, x. 63.
Seio, iv. 13.
sellam clusam, i. 124.
semenstri auro, vii. 89.
semodio, xiv. 67.
Seneca, v. 109.
Senecae praedivitis hortos, x. 16.
Senecam, viii. 212.
senectus secura principis, x. 75.
senis amici occursum, viii. 153.

Senonum, viii. 233.
sensus communis, viii. 73.
sententia, viii. 125.
Septembri medio, xiv. 129.
septima lux ignava, xiv. 105.
septimus annus, xiv. 10.
— sol, xv. 44.
Seripho clusus, x. 170.
serpens, viii. 214.
serpentum maior concordia, xv. 159.
serraco, iii. 255.
Serrano, vii. 80.
servatae, xi. 71.
servi videant, x. 87.
servitii longi tempora, iii. 125.
servorum animas, xiv. 16.
servus matronis lugendus, viii. 266.
sescentis, vii. 178.
Setina, xiii. 213.
Setinam, x. 27.
sexagesimus annus, xiv. 197.
sexta cervice, i. 64.
Sibyllae folium, viii. 126.
sic, viii. 196.
siccato nectare, xiii. 44.
sicci, xi. 82.
Siculi vini, vii. 236.
sicut, xv. 98.
Sicyone alta, iii. 69.
sidera, vii. 195.
sidere secundo, xvi. 4.
sidus, vii. 200.
signabit prior, iii. 82.
signatam, xiv. 132.
signator, i. 67.
Signinum pirum, xi. 73.
signum de paupere loro, v. 165.
Silanus, viii. 27.
silicem, iii. 272.
siliquas, xi. 58.
siluros, iv. 33.
silvarum cupidus, vii. 58.
simia, viii. 214.
simplexne furor, i. 92.
sinciput, xiii. 85.
sinus, iv. 41.
— avaritiae, i. 88.
sipario, viii. 186.
Sirena, xiv. 19.
sistro, xiii. 93.
sive, xi. 28.
socialibus bellis, v. 31.
Socratici penates, xiv. 320.
cum sole redit spes vitae, xii. 70.
solem stridentem Herculeo aequore, xiv. 280.
solibus, iv. 43.
solitus, x. 180.
solstitia, iv. 93.
in somnis te videt, xiii. 221.
somno careas, iii. 56.
Sorae, iii. 223.
sordes minimas, xiv. 124.
sortes poposcit, i. 82.
Sostratus, x. 178.
spargendus mero, xii. 8.
Spartani coniugii, viii. 218.
Spartano, xiii. 199.
spatium admirabile rhombi, iv. 39.
— vitae, x. 188, 358.
specie virtutis, xiv. 109.
spectacula, viii. 205, xi. 193.
specularibus, iv. 21.
speluncas, iii. 17.
spira aurea, viii. 208.
spolia occulta, viii. 107.
spoliare, xiv. 237.
spondet, vii. 134.
sponsio, xi. 202.
sportula, i. 95.
— quanto fumo celebretur, iii. 249.
— quid referat, i. 118.
squalentes avos, viii. 17.
squalorem rei, xv. 135.
squamam, iv. 25.
squilla, v. 81.
de stamine nimio, x. 252.
stamine nondum abrupto, xiv. 249.
stantes in curribus Aemilianos, viii. 3.
stationes, xi. 4.
Statius, vii. 83.
statuae descendunt, x. 58.
stemmata, viii. 1.
Stentora, xiii. 112.
sterili, xii. 97.
stetit, xv. 91.
stigmate dignum, x. 183.
stillavit, iii. 122.
stlataria, vii. 134.
Stoica dogmata, xiii. 121.
Stoicus delator, iii. 116.
stomacho vires, xi. 128.

Stratocles, iii. 99.
stricto pane, v. 169.
striglibus, iii. 263.
structorem, v. 120.
studiorum ratio, vii. 1.
stupet, xiii. 16.
stupuit, iv. 119.
sua dona reddit labori, xvi. 57.
suasoria, i. 15.
sub iudice, vii. 13.
— teste nullo, xv. 26.
subjunctive in protasis with future in apodosis, vii. 50, x. 219; *with present*, xiii. 144.
sublimis, xi. 123.
subsellia, vii. 45.
— fregit, vii. 86.
Subura media, x. 156.
Suburae, iii. 5.
subvenit, v. 89.
succincta, viii. 162.
succinctus, iv. 24.
sucida lana, v. 24.
sufficiunt galeae, xi. 6.
sufflamine, viii. 148.
suffragia nulli vendimus, x. 77.
suillam, xiv. 98.
Sullae consilium dedimus, i. 16.
sulpura poscentem calicem, v. 48.
sumine, xi. 138.
in summa, iii. 79.
summam vestem, xiii. 132.
summi libri, i. 5.
summoveor, iii. 124.
summovet, xiv. 186.
super moenia Copti, xv. 28.
superest, v. 73, xiii. 109, 237.
supinum, xiv. 190.
surae grandes, xvi. 14.
surda bucina, vii. 71.
surdo verbere, xiii. 194.
surgit millensima pagina, vii. 100.
suspicit, xiii. 123.
suspirat, xi. 152.
sustinet, iv. 40.
sustinuit, xv. 88.
susurro iugulos aperire, iv. 110.
Sycambris, iv. 147.
Syenes porta, xi. 124.
Syriam pirum, xi. 73.
syrma, viii. 229.
syrmata, xv. 30.
Syrophoenix, viii. 159.
tabellae croceae, vii. 23.
tabernae quinque, i. 105.
tabula distinguitur unda, xiv. 289.
tabulas mutare, xiv. 55.
taeda, xii. 59.
Tagi, iii. 55.
Tagus, xiv. 299.
talis, xiii. 47.
talo nudo, vii. 16.
tamquam, iii. 222, v. 127.
tanti, iii. 54, x. 97, xiii. 96.
tantine, v. 9.
Tarpeia fulmina, xiii. 78.
Tarpeio Iovi, xii. 6.
sub Tatio, xiv. 160.
Tauromenitanae rupes, v. 93.
tectis sublimibus, iii. 269.
tegetis, v. 8.
Telephus, i. 5.
Telesine, vii. 25.
temetum, xv. 25.
templi pocula, xiii. 147.
in templis falsas signare tabellas, viii. 143.
temporibus diris, x. 15.
tenebras, iii. 225.
Tentyra, xv. 35.
tenues Afros, viii. 120.
tenui susurro, iv. 110.
— Saleio, vii. 80.
tenuis, iii. 227.
Terea Fausti, vii. 12.
in terga erectas sudes, iv. 128.
Terpsichoren suam odit, vii. 35.
terram tenuem et sine pondere, vii. 207.
tessellae, xi. 132.
tessera, vii. 174.
testandi ius, xvi. 51.
testarum, xi. 172.
testudine lata, xiv. 308.
testudo, xi. 94.
Teucrorum proles, viii. 56.
Thabraca, x. 194.
Thaida sustinet, iii. 93.
Thebas Fausti, vii. 12.
Thaletis, xiii. 184.
theatri, x. 128.
— magni, x. 213.
Thebarum portae, xiii. 27.
Themison, x. 221.
Theodori, vii. 176.
thermae, xi. 4.

thermarum calices, viii. 168.
thermas, vii. 233.
Thersites, viii. 269.
Theseide, i. 2.
thoraca viridem, v. 143.
Thrasea, v. 36.
Thrasymachi, vii. 204.
Thyle, xv. 112.
Thymele, i. 36.
Thymeles, viii. 197.
tiara, x. 267.
Tiberi devectum vinum, vii. 121.
Tiberim ultra, xiv. 202.
Tiberinum natavit, viii. 265.
Tiberinus, v. 104.
Tiburis arce, xiv. 87.
— proni arce, iii. 192.
Tiburtino, xi. 65.
Tigellinum pone, i. 155.
tigris, viii. 36.
tinea, vii. 26.
Tiresian, xiii. 249.
tironem, xvi. 3.
Tirynthius, xi. 61.
Titan, xiv. 35.
Titanida, viii. 132.
Titio, iv. 13.
titulis, viii. 69.
toga, viii. 240.
— calceus hinc est, i. 119.
togam effugiat, xi. 204.
— nemo nisi mortuus sumit, iii. 172.
togata de plebe, viii. 49.
togatae turbae, i. 96.
togatas, i. 3.
togatus, iii. 127, xvi. 8.
tomacula, x. 355.
Tongilii, vii. 130.
tonitrua optata, v. 117.
tonsi capilli, xi. 149.
toro meliore, iii. 82.
torquentem cornua cirro, xiii. 165.
torquibus, xvi. 60.
torrens, x. 9.
tortore, xiii. 195, xiv. 21.
totiens, i. 2.
trabeae, x. 35.
trabeam, viii. 259.
trabibus fractis, xiv. 296.
traducebat, xi. 31.
traducit, viii. 17.
Trallibus, iii. 69.
transiliet, xiv. 279.
transilit, x. 152.
Trebius, v. 19.
trechedipna, iii. 67.
tremerent, xi. 90.
tremulus, xvi. 56.
trepidabis umbram, x. 21.
trepidabit, viii. 152.
tribunal, x. 35.
tribuni, vii. 228.
— quantum accipiunt, iii. 132.
tribuno, xi. 7.
tridentem movet, viii. 203.
trientem quem porrigat ore, iii. 267.
triscurria, viii. 190.
triste, xiii. 49.
triumphales, i. 129.
triumpho, xi. 194.
triviale, vii. 55.
Troica non scripsit, viii. 221.
Troiugenae, viii. 181.
Troiugenas, i. 100.
tropaeis truncis, x. 133.
trulla, iii. 108.
tu, xiv. 48.
tuba rixae, xv. 52.
ante tubas, i. 169.
tubera, v. 116.
— radere, xiv. 7.
tubicen, xiv. 243.
Tullius, vii. 199.
tumes, viii. 40.
tunica a cynicis distantia, xiii. 122.
— molesta, viii. 235.
tunicae, iii. 254.
tunicis parcat, xiv. 287.
turba deorum, xiii. 46.
turbam casae, xiv. 267.
Turnus, xv. 65.
Tuscis libellis, xiii. 62.
Tusco catino, xi. 108.
Tuscum aprum, i. 22.
tutela rerum suarum, xiv. 112.
tutor, x. 92.
Tydides, xv. 66.
tympana, viii. 176.
tyranni, x. 113.
Tyrio, xii. 107.

Ucalegon, iii. 199.
ulmea cena, xi. 141.

ultio est animi infirmi exiguique voluptas, xiii. 191.
ultro, xiii. 108.
Ulubris vacuis, x. 102.
umbra, vii. 8, 173.
— gaudet, vii. 105.
umbram harundinis, x. 21.
umbras torqueat, i. 9.
umeros minorem, viii. 4.
uncia nulla, xi. 131.
unco ducitur, x. 65.
uncus carceris, xiii. 245.
unda, iii. 244.
unde tibi frontem, xiv. 56.
unguem medium ostenderet, x. 53.
unguenta, xi. 122.
unus et alter, xiv. 33.
— patricios omnes opibus provocet, i. 24.
urbanus, xiii. 111.
urbem Graecam, iii. 61.
— a Cannis an petat, vii. 163.
urceoli, iii. 203, x. 64.
urna praetoris, xiii. 4.
urnae, xii. 44.
usque, x. 1.
— adeo, v. 129, xv. 82.
ut, x. 240, xiii. 100.
ut *supplied from* ne, xvi. 9.
ut iam, xv. 117.
utcunque, x. 271.
utilium, xii. 52.
utres, xv. 20.
uva, xiii. 68.
uxorem agit, iii. 94.

vacui capitis, xv. 23.
vacuis, iii. 2.
vacuus viator, x. 22.
vadimonia differt, iii. 213.
— faciunt, iii. 298.
Vagelli mulino corde, xvi. 23.
Vagelli statuam, xiii. 119.
vallum extra ne miles litiget, xvi. 16.
Vascones, xv. 93.
vatibus, i. 18.
vatis, xi. 114.
vector, xii. 63.
vehemens, xi. 34.
Veiento, iii. 185, iv. 113.
vel, xiv. 38.
velaria, iv. 122.
velis ardentibus, xii. 22.
— utere, i. 149.
vellus, xii. 4.
vena, vii. 53.
Venafrano, v. 86.
venale pecus, viii. 62.
venatricis puellae, xiii. 80.
vendit, vii. 135.
veneno naturae patriaeque, iii. 123.
venerabile, xv. 143.
veneres, xiii. 34.
Veneris marito, vii. 25.
veneto, iii. 170.
veniet, viii. 49.
Ventidio, vii. 199, xi. 22.
ventis animam committe, xii. 57.
ventre lagonae, xii. 60.
ventrem, xi. 40.
— solvunt, xiv. 199.
ventri indulsit non omne legumen, xv. 174.
Venusina digna lucerna, i. 51.
vera Charybdi dignum, xv. 17.
verbere, xv. 21.
Vergilio, vii. 69.
Verginia, x. 294.
Verginius, viii. 221.
verna, i. 26.
vernula, xiv. 169.
— riparum, v. 105.
Verres, iii. 53.
— sacrilegus, viii. 106.
vertere solum, xi. 49.
vertice raso, xii. 61.
verum, xii. 97.
vervecis elixi, iii. 294.
vervecum in patria, x. 50.
Vestam minorem, iv. 61.
vestem, xii. 38.
vestibulis, i. 131, vii. 126.
vestibus extentis, xii. 68.
Vestinus, xiv. 181.
veteres caecos, vii. 170.
Vetti ferrea pectora, vii. 150.
vetus, xv. 33.
vexat, vii. 131.
vexatus, i. 2.
vias monstrare, xiv. 103.
victrix provincia, i. 50.
videret, xiii. 56.
viduas, iv. 4.
— ulmas, viii. 78.

vigilata proelia, vii. 27.
vigiles fenestrae, iii. 275.
vilica, xi. 69.
vilicus, iii. 195, iv. 77.
villas totidem, i. 94.
vindicta, xiii. 180.
violae colores, xii. 90.
violarent marmora tofum, iii. 20.
violatus, xi. 116.
violentius, iv. 86.
virga, viii. 7.
— annuet, viii. 153.
virgam tenentis, xiv. 63.
virguncula, xiii. 40.
vires ultra habitus nitor, iii. 180.
viridis panni, xi. 198.
viro, x. 304.
— sitiente, i. 70.
virtutem ipsam quis amplectitur, x. 141.
viscera magnarum domuum, iii. 72.
visceribus, xiii. 15.
vitem, viii. 247.
— posce, xiv. 193.
vittata sacerdos, iv. 9.
vivaria, iv. 51.
ad vivaria currunt, iii. 308.
vivebat ebur, viii. 103.
vocalis sportula, xiii. 32.
vocis insignia, viii. 227.
Volesos, viii. 182.
Volscorum in monte, viii. 245.
Volsiniis, iii. 191.
Volusi Bithynice, xv. 1.
volvas, xv. 30.
volveris, x. 126.
Vulcano luteo, x. 132.
Vulcanus, xiii. 45.
vulnus damnorum, viii. 98.
vultum, xv. 170.
— aliena a facie sumere, iii. 105.
— modesto sanguine ferventem, x. 300.
vultur, xiv. 77.
vulva, xi. 81.

Zagynthos, xv. 114.
zelotypo Iarbae, v. 45.
zelotypus Thymeles, viii. 197.
Zenonis, xv. 107.
zonam laeva morsuque tenebit, xiv. 297.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 142. Sat. viii. Invert notes on ll. 95 and 96.

,, 144. Sat. viii. l. 105. Delete from the words 'note the hiatus' to 'xv. 126.'

,, 220. Sat. xi. l. 43. *Pollio*: for the spelling of this name see Lachmann and Munro on Lucr. i. 314.

,, 296. Sat. xiv. l. 252. The spelling *Mithridates* is the most frequent both in Greek and Latin writers; but the form *Mithradates* appears on coins, is etymologically more correct, and perhaps should therefore be preferred.

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